THE

WORKS

OF

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

CONTAINING

I. *The* LIFE *of* JOSEPHUS, *as written by* HIMSELF.

II. The Antiquities of the Jewish People; with a defence of those Antiquities, in Answer to APION.

III. The History of the Martyrdom of the MACCABEES; and the Wars of the JEWS with the Neighbouring Nations till the final Destruction of JERUSALEM by the ROMAN POWER.

IV. Account of PHILO's Embassy from the JEWS of ALEXANDRIA, to the Emperor CAIUS CALIGULA.

The Whole newly Translated from the ORIGINAL GREEK.

By EBENEZER THOMPSON, D.D. and WILLIAM CHARLES PRICE, L.L.D.

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FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK XVIII.

Containing the history of the transactions from the year of the World 3973, to 4003.

CHAP. I.

The government of Syria committed to Cyrenius, who is attended by Coponius, the governor of Judæa. A tax levied by Cyrenius, at which the Jews murmur, but are appeased by Joazar. Dreadful outrages, under pretence of the public welfare, committed by Judas, a Gaulanite, and Sadducus, a Pharisee. The burning of the temple. The consequence of innovations. A fourth sect set up by Judas and Sadducus.

AT this period Cæsar sent as a governor into Syria, Cyrenius, a man distinguished by the eminence of his character, a senator of Rome, and one who had arrived at the dignity of a consul, after having gone through all the offices of honour which lead to that eminent station. He was attended by Coponius, the master of horse, who went with him in the character of governor of Judæa: but as Judæa was at this time annexed to Syria, Cyrenius was charged with the business of taxing the people, and likewise

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likewise directed to seize on the money and effects that had belonged to Archelaus.

For some time, at first, the Jews were extremely uneasy at this mode of taxation; but they were at length induced to submit to it, and comply without giving any farther trouble, partly by the advice, and partly by the authority of Joazar, the high-priest, and son of Boethus. About this time, one Judas, a Gaulanite, of the city of Gamala, began to distinguish himself. This man combined with a Pharisee, named Sadducus, to entice the people to revolt. They urged that taxes were only badges of slavery; and that it would become the dignity of the whole people to unite in an assertion of their liberty: they said that one fortunate and well-timed stroke would render them independent for ever; and would contribute no less to the security of their possessions than the advancement of their reputation.

There were but few arguments necessary to induce the multitude to acts of violence; nor is it in the power of language to describe the havock that was made in the country by these outrageous depredators: friends and enemies were equally robbed and murdered without distinction: massacres and assassinations were dreadfully frequent; and all this was done under the pretence of promoting the common good; of advancing liberty, and securing property; but the fact is, that malice and private interest were the leading motives. While the people were thus mutually seeking the destruction of each other by all the severities of an intestine war, they were likewise engaged in a foreign war, and had to struggle with all the aggravated calamities of a severe famine: yet, for a considerable time, nothing could put a period to the course of destruction in which they were engaged, till at length a fire seized the temple, and burnt it to the ground.

Such was the unhappy consequence of seeking after new laws and customs, and endeavouring to destroy those established. Judas and Sadducus were the authors of this confusion, who, from a particularity of disposition, were inclined to add a fourth sect to the three former: and the idea of innovation so charmed the multitude, that a great party joined them; which not only occasioned the present disturbances but laid the foundation of much future calamity: In this place, therefore, it will be proper to treat of those mischievous principles and opinions from which such fatal consequences have arisen.

CHAP. II.

The opinions and practices of the Pharisees. They are in great credit with the people. The opinion of the Sadducees. The mode of living, and sentiments of the Essenes. Their doctrine and government. Account of a fourth sect, who are for absolute liberty, and assert that God alone is their superior.

IN ancient times, among the Jews, there were three distinguished sects of religion; known by the names of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes; of each of which it may not be improper to say something in this place, though

though a farther account of them will be found in my ſecond book of the wars of the Jews.

The manner of living among the Phariſees is ſimple and auſtere: they indulge not in any luxury. They are extremely conſcientious in an adherence to the dictates of their reaſon; and liſten to their elders without preſuming to contradict them, for they pay the higheſt veneration to their advice. They hold that Fate governs all things; but yet not in ſo abſolute a manner as to exclude the operations of free will: for they ſay that though God orders and appoints every thing that is done; yet that, in matters which have a regard to good and evil, this does not prevent the concurrence of the will. The immortality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments in another world, form a part of their faith. They ſay that the righteous will ariſe to the poſſeſſion of happineſs, and the wicked be condemned to endleſs chains and darkneſs. Their reputation was highly advanced among the people by the propagation of theſe doctrines; and agreeable to their ideas and advice, all things were tranſacted in the ſolemn offices of prayer, and other acts of devotion: ſo great was the opinion that the people entertained of the equity, temperance, and wiſdom of theſe men.

On the other hand, the opinion of the Sadducees was that the ſoul and body die at the ſame time; and that the only obligation people are under, is to obſerve the law: with theſe ſentiments, they pride themſelves on a right they have to diſpute with their teachers on matters of the higheſt importance. There are but few of theſe people, but they are generally perſons of diſtinction. Now when theſe are advanced to bear public offices, they are compelled, though againſt their ſentiments, openly to adopt the opinion of the Phariſees, or otherwiſe the common people would not permit them to hold their ſtations.

The third ſort, the Eſſenes, ſay that the world is abſolutely governed by the providence of God, without any other interference. They acknowledge the immortality of the ſoul, and ſay that juſtice is the chief of all virtues, which they aſſert by their practice as well as doctrine. They ſend gifts to the temple, but do not attend in perſon, as they ſacrifice in a way peculiar to themſelves, and with a greater degree of religious ceremony. They are ſingularly ſtrict in their morals, rigid in converſation: huſbandry is the only buſineſs they follow. They are more diſtinguiſhed for their love of juſtice than either the Greeks or barbarians; and boaſt of it as a virtue to which they have unceaſingly applied. They enjoy their effects in common, knowing no ſuch thing as the diſtinction of rich and poor. They neither marry nor keep ſervants; conſidering marriage as an encroachment on the natural rights of mankind; and the other circumſtance as attended with more trouble than convenience; wherefore they rather incline to give aſſiſtance to each other, by a mutual interchange of good offices. This is the mode of living among theſe people, who are deemed to be above four thouſand in number. From among their prieſts they chuſe their treaſurers and commiſſaries, who are men of unſullied honour; and it is their buſineſs to diſtribute the fruits of the earth ſufficient to feed and ſupport the whole people. On the whole, their living reſembles that of the Pliſſi among the Dacians.

Judas Galilæus was the founder of the fourth sect of religion, which did not differ in any great degree from that of the Pharisees; principally, indeed, in their holding the maxim of uncontroulable liberty. They asserted that there was no other Lord or superior than God; and rather than call any man by the name of *Master*, they would expose themselves and their nearest relations, to any degree of punishment, though ever so severe. But this fact is so well attested, and has been confirmed by such repeated observation and experience, that it is unnecessary to urge any thing in proof of it: besides, no language can convey a tolerably adequate description of the fortitude which these people evinced in their contempt of pain.

The animosities mentioned in the former chapter were greatly enflamed by the tyrannical cruelties of Gessius Florus, at that time governor of Judæa; the consequence of which was, that the people at length absolutely revolted from the Romans.

CHAP. III.

The estate of Archelaus sold by Cyrenius. The people revolt against Joazar, who is deprived of his dignity, and Ananus supplies his place. Herod and Philip being settled in their tetrarchies, the former fortifies Sepphoris, and Betaramphtha; and the latter beautifies Paleas, which he calls Cæsarea. He likewise enlarges Bethsaida, to which he gives the name of Julias. The holy temple profaned by the Samaritans. Coponius returning to Rome, is succeeded by Marcus Ambivius. The death of Salome, and her bequests in favour of Julia. Ambivius succeeded by Rufus. The death of Augustus, who is succeeded by Nero. Judæa governed by Valerius Gratus. Ismael appointed high-priest, instead of Ananus. Eleazar succeeds Ismael; Simon advanced instead of Eleazar, and Joseph in the room of Simon. Gratus succeeded by Pontius Pilate. A city built by Herod, and called Tiberias. Phraataces murders his father Phraates. An insurrection occasions the destruction of the murderer. Herod killed. An embassy sent, recommending one of the hostages as king. Artabanus beaten by Verones, who is himself routed in a second battle. He is pursued by Artabanus, and flies into Armenia. Cæsar denies him assistance. The Armenians assist Artabanus. Syllæus receives Verones. The death of Antiochus king of Comogena. The form of government disputed. Germanicus sent to settle it. Piso poisons him.

THE forfeited effects and estates of Archelaus having been sold by Cyrenius, he adjusted a mode of taxation, agreeable to the orders he had received. This happened in the thirty-seventh year after the battle of Actium, in which Anthony was conquered by Cæsar. At this time a violent insurrection happened among the people, in opposition to Joazar, the high-priest, whom Cyrenius deprived of his dignity, and directed that he should be succeeded by Ananus, the son of Seth.

Herod and Philip had now taken possession of their tetrarchies, and adjusted affairs in the best manner possible. Herod fortified Sepphoris, encompassed it with a wall, and made it the capital bulwark of Galilee. This being

being done, he fortified a town, which had borne the name of Betaramphtha; but, ambitious to do honour to the empreſs, he changed its name to that of Julias. Philip employed himſelf in enlarging and beautifying Paleas, which was ſituated at the head of the river Jordan, and he called it by the name of Cæſarea: likewiſe the village of Bethſaida, on the bank of the lake Genneſareth, which he encreaſed till it was equal in ſize to a capital city. This place grew populous and rich, and in reſpect to Julia, the daughter of Cæſar, it likewiſe received the name of Julias.

Previous to this (as hath been remarked) Coponius was ſent with Cyrenius into Judæa: and during his government the following diſturbance aroſe. On the feaſt of the paſchal, otherwiſe called the feaſt of unleavened bread, it is cuſtomary for the prieſts to ſet open the doors of the temple after midnight. Now it happened that a number of Samaritans had come privately into the city of Jeruſalem, and having waited till the doors were opened, they immediately ruſhed into the temple, and taking up the bones of the deceaſed, threw them about into the galleries, and other parts of the building. For the future the prieſt directed that a better guard ſhould be kept, being warned by the inſolence of this proceeding.

Not long after this Coponius returned to Rome, and was ſucceeded in his government by Marcus Ambivius, during whoſe adminiſtration died Salome, the ſiſter of Herod. She bequeathed to Julia, excluſive of her toparchy, the city of Jamnia, Phaſaælis on the plain, and Archelais: together with ſeveral plantations of palm trees, famous for the admirable fruit they produced.

Ambivious was ſucceeded by Annius Rufus, during whoſe adminiſtration Auguſtus departed this life, at the age of ſeventy ſeven years. He had ruled the common wealth fifty-ſeven years, ſix months, and two days, having been an aſſociate with Anthony in the government for the ſpace of fourteen years of that time. He was the ſecond of the Roman emperors.

Auguſtus was ſucceeded by Tiberius Nero, his ſon in law, and the ſon of his wife Livia, being the third emperor of Rome. Now Nero beſtowed the government of Judæa on Valerius Gratus in the place of Annius Rufus. From Ananus he took the office of high-prieſt, and beſtowed it on Iſmael, the ſon of Fabius, who, in a very ſhort time afterwards was removed, to make way for Eleazar, the ſon of Ananus, the late high-prieſt. Eleazar held the office for about a year, when he was deprived of it, and it was beſtowed on Simon, the ſon of Camith; who had likewiſe poſſeſſed it about a twelvemonth, when he was directed to reſign it, in favour of Joſeph, who was ſurnamed Caiaphas. At this time Gratus, having been eleven years in poſſeſſion of the government, returned to Rome, and was ſucceeded by Pontius Pilate.

Nero was now the particular friend of Herod, the tetrarch, to whoſe honour the latter built a city, to which he gave the name of Tiberias. He cauſed this city to be erected near the hot-baths of Emmaus, on the borders of the lake Genneſareth, the moſt commodious ſpot of ground in the whole country of Galilee. This city was peopled partly by the people of Galilee,

and partly by ſtrangers: ſome being compelled to go and reſide there, and many perſons of ſome diſtinction fixing on this place for their habitation by choice. It was peopled much ſooner than it would have been, becauſe great numbers flocked thither from all parts of the country; people of all ranks and degrees, down to the meaneſt; ſome of whom were thought to be ſlaves. Several conſiderable privileges and immunities were beſtowed on them by Herod, to encourage them to ſettle in this place: to ſome of them he gave houſes, and to others lands, that the violation of the laws might be the leſs regarded: for as the place was filled with ſepulchres, and polluted by dead bodies, the inhabitants were deemed unclean for ſeven days after their reſidence there.

About this period Phraataces, the ſon of Phraates, king of the Parthians, treacherouſly murdered his father. The circumſtances hereof are related in the following manner. Cæſar having ſent to Phraates a variety of preſents, among the reſt was an Italian woman, whoſe name was Thermuſa. Phraates took this woman to his bed, and had by her a ſon, to whom he gave the name of Phraataces. At length being enamoured of her beauty and converſation, he married her, though he had ſeveral legitimate children of his own before. Now Thermuſa entertained an idea of putting her ſon in ſuch a ſituation that he ſhould ſtand a chance of becoming king of Parthia; but ſhe was conſcious that it could not be effected unleſs the legitimate ſons of Phraates were removed out of the way. She therefore applied to her huſband on this ſubject, and he readily agreed to yield to her requeſt; for ſhe was ſo great a favourite, that he found it impoſſible to refuſe any thing that ſhe aſked. The young princes were therefore diſpatched to Rome as hoſtages, and Phraataces was educated at home, as heir-apparent to the throne. But he grew uneaſy in this ſituation; and being impatient to wait for the reverſion of a crown, which he though he might have in poſſeſſion, he entered into a conſpiracy with his mother, to pave an eaſier way to the government by the murder of the king; and this was accordingly effected: and ſhrewd ſuſpicions aroſe that Phraataces lived in a courſe of inceſtuous familiarity with his mother. The conſequence was ſuch as might have been expected; for the people were ſo enraged againſt Phraataces, for the known murder, and the ſuppoſed inceſt, that, before he had taken poſſeſſion of the government, an inſurrection happened among the people, by which he was deſtroyed.

Now the laſcivious conduct of the above-named Thermuſa being deemed ſufficient to have polluted the blood of Phraates; and the Parthian nobility conſidering that their nation could not well be governed without a king; they determined that they would place any king upon the throne, who was not of the family of the Arſacidæ; and in conſequence of this reſolution, they ſent ambaſſadors to invite Herod to accept of the government. It is true he was of the royal line; but the ſingular cruelty of his diſpoſition had rendered him ſo obnoxious to the people at large, that he was attacked by a band of conſpirators, and killed on the ſpot: the Parthians being always provided with their ſwords. Different accounts have been given as to the way in which he fell: ſome ſay at a ſacrifice, others at a banquet; but the moſt generally

generally received opinion is, that he was hunting when he met with his fate.

Hereupon the Parthians sent an embassy to Rome, requesting that one of their hostages might be appointed their sovereign, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the late death; and having fixed their choice on Vonones, preferably to the rest of the brothers, a recommendation was given of him, as a prince every way deserving of the honour that was offered him, in the command of two of the most distinguished empires in the universe; meaning those of Rome and Parthia. But the Parthians soon repented of the choice they had made, being at once of a proud disposition, and fond of variety. They said they had too much spirit to submit to be governed by a slave, which was the sense in which they understood the word hostage; and they were perpetually applying this word to their sovereign, as a term of reproach. They said he was not a king whom the law of arms had compelled them to obey; but one who had been imposed on them, in consequence of the making a scandalous peace. While their passions were agitated by the most violent emotions, they dispatched messengers to Artabanus, at that time king of the Medes, who was of the family of the Arsacidæ; and he very readily came to them, attended by a numerous army.

As the greater part of the people of Parthia yet continued unshaken in their loyalty, Vonones immediately attacked Artabanus, and drove him back again to his own country: but the latter soon procuring a considerable re-inforcement to his army, immediately advanced, and attacking Vonones, in a second battle, totally routed him, and it was with great difficulty he saved his own life, escaping into Seleucia with a few horsemen. Artabanus, taking advantage of the confusion into which he had thrown the Parthians, pursued them with uncommon ardour, committing great slaughter; and then retired to Ctesiphon with his victorious troops. The kingdom of Parthia now fell into his possession, in right of this conquest.

In the interim Vonones retired into Armenia, having conceived an idea that he should be able to subject that country to his dominion: and he directly dispatched an embassy to Cæsar, entreating assistance to carry this project into execution: but whether the emperor had not sufficient confidence in his personal courage, or whether he himself did not think it prudent to disoblige the Parthians, who at this time threatened to make war upon him, he absolutely refused to comply with the proposal, and would not afford the least assistance. This refusal was fatal to the hopes of Vonones, who likewise found that the principal people of Armenia, which bordered on Niphates, all espoused the cause of Artabanus. Wherefore, having deliberated on his situation, he surrendered himself to Syllanus, the governor of Syria, who, in consideration of a former acquaintance that he had with him at Rome, received and entertained him in the most distinguished manner. Artabanus, having now happily settled his affairs, bestowed the kingdom of Armenia on his son Orodes.

Antiochus, king of Comogena, dying about this time, there ensued, on his decease, a violent dispute between the principal people, and the vulgar: the latter wishing to be governed by a king, as they had heretofore been; and

the former inclining to reduce the kingdom into the ſtate of a province. Hereupon the ſenate of Rome iſſued a decree, that Germanicus ſhould depart into the eaſt country, to adjuſt the differences that had ariſen; but Providence ordered that this circumſtance ſhould end in the ruin of this excellent prince; for after he had compoſed the commotions in Syria, he fell a ſacrifice to poiſon, through the management of Piſo; as will be related in another part of this work.

CHAP. IV.

Account of planting ſtandards in Jeruſalem, with the image of Cæſar on them. They are petitioned againſt by the Jews. Their requeſt refuſed by Pilate. He places ſoldiers in arms to ſurprize them, and commands them to depart on pain of death; which they abſolutely refuſe. The images are carried away. Money demanded from the treaſury by Pilate. The Jews grow tumultuous. They are diſperſed by the ſoldiers. The author's teſtimony concerning Jeſus Chriſt. Decius Mundus enamoured of Paulina. He determines to ſtarve himſelf. A woman, named Ide, obſerving his paſſion, encourages him to hope. She concerts a plot with the prieſts of Iſis. A prieſt carries Paulina an invitation from the god Anubis; but introduces her to Mundus; who afterwards reflects on her for the favour. Ide and the prieſts are crucified, and the temple of Iſis deſtroyed.

A Body of troops having removed from Cæſarea, to take up their winter-quarters in Jeruſalem, Pilate, the governor of Judæa, permitted their bringing a number of ſtandards into the city, on which were the image of Cæſar, in direct contradiction to the laws of the Jews, which expreſſly forbid the uſe of all ſuch emblems and devices: and, for this reaſon, colours with pictures on them had never been brought into the city by any former governor. This general rule was firſt tranſgreſſed by Pilate; and what added to the offence was, that they were brought into the city in the dead of the night, and there planted, unknown to the inhabitants. In the morning, when the citizens obſerved what had been done, they aſſembled in great numbers, and immediately went to Pilate at Cæſarea, requeſting of him that the obnoxious images might be removed to another place. They continued ſeveral days, in the hope that Pilate would comply with their requeſt; but he was peremptory in his refuſal, pretending that ſuch a requeſt could not be complied with, as it would be an affront to the emperor.

The Jews ſtill continued importunate in their demands; when at length on the ſeventh day of their attendance, Pilate gave directions to a party of ſoldiers to provide themſelves with their arms, and take their ſtation at an appointed place. This being done, he aſcended a tribunal, which he had ordered to be placed in the circus, as a ſpot the moſt convenient from which to ſurprize the people. All this time the Jews thronged about him, urging him to give an anſwer reſpecting the buſineſs that ſo greatly agitated their minds. Hereupon Pilate gave a ſignal to his ſoldiers, and ordered them immediately

immediately to advance, and cut the throats of all thoſe who did not depart home, and remain at peace. On this the Jews threw themſelves flat on the ground, and ſtretched out their necks; thereby intimating that the laws of their country were much more dear to them than their lives. This unparalleled inſtance of reſolution had ſuch an effect upon Pilate, that he iſſued immediate orders for the taking down of the images, and that they ſhould be carried back to Cæſarea, from whence they were brought.

At this time Pilate having formed a deſign of bringing to Jeruſalem an aqueduct, from the diſtance of two hundred furlongs from the city, he demanded that money ſhould be advanced from the holy treaſury, to diſcharge the expence of this undertaking. This gave ſuch great offence to the people, that they aſſembled in a body amounting to many thouſands, thinking that the clamour of an outrageous multitude might prevent his carrying his ſcheme into execution. It happened (as it frequently does in popular inſurrections) that among the immenſe number of complainants, there were ſome who abuſed Pilate perſonally, and inſulted him by the moſt opprobrious epithets. Provoked by this circumſtance, he gave directions to a number of his ſoldiers to diſguiſe themſelves in the dreſſes of countrymen, to conceal clubs under their coats, and form a ring about the multitude; intimating likewiſe, that if the former ſcurrilous behaviour ſhould be continued, he would give them a ſignal, on which they ſhould act agreeable to inſtructions they had received. All this was done according to order; and the abuſive language being renewed, Pilate gave the ſignal; on which the ſoldiers began the attack with their clubs, and, in fact, exceeded the commiſſion they had received; for the innocent were equally involved in the calamity with the guilty. The conteſt, however, proved very unequal; for one party being armed, and the other altogether defenceleſs, many of the Jews were killed, great numbers wounded, and the whole body diſperſed, ſo that there was a total end of the inſurrection.

About this period there aroſe to notice one Jesus, a man of conſummate wiſdom, IF INDEED HE MAY BE DEEMED A MAN. He was eminently celebrated for his power of working miracles; and thoſe who were curious, and deſirous to learn the truth, flocked to him in abundance. He was followed by immenſe numbers of people, as well Jews as Gentiles. This was that Chriſt whom the princes and great men of our nation accuſed. He was delivered up to the croſs by Pontius Pilate; notwithſtanding which, thoſe who originally adhered to him never forſook him. *On the third day after his crucifixion he was ſeen alive*, agreeable to the prediction of ſeveral prophets: he wrought a great number of marvellous acts: and there remain, even to this day, a ſect of people who bear the name of Christians, who acknowledge this Chriſt for their head.

About this period a moſt diſagreeable misfortune befel the Jews: but the account of this I ſhall poſtpone till I have related the particulars of a very ſcandalous tranſaction that happened at Rome, on occaſion of a ſacrifice to Iſis. At the city above-mentioned was a woman equally diſtinguiſhed by her birth and her virtue. Her name was Paulina. She was very rich; beau-

tiful beyond the power of defcription, and of a deportment fo modeft that there was not the flighteft taint on her character. She was the wife of Saturninus, who was a man every way worthy of the poffeffion of fuch a woman.

Now it happened that Decius Mundus, a Roman knight, who was himfelf young and accomplifhed, fell violently in love with Paulina, whofe rank exempted her from all neceffity of yielding through the force of money or prefents: but this circumftance did but fo much the more inflame the paffions of Mundus, who proceeded fo far as to make her an offer of two hundred thoufand drachmas, on the condition of fleeping one night with her. This offer being rejected with the contempt it deferved, he found that his paffion encreafed to fuch a degree, that life became altogether infupportable; wherefore he formed a refolution at once to end his life and paffion by ftarving himfelf to death.

Now it happened at this time that there was a freed-woman, a fervant of the father of Mundus, an artful creature, named Ide, who was rather more of an adept than was conffiftent with the character of a perfon of reputation. This woman, remarking the behaviour of Mundus, and thinking that the arguments of reafon would have no weight to influence his conduct, fhe proceeded in a different manner; encouraged him to hope for a happy iffue of his paffion, and faid that fhe did not defpair of obtaining him the poffeffion of Paulina, which fhe thought might be procured for the fum of fifty thoufand drachmas.

This propofal afforded the higheft fatisfaction to Mundus, who depofited the money in her hands; but the woman was confcious that Paulina was not to be won by a bribe: wherefore, having confidered of the affair, and reflecting on the extreme reverence that fhe entertained for the goddefs Ifis, fhe devifed the following contrivance. Having affembled a number of the prieffs of Ifis, fhe fwore them to keep inviolably fecret what fhe had to reveal to them; and the better to infure their compliance, fhe gave them twenty-five thoufand drachmas, and promifed them the fame fum when the bufinefs fhould be compleated: this being a prevailing argument, fhe related to them the circumftances of the affair, and warmly folicited their interference, to introduce Mundus to the company of Paulina. The temptation was fo great that the prieffs found that they had it not in their power to refift it, and promifed their beft affiftance; in purfuance of which, the eldeft of them immediately went to Paulina, and having demanded a private audience, informed her that he waited upon her with a meffage from the god Anubis, who was violently enamoured of her, and could not refrain from requefting that fhe would pay him a vifit. Paulina made the prieft extremely welcome; and was fo delighted with the idea of the great honour that was to be conferred on her, that fhe could not help mentioning to the ladies of her acquaintance the fingular regard that was entertained for her by the god Anubis. She likewife recounted the circumftance to her hufband, told him that an appointment was already made, and that fhe fhould eat and fleep with the god. The hufband, having had the moft indubitable proofs of the virtue

of

of his wife, ſeemed very well pleaſed with a circumſtance ſo much calculated to raiſe his jealouſy.

At the time appointed Paulina repaired to the temple, where ſhe ſupped; and the hour of reſt being come, one of the prieſts locked her into a room, where, in the dark, inſtead of meeting with the god, ſhe found Mundus, with whom ſhe paſſed the night, without having the leaſt idea but that ſhe had been honoured by the embraces of Anubis. Early in the morning, before the prieſts who were in the ſecret had ariſen, Mundus got up, and quitted the temple; and ſome time afterwards Paulina returned to her huſband, to whom ſhe related the ſtory of the honour that had been done her: and ſhe likewiſe recounted it to her female friends, in terms of grateful rapture. There was ſomething ſo ſingular in this affair, that they could ſcarcely credit it; and yet they hardly knew how to doubt it, from the high character that Paulina had acquired for her inviolate modeſty.

Three days after this extraordinary adventure, Mundus happening by chance to meet the lady, ſaid, "O Paulina! what obligations am I not "under to you, for your kindneſs in ſaving me the two hundred thouſand "drachmas with which I would have preſented you, and at length com-"plying without a bribe! It is a matter of indifference to me whether you "entertain a regard for Mundus or not, ſo you will but permit him to gra-"tify his paſſion in the character of Anubis:" and having ſaid this, he departed.

When Paulina came to reflect on what had happened, and to conſider how vilely ſhe had been tricked out of her virtue, ſhe tore her garments through vexation, related the affair to her huſband, and entreated him, by the love he bore her, to procure ſome puniſhment to be inflicted on the offenders. Hereupon Saturninus acquainted the emperor of the affair, who having ſtrictly examined into it, gave orders that the prieſts ſhould be crucified, together with Ide, who was the contriver of the plot, and the principal occaſion of its being carried into execution againſt a woman of ſuch an amiable character. He likewiſe ordered that the temple of Iſis ſhould be pulled down, and her ſtatue thrown into the river Tiber. With regard to Mundus, he was only baniſhed: allowance being made for the force of paſſion in ſo young a man. Thus much with regard to the ſtory of Paulina. I now proceed to give an account of the calamities of the Jews at Rome, agreeable to my promiſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Four abandoned Jews assume the characters of doctors of the law. They are followed by the women. They collect money as for the temple, but convert it to their own use. Complaint hereof made to Tiberius, by Saturninus. The Jews commanded to leave the city. Account of a Samaritan impostor. The siege of Tirathaba. Pilate routs the Samaritans. The principal Samaritans justify their conduct, and accuse Pilate. Marcellus appointed governor of Judæa, and Pilate ordered to Rome.

THERE was at Rome at this time a Jew, of the most infamous character imaginable, who had been compelled to leave his country, to avoid the rigour of the law. Now this man, combining with three others of characters equally infamous and abandoned, they assumed the appearance of rabbies, read publicly on the laws of Moses, and pretended to expound them to the people. By this conduct they obtained a number of disciples, and among the rest a woman named Fulvia, who was a person of honour and character, and inclined to the profession of Judaism. Now Fulvia having altogether submitted to the authority and discipline of these men, they prevailed on her to entrust them with oblations of gold and purple for the use of the holy temple at Jerusalem; but as often as they received her bounty they converted it to their own use. Now this abusive practice coming to the knowledge of Fulvia, the wife of Saturninus, she prevailed on her husband to make the affair known to Tiberius; in consequence of which the emperor issued orders that all the Jews should immediately leave the city. Of these, four thousand were entered upon the consul's roll, to serve as soldiers, and sent into Sardinia; exclusive of whom there were great numbers who refused to bear arms, on account of their religion; and these were punished by a variety of torments, and then banished; the whole body of the Jews suffering on account of four men of abandoned characters.

Nor were the Samaritans, at this time, without their share of misfortunes. It happened that there was a notorious impostor among these people, who by the most ridiculous stories, and extravagant lies, would frequently assemble a croud about him. This man told the multitude that if they would but meet him at Mount Garizim, he would give them a sight of the holy vessels, which Moses had buried in that place so many ages ago. Now such was the credulity of these ignorant people, that great numbers of them assembled in arms, and besieged Tirathaba, expecting others to come and join them; on which they determined to go up to the mountain with a large army. But Pilate having intelligence of their proceedings, got together a body of cavalry and infantry, and took possession of the mountain, whence he attacked the Samaritans who had assembled near the village, gave them a total rout, with considerable slaughter; and took and brought off a large number of prisoners; and among this number he ordered those to be beheaded who were men of rank or interest.

Soon

Soon after this defeat the chief perſons among the Samaritans made application to Vitellius, a perſon of the rank of conſul, who was at that time governor of Syria, complaining of the conduct of Pilate, and inſiſting that he had been guilty of murder. They ſaid that there was no intention of departing from the authority of Rome, by their meeting at Tirathaba; ſince they meant only to take refuge againſt the arbitrary conduct of Pilate. Hereupon Vitellius commiſſioned his friend Marcellus to undertake the office of governor of Judæa, and directed that Pilate ſhould be ſent to Rome, to anſwer, before the emperor, to the complaints that had been brought againſt him. Pilate had now been poſſeſſed of his government ten years; but, on this order, he prepared to depart for Rome: however, Tiberius died before he arrived at that city.

CHAP. VI.

Vitellius honourably received by the Jews. He remits the duty on fruits, and reſtores to the prieſts the keeping of the pontifical habits, as in former times. A caſtle built by Hyrcanus, who calls it Antonia, and depoſits the robes there. Caiaphas deprived of the office of high-prieſt, and Jonathan advanced to it. Vitellius ordered to make a league with Artabanus. He treats with the kings of Iberia and Alania. An inroad made on Artabanus, by the Alanians. The loſs of Armenia. Artabanus is betrayed, but recovers his kingdom by reinforcements. A treaty concluded between Tiberius and Artabanus. Darius delivered as an hoſtage, and Eleazar, a man ſeven cubits in height preſented to Tiberius. Vitellius anticipated by Herod. The death and character of Philip.

THE feaſt of the paſſover, as it is denominated among our people, now approaching, Vitellius departed into Judæa, and going onward to Jeruſalem, the Jews received him with a diſtinction due to his rank; and he was bountiful enough to remit them the whole of the duty on fruits. He likewiſe reſtored to the prieſts the poſſeſſion of the pontifical robes and habits, which they depoſited in the temple, where they had been kept, previous to the caſtle of Antonia being the place of their reception.

Now the firſt high-prieſt of the name of Hyrcanus, having erected a caſtle adjacent to the temple, reſided there the greateſt part of his time; and in this place, in his own cuſtody, he kept the robes and ornaments of the high-prieſt, which were to be worn by no one but himſelf. As often as he changed his habit he conſtantly depoſited the ſacred veſtments in that caſtle; a practice which was followed by his ſucceſſors for a conſiderable time. On Herod's acceſſion to the throne, he was ſo highly delighted with the ſituation of this place, as well as with its ſtrength and beauty, that he made improvements in it, at a conſiderable expence, and gave it the name of Antonia, in honour of his worthy friend Anthony. In this place Herod found the ſacred veſtments, and there he cauſed them to be kept, from an idea that he had conceived that the Jews would be held in obedience as long as he had thoſe in poſſeſſion. On the ſame principle Archelaus, his ſon and ſucceſſor acted in

the very same manner: and their example was followed by the Romans, after the kingdom was reduced into a province: for these holy habiliments were constantly deposited in a cabinet which was made on purpose for their reception, and kept under the seal of the priests, and the keepers of the sacred treasury; and a lamp constantly burnt before the place, in consequence of directions given to the governor of the castle for that purpose. These vestments used to be regularly delivered by the governor to the high-priest, on the seventh day preceeding the three solemn festivals, and the latter having caused them to be made perfectly clean, wore them in the discharge of his office, and on the following day restored them to the place from whence they had been taken: and this was constantly done on the solemn fast, as well as on the three other annual festivals.

But now it became the will of Vitellius to discharge the governor from being any way answerable for the care of the pontifical habits, which, in favour of the Jews, he committed to the custody of the priests, who had been the ancient keepers of them. Not long after this he deprived Joseph, called Caiaphas, of the office of high-priest, and bestowed it on Jonathan, the son of the high-priest Ananus: and departed to Antioch soon after he had made this alteration.

About this time Vitellius received letters from Tiberius, directing him to make a league with Artabanus; for he was apprehensive that the empire might be endangered, if the latter should make a conquest of Armenia: but Vitellius was directed not to ratify the league, unless one of the sons of the king was delivered as an hostage. Hereupon Vitellius offered considerable sums of money to the kings of Iberia and Alania, on the condition of their immediately engaging in a war with Artabanus. The people of Iberia could not be induced to lend any farther assistance to this plan, than to admit the Alanians to a free passage through their city, that they might pass by the Caspian mountains, and thus obtain easy admission into the kingdom of Artabanus.

This inroad occasioned the immediate loss of Armenia to the Parthians; and this was followed by so violent an incursion into their own country, that most of their nobility were destroyed, together with the son of their king, and such immense multitudes of the common people, that the land was in a great degree depopulated by this invasion. By this time Artabanus began to discover that he was betrayed by those in whom he had placed the greatest degree of confidence; and that Vitellius, by the means of bribes, had induced his friends and near relations to join in a plot for his destruction: wherefore, not knowing in whom to place any confidence, least, under the mask of friendship, he should be treated in a treacherous manner; and having very good reason to believe that persons of the first rank and quality were engaged in the scheme against him, he instantly made his escape to the interior provinces, where he met with immediate protection; and an army of the Dahi and Saci coming to his assistance, he was not only enabled to vanquish his enemies, but to recover his kingdom.

On this change in the state of affairs, an alliance with Artabanus was proposed by Tiberius; and the proposal being accepted, the two parties consented to meet, each attended by his guards, to treat of the business, on the

middle

middle of the bridge over the river Euphrates. As ſoon as the treaty was concluded, a moſt ſumptuous and ſuperb entertainment was provided for them both by Herod the tetrarch, in a tent which, at a great expence, had been erected over the ſame river. Not long after this Artabanus ſent his ſon Darius as an hoſtage to Tiberius, together with a number of preſents, among which was one Eleazar, a Jew, known by the name of the giant, remarkable for being of the aſtoniſhing height of ſeven cubits. In a little time Artabanus returned to Babylon, and Vitellius to Antioch.

It was the wiſh of Herod to tranſmit the firſt account of this good news reſpecting the hoſtages; wherefore, without loſs of time, he diſpatched a meſſenger to Tiberius, with all the particulars relating thereto. Some time afterwards Vitellius, a conſular governor, ſent intelligence of the ſame kind to Cæſar, on receiving of which he returned ſimply this anſwer; that he had informed him of nothing new, for that Herod had previouſly acquainted him with every particular. This anticipation of the good news by Herod, gave the utmoſt offence to Vitellius; but he ſtifled his indignation for the preſent, nor took farther notice of the affair till Caius ſucceeded to the government.

At this period, which was in the twentieth year of the reign of Tiberius, died Philip, the brother of Herod, after having been tetrarch of Trachonitis, Gaulanites, and Batanæa, for the ſpace of ſeven and thirty years. He was a man diſtinguiſhed by his moderation, and devoted to the quiet enjoyment of his eaſe; his whole life being ſpent within the diſtrict over which he was appointed to preſide. He very ſeldom left his own houſe, and when he did, it was in company with a few ſelect friends; and he had a chair which followed him, which, on particular occaſions, he uſed to convert into a ſeat of juſtice. As it ſometimes happened that he met perſons on the road who had need of his judicial aſſiſtance, it was his cuſtom not to looſe any time, but to hear the cauſe immediately, and to acquit or condemn the party, according to the ſtrength of the evidence. His death happened at Julias, and he was interred with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence, in a monument which he had cauſed to be erected for his reception. As he left no children behind him, the emperor decreed that his eſtate ſhould be annexed to Syria, but on the condition that the country ſhould not be deprived of the tributes hereafter to be raiſed in the tetrarchy.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Herod and Aretas engaged in war. Herod the tetrarch, being married to the daughter of Aretas, falls in love with Herodias, and proposes to marry her, and abandon his present wife. This is discovered by the wife, and resented by Aretas. Herod conquered in battle by Aretas. The Jews deem it a judgment on Herod and his troops. The death of St. John the Baptist, by the order of Herod. The march of Vitellius towards Judæa. The images in the Roman colours offend the Jews. Vitellius makes Theophilus high-priest. On the news of the death of Tiberius the people are sworn to obey Caius Caligula. The event of Vitellius's proceeding foretold by wizards. Account of the family of Herod the Great.

AT this period a war took place between Herod and Aretas king of Petra, occasioned by the following circumstance. Herod the tetrarch had been for a considerable time married to the daughter of Aretas; but having business that called him to Rome, in his way thither he visited Herod, his brother in law, who was grandson of Simon, the high-priest, by the daughter's side. While on this visit he became violently enamoured of Herodias, the wife of his brother, and the daughter of Aristobulus, their brother; and she was also sister of Agrippa who was afterwards king. Impelled by the force of his passion, he proposed to marry her when he should return from Rome, and to part with the daughter of Aretas; and on this condition the match was mutually agreed on.

This contract being made, he pursued his voyage to Rome, and having dispatched his business there, returned to the place of his own residence. In the interim his wife, having obtained some information of what had passed between him and Herodias, told him, in a manner that could not give him the least cause of suspicion, that she should be happy if he would but permit her to pass a little time at Machæras, which was a castle on the borders of the dominions of Aretas. Now Herod, not having the least idea of her real intention, readily consented to the journey. It is to be remarked that Machæras, being a place devoted to the wife's father, every thing was properly prepared for her farther journey: immediately on her arrival the governor of the palace furnished her with Arabian guards, who lost no time in conveying her from place to place, till at length she arrived at the palace of her father, where she related to him the particulars of the new connection that had been formed by Herod.

Great uneasiness arose from this circumstance, and as, previously thereto, there had been a dispute between the parties respecting the boundaries of some lands in Gamala, and as two armies were already in the field, for the purpose of adjusting this difference, the above affair was made a pretext for an immediate battle, in which Herod's party was utterly routed: but this was principally owing to the treachery of a number of deserters, who were at this time in the pay of Herod, after having abandoned the cause of Philip. Herod lost no time in acquainting Tiberius with the particulars of the above affair; who being enraged at the conduct of Aretas, directed Vitellius to make

war on him immediately, and either to send his head, or to bring him prisoner to Rome.

It was at this time the prevailing opinion among the Jews, that the above disaster was a proof of the vengeance of Heaven against Herod and his army, on account of John, surnamed the Baptist, whom this tetrarch had caused to be inhumanly murdered, Now the Baptist had not been guilty of any crime. His custom was to exhort the Jews to the love and practice of every virtue: he principally insisted on their lives being regulated by the rules of piety and justice; urged the necessity of regeneration by baptism and a new life; and insisted, that it was not by abstaining from any particular offence, but by a constant course of goodness, that they could receive the benefit of such regeneration,

The Baptist had now acquired great credit and authority among the people by the holiness of his life; and this was evident by the number of his disciples, and the veneration they entertained for his doctrine. In fact, they seemed to be so totally devoted to his will, as to be altogether under his influence; insomuch that Herod was jealous lest his high degree of reputation should tempt them to a revolt. To prevent therefore, the dreaded consequences, he determined on his destruction before he could have an opportunity of perpetrating any act of mischief; rather than wait the event, and repent after the act was committed. Urged by this consideration, he dispatched him to Machæras (the place above-mentioned) as a prisoner, directing that he should be immediately put to death; and the sentence was executed agreeable to the instructions; but the impiety of the deed was followed by an almost immediate divine vengeance on Herod; agreeable to the idea of the Jews, that he had been punished for spilling the blood of that holy man.

At this time Vitellius was making preparations for the war in Arabia, and was actually on his march towards Petra, having under his command two legions of horse and foot, of the Roman Auxiliaries. When he had got as far as Ptolemais, and was on the point of crossing Judæa, he was met by the principal people of the country, who most earnestly solicited him that he would take a different rout, for that the Jewish law was insulted, and their religion profaned, by the images that the Romans usually carry in their colours. This reason had its proper weight with the general, who directed that his army should march about, by the way of a large plain; and in the mean time he took with him Herod the tetrarch, and several other friends, and went up to Jerusalem, to offer public worship, on occasion of a solemn festival which was then approaching. He made three days stay in this city, during which time he was treated with all possible marks of honour and respect; and while he remained there he deprived Jonathan of the office of high-priest, and conferred it on his brother Theophilus: and on the fourth day he received letters which announced the death of Tiberius, whereupon he caused the people to swear allegiance to his successor, Caius Caligula; and this being done, he gave orders for the recal of his troops, and directed that they should go into winter quarters; the change in the goverment having

determined him to put a period to the war: and after this he returned to Antioch.

A tradition is current that when this expedition of Vitellius was talked of, Aretas consulted the wizards and fortune-tellers, respecting what should be the issue of the affair; and that the answer which he received was to the following purpose: "That the army then on the march should never arrive at "Petra; for that either one of the princes should die, or he that com-"manded the army, or the person that was deputy in the command, or "the party against whom the war was levied."

At this period Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, had been at Rome about a year, having matters of great importance to transact with Cæsar. But before I say any thing farther of him, it will be proper that I mention something with regard to Herod and his family; since in them are exhibited a singular instance of the wisdom and power of the providence of God. In the case of Herod we shall see that the having a numerous family, the possession of a splendid fortune, with royal power and dignity, are of no avail, without the more valuable possessions of piety and justice: since, there was scarcely any remains of the very large family of Herod in the space of a hundred years. This consideration is sufficient to humble the pride of the arrogant, and to raise the contemplation of the virtuous man, on the wonderful advancement of Agrippa, who from a private station, contrary to all human expectation, was raised to a degree of power so very extraordinary.

I have heretofore mentioned something of this affair in the general, but shall now descend to particulars. By Mariamne, the daughter of Hyrcanus, Herod the Great had two daughters, one of whom was named Salampso, who was married to Phasael, the son of Phasael, elder brother to the king, by the consent of the father. The name of the other daughter was Cypros, who was married to Antipater, Herod's nephew, by his sister Salome.

Salampso had five children by Phasael, viz. three sons, Antipater, Herod, and Alexander, and two daughters, Alexandra and Cypros, the former of whom married Timius, a nobleman of the isle of Cyprus, and died childless; and the latter was married to Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus. Cypros bore to Agrippa two sons and three daughters. The sons were named Agrippa and Drusus, the last of whom died while he was under age: and the daughters were called Berenice, Mariamne, and Drusilla. Agrippa the father was educated under the care of his grandfather Herod the Great, as were likewise Herod and Aristobulus, and also Berenice, who was the daughter of Salome and Costabarus. At this time the children of Aristobulus were infants, when their father and his brother Alexander, (as hath been before noted) were put to death by the command of Herod. On their advancement to years of maturity, this Herod, the brother of Agrippa, wedded Mariamne, the daughter of Olympias (who was daughter of king Herod) and of Joseph, the brother of Herod; and of this marriage Aristobulus was born. Now Aristobulus, Agrippa's third brother, was married to Jotape, the daughter of Sampsigeram, king of the Emesenes; and by her he had a daughter, born deaf, who received the name of her mother. The above is a list of the children of the three brothers: their sister, Herodias, was married to Herod,

the

the ſon of Herod the Great, by his wife Mariamne, the daughter of Simon, the high-prieſt; and of this marriage was born Salome; but after her birth Herodias, in defiance of all the laws of honour and conſcience, did not heſitate to take, for her ſecond huſband, Herod the tetrarch of Galilee, though ſhe was wife to his brother by the father's ſide; and had likewiſe a former huſband living at the time of this ſecond marriage. The daughter, Salome, was married to Philip, the ſon of Herod the tetrarch of Trachonitis, who died without iſſue: after which ſhe was married to Ariſtobulus, the ſon of Herod, and brother of Agrippa; and three ſons were born of this marriage; viz. Herod, Agrippa, and Ariſtobulus. Thus much with regard to the family of Phaſael and Salampſo.

To Antipater Cypros bore a daughter which took her own name, and who was married to Alexas Selcius, the ſon of Alexas, by whom he had one daughter likewiſe named Cypros. Herod and Alexander, (as hath been mentioned) were the brothers of Antipater, and died without children. Now Alexander, the ſon of Herod the king, (the ſame who was put to death by his father) had two children, named Alexander and Tigranes, by Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia.

The above-named Tigranes died without iſſue: he was king of Armenia, and the ſame who had an accuſation brought againſt him by the Romans. Alexander had likewiſe a ſon named Tigranes, after his uncle, who was promoted by Nero to be king of Armenia. He had alſo a ſon named Alexander, who was married to Jotape, the daughter of Antiochus king of Comagena, and was advanced by Veſpaſian to the dignity of king of Leſis in Gilitia. The family of Alexander ſoon departed from the laws and cuſtoms of the Jews, and embraced thoſe of the Greeks. There were no children left by the reſt of the daughters of Herod the Great. Thus having given an account of the poſterity of this prince, down to the reign of Agrippa; I ſhall now recount the hiſtory of Agrippa himſelf, together with that variety of providential incidents, which, in the end, advanced him to ſo diſtinguiſhed a ſtation.

CHAP. VIII.

Account of the riſe of Agrippa. His extravagance. He retreats to Malitha. Cypros writes to Herodias on his behalf. A penſion obtained for him. Flaccus applied to by Agrippa. Ariſtobulus the enemy of Agrippa. The people of Damaſcus and Sidon differ. Agrippa being abandoned by Flaccus, and greatly involved in debt, retreats privately from his creditors. He borrows money, for which his wife is ſecurity. He viſits Tiberius; is charged with defrauding the king, and commanded to abſent himſelf from the court till he diſcharges the debt. He borrows the money of Antonia. He is appointed governor to Tiberius Nero, and becomes the favourite of Caius. Suſpicious words heard by Eutychus, who is ſent bound to Tiberius. The dilatory diſpoſition of Tiberius. Cæſar, at the requeſt of Antonia, conſents to examine Eutychus, who is brought before him. and gives his information. The guards convey Agrippa in chains, to priſon. An owl perches over his head. The prediction of a German thereon. Agrippa's impriſonment rendered

rendered tolerable by Antonia. Tiberius, being seized with a violent illness, orders his children to be brought to him. Caius the favourite of the people. Tiberius has recourse to the oracle respecting his successor, and receives directions, by which Caius is chosen. Fortune-tellers consulted by Tiberius. A singular circumstance respecting Galba. Tiberius bestows the government on Caius, and charges him to act generously by his brother. Caius promises to do so, but afterwards destroys him. The death of Tiberius, who is succeeded by Caius. The character of the deceased. Marsyas carries the news of his death to Agrippa, who tells it to his keeper. The declaration of Caius Cæsar, who orders Agrippa to be released. Tiberius carried to Rome, and sumptuously interred. The crowning of Agrippa. Caius presents him with a chain of gold. The government of Judæa given to Marcellus.

SOME small time previous to the death of Herod the Great, Agrippa residing at Rome, and being often in the family of the emperor, became a very great favourite of his son Drusus, and also obtained the good opinion of Antonia, the wife of the elder Drusus, through the interest of his mother Berenice, for whom Antonia had a most particular esteem. Agrippa was by nature rather inclined to extravagance; but during the life of his mother, he restrained himself within some reasonable bounds: her death at length making him master of his own conduct, he began to give expentive treats, and make profuse and costly presents, particularly to the dependants and domestics of the court, where it was that he hoped to raise his fortune. By these means he involved himself in debt to such a degree, that he could no longer make his appearance at Rome: besides, at this time, Tiberius having the misfortune to lose his son, he could not now endure the sight of any of the favourites of Drusus, lest he should be reminded of the loss he had sustained.

Agrippa having thus squandered his money, and destroyed his reputation, by the irregularity of his conduct; and his creditors being anxious with him to discharge their demands, which it was not in his power to do, he returned to Judæa; and when there, seeing no hope of retrieving his fortune, and blushing for the folly he had been guilty of, he retreated to Maltha, a castle in Idumæa, having conceived an intention that, in that place, he would put an end to an existence that was no longer supportable. Cypros observing the desponding humour of her husband, and remarking that his melancholy seemed to forebode the most fatal consequences, exerted her utmost endeavours to prevent the misfortune which she dreaded: and particularly wrote to her sister Herodias a circumstantial account of the calamitous situation in which he lived; and most earnestly urged her, by all the ties of honour and consanguinity, to afford him some immediate relief: she said that she did every thing that was in her own power, and hoped that her example would be followed by her sister.

Herodias was so much affected by this representation, that she joined with her husband in sending a message, desiring that Agrippa would attend them; when they gave him a pension, and bestowed on him the government of Tiberias, for his immediate support: but Herod did not long continue in this generous disposition, nor was Agrippa very well contented with his

preſent ſituation. Now it happened that, on a certain time, when they were drinking at Tyre, Herod made many ungenerous reflections on Agrippa, on account of his poverty, and intimated, among other things, that he was ſupported by his bounty.

This inſult was too great to be borne by one of Agrippa's ſpirit: he therefore repaired to viſit Flaccus, an old particular friend of his when at Rome, who was at that time governor of Syria. Flaccus received him in the moſt free and hoſpitable manner: but at this time Ariſtobulus, the brother of Agrippa, was a viſitor in the ſame houſe: the former was his enemy, though his brother: yet Flaccus divided his favours and civilities indifferently between them, as if no animoſity had ſubſiſted. Ariſtobulus, however, urged by the moſt implacable malice, ſtill kept up the quarrel, and would not reſt till he had inſpired Flaccus with a bad opinion of Agrippa, which was effected in the following manner. The inhabitants of Damaſcus, and thoſe of Sidon, had a violent diſpute between them, reſpecting the boundaries of their territories, and Flaccus was fixed upon to hear and determine the cauſe. Now the people of Damaſcus being informed that Flaccus and Agrippa were on terms of the utmoſt intimacy, thought it would be a ſtroke of good policy previouſly to engage the intereſt of Agrippa, by bribing him with a ſum of money. The bargain being made, and promiſes of mutual ſecrecy being given, Agrippa exerted all his intereſt for the people of Damaſcus againſt thoſe of Sidon.

Now Ariſtobulus, having diſcovered that Agrippa had received a bribe to tranſact this buſineſs, went to the governor, and complained of the conduct of his brother; and Flaccus, examining into the merits of the affair, and finding proof againſt Agrippa, diſmiſſed him from his favour, and left him to ſeek a ſupport in the beſt manner he was able. Hereupon Agrippa went back to Ptolemais; and being in abſolute want of the neceſſaries of life, he came to a reſolution to return into Italy. Thus diſtreſſed, he gave directions to Marſyas, a freed-man of his, to apply to the brokers, to raiſe a ſum of money, on any terms whatever, to anſwer his preſent demand. In conſequence of theſe directions Marſyas went to Protus, a freed-man of Berenice, (the mother of Agrippa, his late patroneſs, who by her laſt will had recommended him to the ſervice of Antonia;) and propoſed to him to advance a ſum of money to Agrippa, on the ſecurity of his own bond. Protus ſaid that he was already in his debt: yet Marſyas prevailed upon him to lend twenty thouſand attic drachmas, on the ſecurity above-mentioned; but of this ſum he gave no more to Agrippa then ſeventeen thouſand five hundred pieces, retaining the other two thouſand five hundred to himſelf, for the trouble taken in procuring this advance: nor was Agrippa in circumſtances to diſpute about this extortion.

As ſoon as he was poſſeſſed of this money, Agrippa proceeded to Anthedon where he met with a ſhip calculated for his ſervice, and made preparations for going to ſea: but Herennius Capito, the procurator of Jamnia, hearing of this circumſtance, ſent a number of ſoldiers to him, to demand the payment of three hundred thouſand pieces of ſilver, the property of the king, which he had borrowed when he was at Rome. This circumſtance occa-

ſioned ſome little delay in Agrippa's proceeding; but he amuſed the ſoldiers with fair promiſes, and, when night came on, cut his cable, and ſlipped out to ſea, ſteering his courſe towards Alexandria. On his arrival at that city, he made application to Alexander, the principal officer of the revenue, requeſting that he would lend him two hundred thouſand pieces of money on his bond. To this the officer replied, "With regard to yourſelf, I "have not faith enough in you to credit you with ſuch a ſum; but your "wife appears to be a woman of exemplary character and amiable deport-"ment; and ſhe ſhall have the money if ſhe will give her ſecurity for it." In this manner the matter was ſettled; and Cypros becoming bound for the ſum wanted, Alexander furniſhed Agrippa with five talents on the ſpot, and gave him letters of credit, to receive the reſt at Puteoli; for he was unwilling to truſt the whole ſum with him at once, leaſt he ſhould apply it to improper purpoſes. By this time Cypros was convinced that there was no poſſibility of preventing her huſband's proceeding; wherefore ſhe and her children went over land to Judæa.

When Agrippa arrived at Puteoli, he ſent a letter to Tiberius Cæſar, who was then at Capreæ, informing him that he had come ſo far to pay his humble reſpects to him; and requeſting his permiſſion to wait on him. Tiberius did not heſitate to ſend him an anſwer replete with kindneſs, in which he informed him that he ſhould be happy to ſee him at Capreæ. Thither Agrippa went, and on his arrival Tiberius received him with open arms, and welcomed him to the palace, where he entertained him in the moſt generous and hoſpitable manner, thereby proving his ſincerity when he gave him the invitation. But on the following day letters to Tiberius arrived from Herennius Capito, complaining of the conduct of Agrippa, and ſtating, "That "when he demanded payment of a bond for three hundred thouſand pieces "which had been long ſince due to the emperor, Agrippa departed in a "ſecret manner, ſo that the money would probably be loſt."

This conduct was ſo highly offenſive to Tiberius, that he commanded the officers of his bed-chamber not to permit Agrippa to depart till the debt was diſcharged. On the contrary, Agrippa did not ſeem to remark the diſpleaſure of the emperor, but immediately applied to Antonia, mother of Germanicus and Claudius, who was afterwards advanced to the ſovereign power. To her he related his diſtreſſes, and told her that he was likely to loſe the favour of the emperor, for want of the above-mentioned three hundred thouſand pieces: whereupon ſhe lent him the money, in honour of the memory of Berenice, and the mutual friendſhip they had entertained for each other; excluſive of which, Agrippa had been the companion and play-fellow of her ſon Claudius, almoſt from his earlieſt infancy. Having received this money, he diſcharged his debt, and was reinſtated in the favour of Tiberius. This conduct had ſuch an effect on the emperor, that he committed his grandſon, Tiberius Nero, the ſon of Druſus, to the care and government of Agrippa, requeſting that he would be conſtantly in his company, and regulate his whole conduct. Agrippa, however, had ſo ſtrong an idea of his obligations to Antonia, that he paid his principal attention and reſpect to her grandſon Caius, for whom the people in general had the higheſt eſteem,

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not only for his perſonal virtues, but on account of the reverence which they entertained for the memory of his father, Germanicus. At this period a Samaritan, one of Cæſar's freed-men, lent Agrippa a million of pieces, with part of which he diſcharged his debt to Antonia, and employed the remainder in paying the expence incurred by his attendance on Caius, with whom he had now contracted the utmoſt friendſhip.

It happened on a particular day that Caius and Agrippa were riding out in a chariot, without any other company, when Tiberius became the ſubject of converſation; on which Agrippa exclaimed, "From my heart I with it "would pleaſe God that Caius was in his place!" Now Eutychus, a freed-man of Agrippa, who at that time drove the carriage, heard theſe words ſpoken; but took no notice of them for the preſent. Some little time afterwards Eutychus was charged with robbing Agrippa, and carrying off ſome of his cloaths. The man was really guilty of the offence; and was apprehended, and carried before Piſo, the governor of the place, to undergo an examination. Among other queſtions, Piſo aſked him how it happened that he ran away; to which he replied, "That the life of Tiberius was in danger, "and he was going to make a diſcovery of the plot." On this declaration he was ſent bound to Capreæ, where Tiberius ſtill kept him in chains: for the emperor, in all affairs of ſtate, was certainly the moſt dilatory man that ever exiſted. Ambaſſadors could not obtain an audience of him without a tedious delay; nor would he nominate people to ſucceed to governments of provinces, till he had certain knowledge of the death of the former poſſeſſors. It was his cuſtom, likewiſe, to permit priſoners to remain a long time unexamined; and when his friends aſked the reaſon of this ſingular conduct, he would addreſs them in the following manner:

"If I was too eaſy of acceſs, and gave too ready an admiſſion to ambaſ-"ſadors, I ſhould find that thoſe who were ſpeedily received, would be "ſpeedily diſmiſſed; and that others would ſoon be ſent to ſupply their "places; ſo that by this mode of proceeding, I ſhould be perpetually em-"barraſſed by giving freſh audiences; and a great part of my life would "be ſpent in the receiving and diſmiſſing of ambaſſadors. With regard to "officers, when they are once fixed in their ſtations, it is more advantageous "to the ſubject to retain them, than change them for others; for covetouſ-"neſs is the vice of magiſtrates: now thoſe who imagine they hold their "offices during their good behaviour, will be leſs rapacious than thoſe who "expect to be ſpeedily diſmiſſed. I will illuſtrate this matter to you by re-"citing an ancient fable.—A wounded man lay by the ſide of a road, un-"able to help himſelf, while numbers of flies ſwarmed on his ſores, and "gave him no ſmall degree of uneaſineſs. A man of humanity happening "to paſs that road, expreſſed his readineſs to drive them away, and relieve "the poor man from his ſufferings:—by no means, cried he; leave them "in their preſent ſituation; for theſe flies, whoſe hunger is ſatisfied, do not "torment me nearly as much as a new ſet would do, that may come half "ſtarved. Now this is preciſely the caſe between ſubjects, and newly ap-"pointed magiſtrates, who are to be conſidered only as freſh flies, come to "ſuck the blood of the people."

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It is unneceſſary to adduce any other proof of this being the true character of Tiberius, than the circumſtance of his appointing only Gratus, and his ſucceſſor Pilate, to be governors of Judæa, during a reign of twenty-two years: and he governed the other parts of his empire in the ſame manner. The reaſon that he aſſigned for the not bringing of priſoners to a ſpeedy trial, was that their ſufferings might be ſo much the more tedious, as a puniſhment for their former offences; ſince protracted torments were worſe than death.

Eutychus being kept ſo long in chains was evidently the conſequence of this diſpoſition of Tiberius: but the emperor at length coming from Capreæ to Tuſculanum, diſtant only one hundred furlongs from Rome, Agrippa requeſted Antonia to ſolicit that Eutychus might be examined, that what he had to ſay againſt his patron might be known at once. Now Tiberius entertained a ſingular reſpect for Antonia, partly on account of affinity, for ſhe was his ſiſter-in-law, and the widow of Druſus: and partly for her ſteady virtue, in refuſing a ſecond marriage, in the prime of her life, to which ſhe had been earneſtly preſſed by Auguſtus himſelf. In fact, her whole life exhibited a pattern of the moſt exemplary virtue. Excluſive of the above conſiderations, Tiberius was under perſonal obligations to Antonia, which he could not forget; ſince her wiſdom, fidelity, and diligence, had ſaved his life from the deſperate machinations of Sejanus; for he was poſſeſſed of great power and credit, a captain of the guards, and had engaged in the conſpiracy a number of the moſt eminent ſenators, many of Cæſar's freedmen, ſeveral of the favourites at court, and ſome of the military officers. The eſcape, therefore, of Tiberius was rather extraordinary, and the effects of the treaſonable intention were evidently defeated by the reſolute induſtry of Antonia; for no ſooner was ſhe informed of the horrid intention, than ſhe wrote down a narrative of all the particulars of the plot, as they came to her knowledge, and ſent them, from time to time, to Tiberius at Capreæ, by the hands of Pallas, who was an approved, and confidential ſervant of the emperor: and in conſequence of this diſcovery, the confederacy and thoſe concerned in it being made known, Sejanus and his accomplices received the reward due to their demerits.

It may be preſumed that if Antonia's merit was great with Tiberius before ſhe had rendered him this piece of ſervice, it was much greater afterwards: ſo that when, at the requeſt of Agrippa, ſhe had repeatedly urged the emperor to hear the charge of Eutychus, he could not refuſe to comply with her ſolicitations: but he addreſſed her to the following purport: "If "this man has reported falſehoods reſpecting Agrippa, he has been already "ſufficiently puniſhed in the length of his impriſonment: but let Agrippa "beware how he proſecutes this matter with too great a degree of rigour; "leſt, on a clear inveſtigation of the affair, the puniſhment he intends for "Eutychus ſhould fall on his own head." Antonia reported the contents of this ſpeech to Agrippa; but the more earneſt ſhe was in adviſing him to decline all farther thoughts of proſecution, the more reſolved he ſeemed to have the matter determined by a full examination.

When ſhe found that he refuſed to be adviſed, ſhe took an opportunity, when the emperor was paſſing by in a chair after dinner, with Caius and Agrippa walking before him, to advance immediately to Tiberius, with a repeated requeſt that Eutychus might be brought to an immediate examination: on which he addreſſed her in the following manner: "I call heaven "to witneſs, that what I am now about to conſent to, is contrary to my "own inclination, and merely in compliance with your urgent requeſt." Having ſaid this, he gave orders to Macro, who had ſucceeded Sejanus, as captain of the guards, to direct that Eutychus ſhould be immediately brought before him.

The priſoner having made his appearance, Tiberius interrogated him in the following manner. "What have you to alledge againſt your patron, "Agrippa, to whoſe bounty you owe the poſſeſſion of your freedom?" To this Eutychus made anſwer; "One day, as I was driving Caius and Agrippa "in a chariot, and ſitting at their feet in the diſcharge of my duty, I heard "the ſubſtance of the converſation that paſſed between them; and, among "other things, I particularly recollect that Agrippa addreſſed Caius in the "following manner: "Devoutly do I wiſh that the old man was but ſafely "depoſited in the grave, and you were left governor of the world; for if "he was departed, you might eaſily diſpoſe of his grandchild, Tiberius; "and excluſive of the general advantage that would ariſe to mankind from "this circumſtance, I might reaſonably hope to ſhare in the particular "bleſſings of the revolution."

There wanted nothing to induce Tiberius to give credit to this information; and he was inexpreſſibly chagrined to think that after he had committed the education of his grandſon Tiberius to the particular care of Agrippa, he ſhould totally neglect that important charge, and devote his whole time to an attendance on Caius. The emperor, therefore, turning about to Macro, cried "Put him in chains;" but Macro, not knowing who it was that he meant, (for he could not think of ſuch a circumſtance reſpecting Agrippa) heſitated a while, till he ſhould be more fully informed of his intentions. In the interim Tiberius took a walk in the circus, and obſerving that Agrippa was ſtill at liberty, he again called to Macro, and ſaid, "Have I not given orders for the putting that man in chains?" To this, Macro cried "What man?"—"Agrippa," ſaid Tiberius.

Hereupon Agrippa had recourſe to the humbleſt ſupplications and entreaties, beſeeching Tiberius, by the regard he entertained for the memory of his ſon, who had conferred on him the honour of his acquaintance, and on account of the ſervices he had been happy enough to render his grandſon Tiberius, that he would grant him his pardon. But his ſolicitations had no effect; for he was immediately dragged away to priſon by the guards, in his robes of honour, as they had found him. Now the weather being remarkably ſultry, and Agrippa ready to periſh through intenſeneſs of thirſt, he obſerved one Thaumaſtus, a ſervant to Caius, who had a pitcher of water in his hand, and requeſted that he would give him a draught of it. Thaumaſtus readily complied with this requeſt, and when Agrippa had quenched

his thirſt, he addreſſed his benefactor in the following manner: "Since you, "Thaumaſtus, have been ſo generous as to confer this obligation on me dur- "ing my preſent diſgraceful ſituation, with the ſame readineſs that you for- "merly ſerved me in a more elevated ſtation of life, be aſſured that you "ſhall never have cauſe to repent the liberality of your preſent conduct: for "you may depend upon my word of honour, that as ſoon as my preſent "difficulties ſhall be overcome, I will make uſe of my utmoſt intereſt with "Caius, that you ſhall be reſtored to your liberty." And Agrippa was afterwards as good as his promiſe; for no ſooner was he advanced to the crown, than he begged Caius would make him a preſent of Thaumaſtus, to whom he gave his freedom, and entruſted him with the management of his affairs; and when his death approached, he recommended him to his ſon and daughter, Agrippa and Berenice, adviſing that he might continue in the ſame ſituation during the remainder of his life; and this he did, with credit to himſelf, and poſſeſſing the eſteem of all who knew him.

While Agrippa was ſtanding, bound with chains, with other priſoners, before the palace, leaning in a melancholy manner againſt a tree, on owl perched thereon; which being obſerved by a German priſoner, he aſked a ſoldier who was the perſon dreſſed in purple; and being told that he was a Jew of the firſt diſtinction, he begged the ſoldier would let him approach him, for he wiſhed to know ſomething reſpecting his country. This requeſt being complied with, and an interpreter being allowed, the German addreſſed Agrippa to the following effect: "I perceive, young gentleman, that you "are dejected by this ſudden and amazing change in your fortune: yet it is "not in your power to conceive, nor will you eaſily credit how very near your "deliverance approaches, under the eſpecial care and protection of that "providence which is your peculiar guard. I now invoke all the Gods "which are worſhipped either by your nation or ours, by whoſe permiſſion "we are thus impriſoned, to witneſs that I ſay not this to flatter you with "idle hopes by which you will be deceived; for I am not inſenſible that "ſuch prognoſtications, if the event ſhould not prove anſwerable to the "prophecy, are productive of more injury than ſervice. But I conceive it to "be my duty, at whatever riſk to myſelf, to inform you that you will ſee "ſuch a ſurprizing turn of affairs, as will elevate you from this diſtreſsful "ſituation, and place you on ſuch a ſummit of honour and power, that you "will become the envy of thoſe who have heretofore affected either to deſpiſe "or pity you. The remainder of your days will be proſperous, and your "good fortune will be poſſeſſed by children whom you will leave behind you. "I now entreat your particular attention to what I have farther to ſay. When "you ſhall again behold this bird, you ſhall die at the end of five days from "that time. Thus much I am commiſſioned by Heaven to give you to un- "derſtand by this auſpicious omen. What I declare is founded in fact, and "I tell you the ſimple truth, that you may not be borne down by the weight "of your preſent afflictions; but be happy in the proſpect of future events. "All I have farther to deſire of you is, that when you ſhall find theſe predic- "tions verified by the event, you will not be unmindful of your fellow pri- "ſoners; but procure the freedom of thoſe you may leave in this place."

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When Agrippa heard this prophecy of the German it appeared to him altogether as ridiculous, as it did afterwards wonderful when it came to be accomplished.

During this time Antonia was exceedingly unhappy on account of the hard treatment of her friend; and conceiving that the inflexibility of the disposition of Tiberius was such, that the making of application or intercession to him would but be a mere loss of time, she therefore took a different method; and applied to Macro to render his confinement as easy to him as possible, by directing that he should be attended by soldiers of a civil and humane disposition, that he should constantly sit down at table with the officer in whose immediate custody he was; that he should be permitted the use of the bath daily, and that the visits of his friends and freemen should be admitted. All these favours were granted: whereon he was visited by his friend Silas; and Marsyas and Stychus, two of his freed-men, constantly conveyed to him the food of which he was most fond; and under pretence of carrying blankets to sell, they supplied him with those articles on which to repose in the night; the soldiers, agreeable to the hints they had received from Macro, making no opposition to these proceedings.

At the expiration of about six months from the commencement of Agrippa's imprisonment, Tiberius, on his return from Capreæ, was attacked with an illness that was at first but slight; but which gradually encreasing, he grew worse till his life was despaired of. When he came to perceive that there were no hopes of his recovery, he dispatched Evodus, his favourite freed-man, to bring his children to him early on the following day, to take a final leave of their dying parent. When I speak of his children I mean those he had adopted; for Drusus, his only son, was deceased: but Tiberius, the son of that Drusus, was yet living, as was Caius, the son of his brother Germanicus, who by this time was arrived at years of maturity, and was a youth distinguished by his learning, and by every other excellent qualification. He was a very great favourite with the people, on account of the respect they entertained for the memory of the virtues of his father, who was a prince singularly distinguished by the modesty of his deportment, and the ease of his conversation, never pretending to that superiority which was undoubtedly his due. A character thus eminently distinguished could not fail to attract the favour of the senate and people, and of the provinces in general, which owed him many obligations for the repeated good offices he had conferred. In fact, his death was not celebrated with so much outward pomp and mourning, as by a sincere sorrow, and tears that flowed from the real impulse of the heart. The people in general lamented the death of this prince with such an unfeigned grief, as if each man had wept for the decease of his own father. Caius was highly advantaged in the public opinion by the reputation of Germanicus; but particularly among the soldiers, who were ready, at the first call, to devote their lives to do him any kind of service.

Orders having been given by Tiberius, that Evodus should bring his sons to him early in the morning, the emperor offered up a prayer to the gods of his country, that he might be directed, by some particular signal, which

of

of the two he ſhould make choice of for his ſucceſſor; yet privately wiſhing that Tiberius might be diſtinguiſhed by the happy omen: however, he did not dare venture to make a prejudication in a matter of ſuch high importance, but thought proper firſt to conſult his oracle. Wherefore he determined that he would be governed by this circumſtance, that the young prince who ſhould firſt wait upon him in the morning, ſhould ſucceed him in the government. Having formed this reſolution, he gave particular orders to the tutor of his grandchild, to bring the youth to him by day-break, not entertaining a doubt but that the gods would declare in favour of Tiberius; but the event proved the contrary; for the emperor ſending out Evodus, as ſoon as day-light appeared, to ſee if the young princes were at the door, and to bring into the palace the firſt he ſaw, he found Caius alone, informed him that he muſt wait on his father, and immediately introduced him. Now it happened that Tiberius, being unapprized of the intention of the emperor, had ſtayed to breakfaſt, and thus miſſed the favourable opportunity.

The emperor was aſtoniſhed when Caius entered the room, and wondered at that providence which had defeated his deſign in the diſpoſal of the government, by thus ſettling it in a way totally contrary to what he had intended. Nor did he deem the preſent diſappointment of his expectations the worſt circumſtance attending the affair; for he did not conſider the loſs of the empire as of equal conſequence with the perſonal ſafety of his grandchild: ſince, where the acquiring of dominion is the object, the queſtion will be decided by force: ambition is deaf to the calls of humanity, and where there is a rivalſhip for power, the ruin of one party is generally deemed the ſecurity of the other.

Now Tiberius paid great regard to the predictions of fortune-tellers, judicial aſtrologers, and people of that kind; and he acted, in a great degree, purſuant to their advice and direction. Happening one day to look upon Galba, he turned about to ſome friends who ſtood near him, and ſaid, "That "man will be emperor of Rome." It muſt be confeſſed that not one of the Roman emperors ever had ſuch faith in prognoſtications as Tiberius; yet ſome of his ideas were not altogether abſurd. Nothing, however, made a deeper impreſſion on his mind than the late determination reſpecting the two princes, which had ſuch an effect on him, that he already conſidered his grandſon in the light of a man doomed to deſtruction; and what aggravated his wretchedneſs was, that himſelf only was blameable for that inquiſitiveneſs of diſpoſition which deſtroyed the peace of his own mind: whereas he might have lived at his caſe, and in perfect freedom, without ſeeking to know the hidden counſels of providence, and deſtroying his repoſe by perpetual enquiries into the knowledge of future events: but this anxiety to know what in nature muſt be hidden from him, was the curſe of his diſpoſition.

Being diſappointed in the wiſh that he had formed reſpecting the ſucceſſion, he was but ill diſpoſed to congratulate the future emperor on the good fortune that awaited him; yet, as, on this occaſion, it was neceſſary that ſomething ſhould be ſaid, he addreſſed the fortunate prince in the manner following: "It is unneceſſary, my ſon Caius, for me to inform you that

" Tiberius is more nearly allied to me in blood than you are; yet I now " commit the government of the Roman empire into your hands, in conse- " quence of having conſulted the will of the gods, and debated on the affair " in my own mind. But I command you, that in the exerciſe of the power " with which you are inveſted, you conſtantly remember the obligations you " are under to him who beſtowed it on you; and that your gratitude to your " patron be teſtified by every poſſible inſtance of affection and regard to your " brother Tiberius. All that I have to requeſt of you, in grateful acknow- " ledgement of the honour I have now conferred, (for, next to Heaven, it " is owing to me) is that you will in every particular treat him with the " utmoſt kindneſs, ſince he is equally endeared to me by nature and affec- " tion. I would likewiſe wiſh to remark to you, that it is no leſs your intereſt " than your duty to comply with the injunctions I have given: for on the " life and happineſs of your brother, the dignity and ſecurity of your ſitua- " tion will in a great meaſure depend; and your unhappineſs will ſpeedily " ſucceed the day of his death. The ſituation of a ſovereign prince is equal- " ly dangerous and uncertain; he ſtands on a giddy and a ſlippery elevation: " nor will the divine vengeance fail to follow any actions he may be guilty " of, in violation of the laws of nature and conſanguinity."

Tiberius having thus made his laſt addreſs to Caius, he promiſed a punctual and exact obedience to every article of his commands; but he did not intend that his actions ſhould correſpond with his words; for no ſooner did he come into the poſſeſſion of power than he cauſed his brother to be put to death (as Tiberius had foreſeen); but within a few years he himſelf loſt his life by aſſaſſination.

In a few days after Tiberius had declared Caius his ſucceſſor, he departed this life, having reigned twenty two years, five months, and thirteen days. Caius, who ſucceeded him, was the fourth in the liſt of the Roman emperors. The firſt news of the death of Tiberius afforded the higheſt ſatisfaction to the Romans; but they ſcarcely dared give credit to the report; for though the confirmation of this news was the firſt wiſh of their hearts, and there was nothing in the world which they would not have freely given to be aſcertained of the truth; yet they were afraid of even ſeeming to believe the report, or of evincing the happineſs they felt on receiving the intelligence, before they were certain of the fact; for ſo great a number of ſpies and informers were ſtationed in different places, that it might have been very dangerous for a man to declare his ſentiments. Tiberius was of a moſt fierce and tyrannical diſpoſition, and behaved to the nobility with a rigour never before experienced. His animoſities were not known to have any other foundation than in the influence of the preſent turn of his mind; and his cruelties were frequently carried to ſuch a horrid length, that death from his hands was often deemed an act of mercy. It was therefore neceſſary for the people to appear cautious how they credited the news which they wiſhed, as a miſtake might have been attended with ſo much danger.

As ſoon as Marſyas, the freed-man of Agrippa, received information of the death of the emperor, he inſtantly hurried away with the good news to

his Patron, who was then juſt going to bathe, and whiſpered him, in the Hebrew language, "The lion is dead." Agrippa immediately comprehended his meaning, and exclaimed, in a kind of tranſport of joy, "How is "it poſſible that I ſhould requite thee for this favour, and the many other "obligations thou haſt conferred on me, provided that thy preſent intelli-"gence ſhould prove true!" The officer to whoſe cuſtody Agrippa had been committed, obſerving in what a hurry Marſyas delivered his meſſage, and how well pleaſed the priſoner was with the news, immediately conjectured that the intelligence was of the ſatisfactory kind, and therefore deſired Agrippa to inform him of the particulars. At firſt he made ſome kind of heſitation; but on being urged to diſcover what he knew, he related the plain matter of fact. The officer having congratulated him on the good news, invited him to partake of an elegant ſupper: but while they were in the midſt of their entertainment, a meſſenger arrived with an account that Tiberius was out of danger, and would ſoon arrive in town.

This intelligence aſtoniſhed the officer in the higheſt degree; and being apprehenſive that his life muſt pay the forfeit for his having rejoiced with a priſoner on the news of the death of Tiberius, he puſhed Agrippa violently from his ſeat, and exclaimed in a rage, "Is it thus that you ſeek to impoſe "upon me by lies and artifices, and could you find no other perſon to amuſe "with a pretended ſtory of the death of Cæſar? Depend upon it that you "ſhall pay ſeverely for the liberties that you have taken." Saying this, he directed that he ſhould be put in chains, and more cloſely watched than before. Agrippa having paſſed the night in this ſituation, the report of Cæſar's death prevailed in the morning, and the people offered ſacrifices of joy on the event.

Soon after this report, two letters were brought from Caius, one to the ſenate, informing them that he was appointed ſucceſſor to Tiberius; and another to Piſo, governor of the city, to the ſame effect. Theſe letters ordered that Agrippa ſhould be diſcharged from priſon, and allowed to live in his former houſe; ſo that, though ſtill in a kind of cuſtody, he was eaſed of all fearful apprehenſions, and conſidered himſelf as in a ſtate of enlargement. Soon afterwards Caius came to Rome, and brought with him the body of Tiberius, which was interred in a moſt ſumptuous manner. The emperor would inſtantly have diſcharged Agrippa, but this was oppoſed by Antonia; not for want of affection to the party, but that ſhe thought it would be rather indecent to haſten the diſcharge, and, as Tiberius had committed the priſoner, would be deemed a kind of inſult on his memory. In a few days, however, Caius ſent for him to his palace, and having given directions that he ſhould be ſhaved and properly dreſſed, he cauſed a crown to be put on his head, as the ſucceſſor to the tetrarchy which had been poſſeſſed by Philip: he likewiſe created him king, beſtowed on him the tetrarchy of Lyſania, and gave him a chain of gold of the ſame weight as that of iron which he had worn in priſon. Marcellus was now ſent as governor of Judæa by Caius.

When Caius Cæſar was in the ſecond year of his reign, Agrippa entreated his permiſſion to retire into his own country to adjuſt his private affairs, promiſing

miſing to return by a limited time. It was matter of aſtoniſhment to his countrymen to behold Agrippa with a crown on his head; as he appeared a ſingular inſtance of the inſtability of fortune, and the fluctuation of human affairs, having ſo ſoon changed his ſituation from one exceſs to the other. Some of them conſidered him as a wiſe and a fortunate man, who could ſo firmly ſupport himſelf againſt all difficulties; while others were ſo aſtoniſhed at the revolution that had happened, that they could ſcarcely credit the evidence of their own ſenſes.

CHAP. IX.

Herodias envies her brother, and adviſes her huſband to ſolicit favours for himſelf. He oppoſes her at firſt, but at length yields to her perſuaſions. Fortunatus commiſſioned by Agrippa to watch their motions. Fortunatus and Herod arrive at Puteoli at the ſame time. Herod accuſed of conſpiring with Sejanus, againſt Tiberius, and with Artabanus againſt Caius. Account of arms for ſeventy thouſand men. Herod acknowledges his guilt, is removed from his government, and condemned to perpetual exile. The favour offered by Cæſar to Herodias. She refuſes to accept of it, and is ordered into baniſhment with her huſband. The moderation of Caius, and his ſubſequent arrogance.

HERODIAS (ſiſter of Agrippa, and wife of Herod, the Tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa, the country beyond Jordan) was exceedingly chagrined at the great ſucceſs of Agrippa. She could not endure the idea that her brother, who ſo lately had been obliged to abſcond from his creditors, ſhould now be ſo greatly advanced above her huſband, in honour, rank, and dignity. The pride of her ſpirit gave her infinite mortification, when ſhe beheld him dreſſed in all the pomp of royalty, ſhewing himſelf to the people who ſurrounded him in crouds. This ſight, and the ideas that it occaſioned, raiſed ſo much of envy in her mind, that ſhe was anxious for her huſband to repair immediately to Rome, and ſolicit the emperor to confer equal honours on him. "I ſhould be inexpreſſibly wretched (cried ſhe) to behold my "huſband, who was the ſon of a king, and who by his own perſonal qualifications, and in conſequence of the affections of the people, had ſo good "a right to ſucceed to the throne, ſtand tamely looking on, with perfect indifference, while the ſon of Ariſtobulus, at once a bankrupt and a criminal, who has undergone the rigour of the law, is promoted to a throne." Then turning to her huſband, ſhe ſaid, "If you could patiently ſubmit to "live till this period, below the dignity of your family, certainly no time "is now to be loſt in doing credit to the name of your father, nor ought you "longer to think of ranking beneath an abject wretch who, not long ſince, "was ſupported by your bounty. Never let it be ſaid that, while you had "every advantage of fortune and reputation on your ſide, Agrippa, borne "down by the weight of his neceſſities, ſhould have an opportunity of ſuperceding you in the means of advancing his fortune. It will ill become the "dignity of Herod to acknowledge the ſuperiority of that man whom his "own bounty has kept from ſtarving. Therefore, I entreat you without heſitation

" ſitation, or regard to the expence that may attend the expedition, we im-
" mediately depart together for Rome: money has no farther value than in
" the ſatisfaction it procures us from the having diſpoſed of it in a proper
" manner."

Herod was of a diſpoſition calculated to indulge himſelf at his eaſe; nor had he formed any favourable opinion of the court of Rome; wherefore he endeavoured all he could to divert his wife from her intention, thinking that abſtaining from the journey would be the ſafeſt proceeding; but in proportion as he was for declining, ſhe was for purſuing the plan; and urged him in ſo importunate a manner that he was at length obliged to comply with her requeſt; on which they proceeded together towards Rome, with a ſplendid retinue. Now Agrippa, having taken care to be informed of all their motions, had laid a plan for the counteracting their deſigns. Having prepared letters, and preſents for the emperor, he kept his freed-man Fortunatus ready to ſail for Rome, as ſoon as it ſhould be known that Herod was put to ſea; with particular inſtructions for his conduct on his arrival.

Fortunatus having a favourable paſſage, arrived at Puteoli at the ſame time that Herod did; but it happened that the emperor was now at Baiæ, a ſmall town in Compagne; five furlongs from Puteoli, a place diſtinguiſhed by its royal palaces; as the emperors who frequented the hot baths either for health or pleaſure, were ambitious of excelling each other in the ſplendor and elegance of their buildings. When Herod arrived here he paid his reſpects to Caius; and Fortunatus, almoſt in the ſame moment, delivered his letters which the emperor having read, found they contained two charges againſt Herod; the firſt of which was his being concerned in the conſpiracy of Sejanus againſt Tiberius, and the other, taking part with Artabanus, the Parthian, againſt Caius, in proof of which Agrippa urged that he had then a magazine of arms for ſeventy thouſand men.

Caius, inflamed at this news, inſtantly aſked Herod if he was thus formidably provided; nor could he deny ſo indiſputable a fact. The emperor ſought for no farther proof of his treaſonable deſigns; but immediately deprived him of his government, and ſeized on his money, both which he gave to Agrippa as a reward for the diſcovery he had made. Herod he doomed to perpetual exile at Lyons, a capital city of France; but with regard to Herodias, who was ſiſter to Agrippa, he permitted her to retain all her private property, nor doomed her to a ſhare in her huſband's misfortunes, ſaying, he would treat her with lenity for the ſake of her brother. When Herodias heard this determination, ſhe addreſſed Caius, ſaying, " You have
" decreed like a magnanimous emperor; permit me to behave like an obe-
" dient wife. It will be out of my power to enjoy the effects of your libe-
" rality; for I cannot deem it juſt or honourable to abandon my huſband
" in his diſtreſs, after having partaken of all the advantages of his more
" auſpicious fortune." Caius was exceedingly offended at this dignity of mind in a woman, and conſidering her behaviour as an affront to himſelf, he ſeized her effects, and ordered that ſhe ſhould be baniſhed and confined with her huſband. Thus was Herodias ſubjected to the vengeance of heaven, as a puniſhment for the envy ſhe had entertained towards her brother;

and Herod was thus afflicted in consequence of having taken her advice in the prosecution of a malicious act.

During the two first years of the reign of Caius, his government was directed by the rules of prudence and moderation, and was equally acceptable to the people at Rome and in the provinces; but, after that period, his arrogance and vanity encreased to such a degree, that he became intoxicated with his power, considered himself as something more than mortal, blasphemed the gods, assumed the state of a deity, and demanded that divine honours should be paid him.

CHAP. X.

A difference happens between the Jews and Greeks of Alexandria. Three ambassadors on each side sent to Caius, of whom the principal are Apion and Philo. The Jews accused by Apion, because they would not pay divine honours to Caius. Philo makes a short and animated speech.

AN unhappy difference arising at this period between the Jews and Greeks who were resident at Alexandria, they agreed that each party should send three ambassadors to adjust the affair in the presence of Caius; and of these Apion and Philo were the principal. Apion made many objections to the conduct of the Jews, the chief of whch was, that "Whereas "in all the various parts of the dominions of Rome, temples and altars were "erected to Caius, and equal adoration paid to the emperor as to the "gods, the Jews alone were refractory, and refused to swear by the holy "name of Cæsar, or to dedicate images to his honour." This inflammatory remark having been made by Apion, he said all he could farther, to irritate Caius against the Jews. Now Philo, the brother of Alexander, who was overseer of the customs, and a man distinguished by his learning and other accomplishments, prepared himself to reply to this speech, in behalf of the Jews, as was his duty as their principal ambassador: but Caius, in a transport of rage, commanded him to depart the place; whereupon Philo, turning about to the Jews who were near him, advised them not to despair, addressing them in these remarkable words: "Now God will be our friend, "since Caius is our enemy."

CHAP. XI.

Caius offended with the Jews. He orders Petronius to erect his ſtatue in Judæa. The Jews remonſtrate againſt it, expoſtulate with Petronius, and neglect their huſbandry. They are ſupported by Ariſtobulus and other Jews of diſtinction, who deſire he will lay the caſe before Caius. Petronius heſitates, and aſſembles the Jews at Tiberias. A ſingular providence follows the ſpeech of Petronius. His letter to Caius, which arrives when Agrippa is at Rome. Agrippa gives Caius a ſumptuous entertainment, who promiſes him ample amends. Agrippa is contented with the friendſhip of Caius, but he preſſes him to aſk a farther favour; whereupon he ſolicits his recalling his order to Petronius. The emperor grants his requeſt. A diſturbance among the Jews. A ſecond letter from Caius to Petronius, but the news of his death arrives firſt.

THE refuſal of the Jews to ſubmit to the orders of Caius, incenſed him in ſo high a degree, that he immediately diſpatched Petronius into Syria, to ſupply the place of Vitellius, and gave him orders to enter Judæa with a powerful army, and there erect his ſtatue in the temple; ſaying, that if the Jews readily acquieſced in this proceeding, no farther notice ſhould be taken: but if they made any oppoſition to it, they ſhould be compelled to a compliance by force of arms.

Petronius readily engaged in this buſineſs, and loſt no time in making preparations to execute the commands of the emperor; for which purpoſe he aſſembled two Roman legions, and a number of auxiliary troops, which he fixed in winter-quarters at Ptolemais, that they might be ready for action in the ſpring. He ſent repeated accounts of his proceedings to Caius, who made proper acknowledgements of his diligence, and gave him directions to proceed with reſolution, ſaying he was determined to reduce the obſtinate Jews to obedience.

At this period immenſe multitudes of Jews reſorted to Petronius at Ptolemais, entreating him in the moſt earneſt manner, not to compel them to act againſt the dictates of their conſciences, and the cuſtoms of their religion. They ſaid that if it was abſolutely neceſſary to erect a ſtatue in their temple, the beſt previous ſtep that could be taken would be to ſacrifice their lives, and then the troops might act as they thought proper: but that while they lived they would never admit of a violation of thoſe laws and precepts which they had received from their illuſtrious anceſtors, through ſuch a long line of generations. In anſwer to this Petronius ſaid, "Perhaps what you urge "might have a proper effect on me, if I could act agreeable to my own in- "clinations; but as I have received the commands of the emperor, I muſt "comply with them; nor dare I diſobey my orders." In reply to this the Jews ſaid, "If you conceive yourſelf thus bound to obey the orders of your "maſter, we do not hold thoſe of ours to be leſs ſacred. By the bleſſing of "Heaven we are reſolved to follow the example of our forefathers, agree- "able to our practice till the preſent moment. We are not ſo mean and "abject as to trifle with the laws of our God, and hazard the loſs of a glori-

" ous immortality, for the ſake of preſerving our preſent exiſtence. No,
" ſir, we are indifferent what becomes of our perſons and fortunes, ſo that
" our laws and religion are but protected. We place our reliance in Heaven,
" and, aſſured of the divine providence and protection, we are determined to
" run every hazard. Ought we at once to incur the wrath of God, and the
" infamy of cowardice? Shall we obey our maker, or the commands of Caius?
" Do you determine with regard to the propriety of our conduct."

As it was now evident to Petronius that theſe people were inflexible in their diſpoſition, and that nothing but the violence of ſlaughter, and the effuſion of human blood, could procure the erection of the ſtatue of Caius: he aſſembled a number of his friends and domeſtics, and went to Tiberias, there to remain till he ſhould be more particularly informed of the manners, cuſtoms, and diſpoſition of the people with whom it was his buſineſs to treat. The Jews were alarmed with the apprehenſion of a war from this approach of the Romans: but their principal fear was leſt their cuſtoms and religion ſhould be invaded. Hereupon, many thouſands of them aſſembled in a body and went immediately to Petronius, requeſting him, in the moſt earneſt manner, not to urge the people to deſperate meaſures by preſuming to profane their holy temple with forbidden images. Petronius exclaimed, " Will you
" ſeek to contend with Cæſar? Are you diſpoſed to make war againſt the
" emperor, without conſidering his ſtrength, or your own weakneſs?" In anſwer hereto they ſaid that they had no intention of fighting, but would rather yield to death, than to the ſacrifice of their laws. Having ſaid this they threw themſelves on the ground, and made bare their necks, thereby intimating their abſolute will, and determined reſolution. In this manner they continued for about forty days, neglecting to plow or ſow their land, and omitting every other buſineſs of huſbandry which the ſeaſon of the year required: for they had unanimouſly agreed rather to ſubmit to death than that the ſtatue ſhould be erected.

When affairs were in this ſituation, ſeveral Jewiſh noblemen of great families, and others of eminent diſtinction, among whom were Ariſtobulus the brother of king Agrippa, and Elcias, who bore the ſurname of great, made application to Petronius, requeſting that he would conſider how determined a people he had to do with, and what fatal conſequences might attend the driving them to acts of deſperation. They therefore adviſed him to repreſent to Caius the peculiar difficulty of the caſe, and the obſtinacy of his opponents, who had permitted their lands to lie uncultivated, nor, indeed, with any view to acts of rebellion, but with a reſolution rather to die than to ſuffer an infringement in the article of religion: that a diſability of paying their taxes muſt reſult from this neglect of huſbandry, excluſive of the danger to which the country would be expoſed from rapine and robbery. They hinted that on theſe repreſentations, Caius might poſſibly relent, and then it would not appear that there had been any idea of rebellion: but that if the emperor was abſolutely determined to carry on a war, no hindrance would ariſe from this repreſentation. This is the ſubſtance of the arguments uſed by Ariſtobulus and his friends.

Petronius

Petronius was well acquainted with the irregular and revengeful disposition of Caius, particularly when his commands were not strictly and immediately executed: but so great a reverence did he entertain for the laws of God, and the rights of conscience, and so dreadful was the idea he had of sacrificing so many lives to the rage of a madman; that having considered on the affair, reflected on the credit of Aristobulus, who had interceded for them, the importance of the business itself, and the danger of rendering desperate a people who had given full proof of their determined temper, he resolved, at whatever hazard to himself, to write to Caius, stating all the difficulties that attended the affair: and he reasoned with himself in this manner: "Suppose that what I attempt should not be productive of any good "consequence, and that instead of arguing the emperor into a better dis- "position, my expostulations should tend only to provoke his rage, and "draw down on my own head that vengeance which I am seeking to avert "from others: yet still I shall have this consolation; that I shall die in the "discharge of the duty of an honest man, who did not fear to risk his own "life, even when ruin stared him in the face, to protect a people whom he "conceived to be at once innocent and oppressed."

Having thus deliberated on the affair, Petronius issued orders for the Jews to assemble at Tiberias, where they met together in immense numbers, and he addressed them in the following manner: "My having undertaken "this expedition was not an act of my own, but in consequence of the or- "ders I received from Cæsar. It is unnecessary for me to mention the "risk I run in delaying to execute the will of the emperor, for it is un- "safe to trifle with sovereign powers. Besides, it appears but reasonable "that I should submit to the authority of a prince to whom I owe my for- "tune. Yet, as affairs are now situated, I am less careful to consult my "own personal safety, or to advance my credit with my employer, than to "promote the welfare and preservation of a people acting in defence of their "laws and worship, and in pursuance of the dictates of their consciences. "I am an enemy to the profaning the sacred house of God at the arbitrary "will of princes: and for these reasons shall immediately dispatch an ex- "press to Caius, informing him of your final resolution respecting the statue. "I will do every thing in my power to induce the emperor to comply with "all your honest and reasonable requests. May that divine Providence by "which all human designs and actions are over-ruled, preserve your reli- "gion free from all contamination, and grant that the extreme regard to "glory by which the emperor is actuated in this particular instance, may "not be attributed to him as a crime. As to myself, if I should be un- "happy enough to incur his displeasure for the liberty I have taken, so far "as to lose my life and fortune, I am resigned to my fate; provided I live "not to see so many worthy men destroyed for the purity of their inten- "tions. Let every one, therefore, retire to his house, and mind his own "affairs: go till your lands, and attend to your husbandry; and leave me "to treat with the emperor. I repeat it that I shall instantly send to him; "and and you may rely on my promise, that every thing that I and my "friends can do, shall be done, to give you the most perfect satisfaction."

Having

Having ſaid this, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly, once more recommending them to take care of their huſbandry, and hope for better times.

Immediately after Petronius had ended this benevolent ſpeech the goodneſs of God was evident in a remarkable providence, which was univerſally deemed to be an intimation of the approbation of Heaven on what he was about to undertake; for, to the aſtoniſhment of every one preſent, there fell a ſhower of rain, though the day was remarkably fine, without the interpoſition of a ſingle cloud. The ſeaſon had now been dry for ſo long a time, that the people were almoſt afraid it would never rain again: for though they now and then ſaw a cloud, it did not produce the conſequence they wiſhed. This ſingular relief, beyond all human expectation, was deemed by the Jews as the approbation of Heaven on the good-will of Petronius, and a pledge of future bleſſings. No one was more ſenſible of the favour than Petronius himſelf, who conſidered it as a prodigy of which he underſtood the interpretation: for the favour of Heaven herein towards the Jews was ſo evident as not to admit of the leaſt ſhadow of doubt.

In the letter which Petronius wrote to Caius, he laid before him a particular account of all that had happened, and repreſented to him what would be the probable conſequence of rendering deſperate ſuch immenſe multitudes of people who were obſtinately bent on retaining their own opinions. He ſaid that nothing but abſolute force would compel them to yield, and that if the emperor purſued them with violence, he would thereby leſſen his own revenue, make himſelf unhappy, and entail eternal diſgrace on his name. To all this he added, that the Jewiſh people were peculiarly acceptable to God, who had given ſingular demonſtrations of his particular regard for them.

When this letter of Petronius arrived at Rome, king Agrippa happened to be there with the emperor, who ſeemed to be greatly attached to him, and the other took ſingular care to cultivate his friendſhip by every act of liberal behaviour: particularly, he made an entertainment for Caius, which for its magnificence, order, elegance, ſingularity, and the expence that attended it, exceeded every thing of the kind which had been ſeen; the entertainments of the emperor himſelf not being fit to be put in competition with it. Caius was highly pleaſed, not only with the elegant profuſion of this treat, but with the ſpirit with which it had been conducted; for the expence of it was greater than Agrippa could well afford: wherefore the emperor conceived an idea of making him an equal compliment in return. When he was a little warmed with wine, he called to Agrippa, and addreſſed him in the following manner. "Excluſive of the preſent inſtance, I have had many "other proofs of your friendſhip and regard. In the time of Tiberius you "gave me ſeveral evident proofs of it, at the riſk of your own ſafety; and "you have now complimented me at a moſt enormous expence, in which "you have leſs conſulted your own convenience, than my honour and ſatis-"faction. And as it would ill become my dignity to lay under obligations "that I had no idea of repaying, I am determined to make you ſome immediate recompence, for any deficiency in my former favours; and what I

" propoſe now to do for you ſhall be ſuch an addition to my paſt bounty, as " may be deemed no ſmall increaſe of your fortune."

Having thus ſaid, Caius waited in expectation that Agrippa would have ſollicited lands, commiſſions, or even provinces and revenues, which he was well diſpoſed to have granted: but Agrippa, though previouſly determined what to aſk, omitted to make his requeſt at preſent, conceiving it might be done with a better grace in the ſequel of the converſation: but he addreſſed the emperor as follows: " As I had no private view in the little ſervices I " was happy enough to render you in the days of Tiberius, ſo I have no far- " ther wiſh at preſent than the honour of your friendſhip; and though I am " not unacquainted that you have many valuable gifts in your diſpoſal, per- " mit me now to make my moſt grateful acknowledgements for the favours " I have received, and to declare that I am not ambitious of any farther gra- " tification."

Caius wondered at this inſtance of moderation in a man to whom ſuch an offer had been made; but ſtill he was determined that he ſhould aſk ſome favour, and that, whatever it was, it ſhould be complied with: and having intimated his ſentiments, Agrippa ſaid, " Since your benevolence " lays this command upon me, I will preſume to offer you one requeſt: I " will neither aſk you for wealth or honour, ſince your bounty has already " beſtowed enough of both on me; but your compliance with my preſent re- " quiſition will render you equally the favourite of God and man: and if I " can but obtain this favour in addition to all thoſe with which I have been " already obliged, my fame will be eſtabliſhed to future times. All I have " to requeſt is, that your order to Petronius, for the erecting your ſtatue " in the temple of the Jews, may be recalled."

Agrippa was not inſenſible that by making this requeſt, which was a direct oppoſition to one of the decrees of Caius, he was in immediate and imminent hazard of his life: but the emperor conceiving himſelf much obliged by the elegance of his entertainment, and being aſhamed to refuſe a requeſt which he himſelf had ordered to be made; beſides the reſpect he thought due to a man who preferred the ſacred obligations of conſcience, and the welfare of his country, to his own private emolument, he determined to grant the favour: and, in conſequence of this determination, wrote to Petronius to the following effect: " I approve of what you have already done, in collecting the " troops together, and in obſerving my orders. With regard to the ſtatue, " if you have already erected it, let it remain; but if not, concern yourſelf " no farther about that affair; but diſmiſs your troops, and return into Syria. " I am willing to pardon this act of diſobedience in the Jews, on account of " Agrippa, for whom I entertain ſo perfect a reſpect, that I can refuſe " nothing to his requeſt."

This letter from the emperor to Petronius was written before it was known that the Jews intended to break out into abſolute rebellion: but Caius being a man void of honour, above bluſhing for any thing that he did, and exceedingly abandoned to the influence of his paſſions, thought he ſhould conſult his own dignity, by aſſuming an unreaſonable degree of ſtatelineſs: wherefore, as ſoon as the report was confirmed that a commo-

tion

tion had happened among the Jews, he broke out into a moſt violent paſſion, conceiving that his authority was trampled on by that rebellious people, and immediately wrote a letter to Petronius, in a very different ſtile from the firſt; which run in the following terms: "As I find you pay more "reſpect to the bribes you have received from the Jews than to the autho- "rity of my commands, as is evident by your neglecting my buſineſs to "attend to theirs, I leave it to your imagination what you ought to expect "from my vengeance. I am determined to puniſh you in an exemplary "manner, as a warning to the preſent times and to poſterity, that the "power of princes is not to be trifled with." This letter was ſent to Petronius during the life of Cæſar, but as the perſon who carried it had a ſlow paſſage, it was not delivered till after his deceaſe; ſo that Petronius received the news of his death before the letter. Thus did the gracious providence of God interfere in his behalf, to reward him for the zeal he ſhewed, and for the dangers he ſuſtained, in ſupport of his own honour, and the religion of the Jews. While Caius, who had uſurped to himſelf divine honours, was cut off in the midſt of his vanity and preſumption, Petronius received the thanks of the Romans, as well as of the people of the province, for the ſingular greatneſs of his public ſervices: in particular he was complimented by the chief perſons of the ſenate, whom Cæſar had frequently inſulted and ill treated, by methods that teſtified the ſingular pride of his heart. Caius died ſoon after the dictating the laſt threatening letter to Petronius. With regard to the foundation of a conſpiracy, and the mode of executing it, I ſhall treat of it in another part of this work. Soon after Petronius received the letter informing him of the emperor's death, he got that which denounced his own; and, as in his ſituation, he could not do otherwiſe than rejoice at the former event; ſo was he equally bound to extol the goodneſs of Providence, which immediately afterwards rewarded his regard to the holy temple, and his zeal to ſerve the Jews in their diſtreſſed ſituation. Thus was the life of Petronius preſerved by the immediate interpoſition of the Divine Power.

CHAP. XII.

The miſery of the Jews of Meſopotamia and Babylon. Account of Neardæ and Niſibis, on the Euphrates, where the Jewiſh treaſure was depoſited. Two brothers, named Aſinæus and Anilæus, leave their maſters, and aſſemble a number of people. They build a ſtrong fort, and their power alarms the king of Parthia. The neighing of horſes being heard by Anilæus, ſcouts are ſent out, who report the approach of an enemy. The obſervance of the ſabbath diſpenſed with through neceſſity. The enemy overthrown by Aſinæus. The alliance of the brothers courted by Artabanus. Anilæus diſpatched on the embaſſy, and aſſigns the reaſons for his coming alone; but returns for his brother, and they go to the king together. The general Abagaſus deſires permiſſion to cut the throat of Aſinæus, but is oppoſed by the king. The command of Babylon given to Aſinæus. The brothers in high reputation, which they loſe by the decline of their virtue. Anilæus, enamoured of a Parthian lady, deſtroys her huſband, and marries her. A curſe denounced. Idolatry ſucceeds the

the defection, and the people complain to Asinæus, who giving advice to his brother, is poisoned by his wife. Anilæus makes an incursion into the country of Mithridates, takes him prisoner, and puts his army to the rout. His liberty granted him; but he is persuaded to go to war by his wife. He defeats Anilæus; but the latter being recruited, attacks Babylon. Commissioners sent to treat of peace between the Jews and Babylonians. Anilæus and his people slain. The Babylonians and Jews at perpetual variance. The Jews retire to Seleucia. The Greeks and Syrians quarrel, but unite against the Jews. Above fifty thousand Jews slain, and the rest retire to different places.

SO confused and calamitous was the situation of the Jews of Mesopotamia and Babylon at this period, that their ancient histories relate nothing in any degreee approaching to it: but in order to give an exact state of the case, as it is my intention to do, I must trace the affair from its original. In the province of Babylon is a city named Neardæ, a place distinguished by its populousness, yet so fruitful that the inhabitants can subsist on its produce: it has a wall and fortifications for its defence, and is almost surrounded by the River Euphrates. In this province and on the same river is a city called Nisibis. These places being exceedingly strong, in them the Jews, from time time, deposited their holy treasure, as it was received and dedicated, in order for its being transmitted to Jerusalem, whither, at appointed times, it was carried under strong convoys, least it should be seized on by the Parthians, who were at that time in possession of Babylon.

Among the Jews of Neardæ were two brothers, named Asinæus and Anilæus. They were the sons of a widow, who had placed them out to learn the art of weaving sail-cloth, which is no disreputable profession in that country, where it is even common for the men to card and spin. As it happened that the two brothers came too late one day to their work, their master was severe upon them for their neglect; in resentment for which they armed themselves with the first offensive weapons they could seize, and retired to a place where the river divided, which was distinguished by its affording plenty of corn, grass, fruit, and every sort of provision proper for winter store. While they were in this situation a number of stout young men whose necessities tempted them to seek some relief, resorted to them, and enlisted under their command, and taking up arms, no person dared to oppose their proceedings. The brothers being thus re-inforced, erected a strong fort, and sent out a great number of emissaries and maroders, to raise contributions throughout the country. These were commissioned to offer friendship and protection to all that submitted to their demands, and to denounce vengeance against all that refused compliance; so that the people were under a sort of necessity of coming into any terms: for by this time the party was grown so numerous that there could be no thought of resisting; and even the king of Parthia began to be alarmed at the insurrection.

On receiving intelligence of this affair, the prince of Babylon, deeming it his duty to suppress the sedition before it grew to too great a head, collected his troops throughout the districts of Parthia and Babylon, and immediately marched with the greater part of his army, hoping to come up with the mutineers

neers time enough to ſurprize them. Having, by defiles and croſs-paths, advanced to the edge of a piece of mooriſh ground, he there halted; and preſuming that, as the next day was the ſabbath, they would not venture on a battle, he ſlowly moved forward, intending to fall ſuddenly upon them, when victory would follow of courſe. At this time Aſinæus and his companions were repoſing themſelves on a bank with their arms laying by them, when Aſinæus called out, "I think, fellow ſoldiers, I hear the neighing of "horſes that ſeem to be urging forward to a battle; and I can even fancy "that I hear the champing of their bits; wherefore it becomes us to take "care that we are not ſurprized: let ſome perſons, therefore, inſtantly go "out, and learn the truth of the affair, reſpecting which I wiſh I may happen "to be deceived."

Agreeable to theſe directions ſcouts were immediately ſent out, who ſoon returned on the full gallop, with information that Aſinæus had formed a right conjecture; for that the enemy were ſo near as to be on the point of executing their deſign. The meſſenger ſaid, they had horſes ſufficient to trample them to death, as they were but defenceleſs men, and dared not make any reſiſtance on the ſabbath, which was forbidden by the laws of their religion. Aſinæus, however, was of a contrary opinion, and ſaid it was a ridiculous thing to think of ſtanding ſtill, and ſubmitting to be deſtroyed, merely to gratify the rage of an enemy: "On the other hand (ſaid he) reſume your courage; reflect on "the urgent neceſſity of the caſe: follow my example, that if we fall it may "not be unrevenged; and leave the iſſue to the determination of provi-"dence." Having thus exhorted and encouraged his people, he ſeized his arms, and led them to battle; and finding the enemy in an unprovided ſtate, rather prepared to take poſſeſſion of a victory already gained, than to fight for conqueſt, they attacked them, and put the main body to flight, after killing great numbers on the ſpot.

The news of this victory being brought to the king of Parthia, he conceived ſo high an idea of the courage of the two brothers, that he was extremely impatient to have an interview and to converſe with them; wherefore he diſpatched to them one of his attendants, in whom he placed great confidence, with the following meſſage: "I am commanded by Artabanus, "king of the Parthians, to inform you, that though you have done him "great injuſtice in the inroad which you have made into his dominions, "yet he is willing to forget all paſt offences, and bury all animoſities in "oblivion, in conſideration of the advantageous character which he hath "heard of you. I am farther commiſſioned, in my maſter's name, to aſſure "you that he wiſhes to join in a league of friendſhip with you, without any "fraud or colluſion. On his honour and faith I am likewiſe to offer you "all poſſible aſſurance of your ſafe conduct on your journey to him and "back again. Your own experience will inform you that my ſovereign is "a prince of great bounty and munificence, and that he will be inclined, "on every occaſion, to give you all poſſible proofs of the generoſity of his "diſpoſition."

The apparent candour of this invitation was inſufficient to prevail on Aſinæus to undertake the journey; but he procured ſuch preſents as he could,

and sent his brother Anilæus to wait on the king. On his arrival he found his reception as agreeable as could have been wished; but the king observing that he came alone, asked him how it happened that his brother did not accompany him: to which Anilæus answered, that he considered himself to be safe in his present situation, and was unwilling to leave it on the confidence of his majesty's promise. Artabanus being sensible that fear had given rise to this cautious conduct, swore by his gods that neither of the brothers should receive the least degree of injury; and in ratification of this oath he gave his right hand to Anilæus, which, among the barbarians, is deemed the most sacred pledge of good faith that can be given by one man to another; since, that ceremony being once past, there remains then no suspicion of deceit, no room for jealousy, nor even an idea that falsehood can possibly take place.

Artabanus having given this assurance to Anilæus, sent him back to his brother; and conceived great hopes of the services that might be rendered to him by their joint endeavours to keep in awe those provinces that seemed inclined to revolt during the king's absence; as they had a considerable party that adhered to their interest. The king likewise considered, that while he was employed in suppressing a rebellion in one part of his dominions, Asinæus might do him great injury in the neighbourhood of Babylon, by supplying himself with men, and taking possession of the strong forts. His sending for Asinæus, therefore, was founded in good policy.

Anilæus having made a report to his brother of the singular respect that Artabanus had expressed for them both, and informed him by what solemn oaths and protestations he had ratified the sincerity of his regard, Asinæus was induced to think of waiting on the king, and in pursuance of this sentiment they set out in company. They were received by Artabanus with great politeness, and appearance of friendship; but the king remarking the disagreeable figure of Asinæus, and considering the dignity of his mind, would frequently observe that "the soul of that man was not formed for his "body." Being one day at table with him, the king, addressing himself to his general Abdagasus, spoke in the highest terms of the martial exploits of Asinæus, whom he represented as a miracle of valour. To this Abdagasus made no other reply, than simply to beg the king's permission to cut his throat, in revenge for the injuries sustained by the Parthians. In answer hereto Artabanus said, "Most certainly I shall never permit such an insult to be "offered to a man who has entrusted his safety to my honour, and whom I "am bound, by the sacred obligation of an oath, to protect: but if you "are disposed to give a convincing proof of your courage, you may find a "method of vindicating the honour of the Parthians, without a violation "of my oath: for you have only to attack him on his return, and not in"form me of your intention."

Early on the following morning the king sent for Asinæus, whom he addressed to this purpose; "It is now proper that you should return to your own "place of residence, lest while you wait, the resentment of my officers may "be carried beyond the bounds of prudence, and you may receive an injury "not in my power to prevent. I recommend to you the care of Babylon;

"preserve

" preſerve the peace of that province to the utmoſt of your power, and protect " it from robberies. Since you have not heſitated to truſt your life to my " honour, be aſſured that I will always conſult your ſafety as much as my " own." Having ſaid this, the king gratified him with a number of valuable preſents, and ſent him to the care of his own government, in which he was no ſooner ſettled than he applied himſelf to the building, repairing, and beautifying of forts, wherever it was found neceſſary. In fact, he acted in all things with ſo much prudence and diſcretion, and gave ſuch univerſal ſatisfaction, that no man before ever arrived at ſuch a degree of power and credit from ſuch a beginning, and in ſo ſhort a time. The great men of Babylon, and the governors and commanders in Parthia, were equally his friends. His authority encreaſed with his arms and adherents; ſo that Meſopotamia was, in a great degree, under his immediate government.

Affairs proſpered in this manner with the two brothers for the ſpace of fifteen years, equally to their own honour and the ſatisfaction of the public: but at length, when they began to deviate from their exemplary piety and good behaviour; when they abandoned the ſtudy of virtue, and the precepts of their anceſtors, and gave themſelves up to the gratifications of ſenſe, and admitted foreign innovations, their credit likewiſe decayed. It happened at this period that a certain Parthian governor came into thoſe provinces, and brought with him his wife, who was greatly and equally diſtinguiſhed by the ſuper-eminent beauty of her perſon, and the uncommon qualifications of her mind. It is uncertain whether Anilæus had ſeen this woman, or only heard of her uncommon merit; but he became violently in love with her; and having no other method to obtain his end, and being impelled by the violence of his paſſion, he waged war againſt her huſband, whom having killed in the firſt attack, he got the lady into his poſſeſſion, and took her to his bed.

From this circumſtance aroſe a ſcene of dreadful misfortunes which afterwards befel the brothers. It was the cuſtom of this woman at all times to carry with her ſome images of the gods of the barbarians; and being now a widow and a priſoner, ſhe had concealed ſome of theſe idols, which, for a conſiderable time, ſhe worſhipped privately, as ſhe could find opportunity: but ſome time afterwards, when Anilæus openly acknowledged her as his wife, ſhe exerciſed her religion in the moſt public manner, without any farther endeavour to make a ſecret of the affair.

This marrying a barbarian woman, and an idolatreſs, in defiance of the laws, rites and cuſtoms of the Jews, gave the utmoſt diſguſt to thoſe friends who had heretofore been moſt zealous in behalf of the brothers. Future princes ought to be cautioned by this example, not to depart from the duty they owe to God, in ſeeking a gratification of their carnal appetites. In the inſtance above-mentioned it was in vain to think of oppoſing the cool voice of reaſon to the turbulence of paſſion; for a perſon of eminence having taken the liberty to diſcharge his conſcience by giving ſeaſonable advice, was ſtabbed to death on the ſpot. As he was dying, he breathed out the following prophetical denunciation againſt the brothers and their abettors. " May they be purſued by ſignal vengeance, on account of the inſults they

" have

" have offered both to religion and friendſhip! May the treatment they have " given to others fall on their own heads! May the brothers be puniſhed as " the principal authors of this violence, and the others for aſſiſting in the " murder of the protector of their liberties and laws, whom it was their duty " to ſhield from all harm."

The people were concerned, in a very high degree, for the death of the worthy governor: but the ſenſe they entertained of the former goodneſs of the brothers, to which, in a great degree, their preſent happy ſituation was owing, had ſuch an effect upon them, that, for a while, they reſtrained their reſentment: but at length the open and undiſguiſed profeſſion of idolatry offended them beyond all human endurance; wherefore they aſſembled in great numbers, repaired to Aſinæus, and complained of the conduct of his brother. They were very plain in their remonſtrances; ſaid that the unhappy affair had been better wholly omitted; but that ſince it was paſt, it became his duty to act in a determined manner, to prevent farther ill conſequences; for otherwiſe the commotion among the people would become general. They ſaid that the marriage was ſuch a violation of their religion that it was generally diſapproved: and with regard to the idolatrous practices of his brother's wife, they were a baſe inſult on the worſhip of the true God. Aſinæus acknowledged that the wickedneſs which his brother had been guilty of was replete with the moſt dangerous conſequences both to himſelf and his people: but having the moſt affectionate tenderneſs for ſo near a relation, and making all poſſible allowance for the frailty of nature, in a caſe where his heart was ſo deeply engaged, he ſought rather to extenuate his crime, than to criminate his conduct. But the people becoming every day more clamorous with Aſinæus, he at length came to a reſolution to apply to his brother, whom he cenſured for what was paſt, and cautioned him with regard to his future conduct; conjuring that he would, without heſitation, ſend his wife back again to her friends. But this proceeding had no influence on the conduct of Anilæus; and the woman, finding that the ſpirit of the populace began to encreaſe; and, apprehenſive of ſome fatal conſequence to her huſband, on her account, ſhe cauſed Aſinæus to be poiſoned, not entertaining the leaſt fear of her own perſonal ſafety, when a fond huſband was to be the judge of her conduct.

The whole power having now devolved to Anilæus, he collected his army, and made an incurſion into the country of Mithridates, the ſon of Artabanus, and a perſon of great diſtinction among the Parthians. Here he found a great plenty of money, ſlaves, and cattle, with other effects of conſiderable value, all of which he carried away. At this period Mithridates was at no great diſtance, and being informed of the inroad that had been made on his dominions, not only without all provocation, but through the mere impulſe of inſolence, he ſelected a conſiderable number of his beſt troops, and advanced to give battle to Anilæus. The following day being the ſabbath of the Jews, which it is their cuſtom to celebrate as a day of perfect reſt, he ſtopt that night at a village, intending to fall upon them by ſurprize on the following day. Now it happened that a Syrian in the neighbourhood had intelligence of the deſign, which he communicated to Anilæus, and gave

him particular information where Mithridates was to be that night at a grand supper. Anilæus, having received this intelligence, directed his people to take the customary refreshment, and marched immediately to surprize the enemy: in which his success was equal to his wishes; for falling on their quarters about the fourth watch, he took some asleep, while others escaped under favour of the night. Mithridates being made a prisoner, was placed on an ass, naked, which is looked on as the highest degree of infamy among the Parthians. In this manner he was conveyed to a wood, where several of the friends of Anilæus were for putting him to death; but this he himself opposed, and addressed them to the following effect: "This man is one of "the most distinguished in all the country, and allied to the royal family. "Now he is in your power spare his life; and you need not doubt but he "will forgive past offences, and always remember the obligation; besides, "you will, by this proceeding, preserve an interest, that may in all events "lead to an accommodation. On the contrary if you put Mithridates to "death, you may depend on it that the king will avenge his blood on all the "Jews in Babylon: and we ought to interest ourselves in the welfare of those "people, not only on account of affinity, but in point of prudence: for as "the chance of war is uncertain, it is right to secure a retreat for ourselves, "in case of a defeat."

The people in general seemed to be of the same opinion as Anilæus, on which Mithridates had his liberty granted by the common consent: but when he returned home, and his wife learned on what condition he had obtained his freedom, she reviled him in the most opprobrious terms; hinting that he, who was the son-in-law of a king, after having fought so many battles with, and been so often disgraced by the Jews, and at length made captive by them, ought not meanly to have submitted to owe his life to their bounty. She concluded her invectives by saying, "Retrieve your character, or, by "the powers that protect the thrones of kings, I swear that I will instantly "abandon you." As she was continually addressing him to this effect, he grew tired of her reflections, and was afraid that her pride would at length induce her to procure a divorce; wherefore, though against his own inclination, he put himself at the head of an army; but not without a mental conviction that the Parthian who would submit to a Jew was deserving of death.

Anilæus being informed that Mithridates was marching towards him, resolved, on a principle of honour, to hazard a battle in the open field, rather than take advantage of the security of his present situation; wherefore he advanced to meet the enemy, at the head of a body of troops that were almost strangers to defeat; and, exclusive of his veteran forces, he was joined by a number of volunteers, who took arms in the hope of sharing the booty; so that, on the whole, they deemed the victory obtained before the battle was commenced. Full of these sanguine hopes they travelled about eighty furlongs, through a dry sandy country; and when they were so fatigued with heat and excessive thirst that they were scarcely able to support themselves, Mithridates attacked them with fresh troops, totally routed them, and killed several thousands in the flight. Anilæus, and others who escaped, retired

to an adjacent foreſt, in a ſtate of confuſion which is beyond deſcription; leaving Mithridates in full poſſeſſion of the honours of the field.

After the defeat great numbers of idle and diſorderly people reſorted to the army of Anilæus, ſo that its original number was ſoon compleated; but theſe troops were altogether undiſciplined, and by no means ſo valiant as thoſe he had loſt. Notwithſtanding this diſadvantage he marched into the quarters of the Babylonians, and made great devaſtation: whereupon the Babylonians ſent to the Jews at Nearda, requeſting that Anilæus might be delivered up to juſtice; but this requiſition could not be complied with, as he was not in their power. Propoſals were now ſent to Anilæus, offering terms of peace, and requeſting that a treaty might be ſet on foot, that affairs might be adjuſted on equitable terms. This being agreed to, commiſſioners were deputed by the Jews and Babylonians to manage the whole buſineſs in diſpute between them. The Babylonians having carefully obſerved the place where Anilæus and his companions were aſſembled, ſuddenly ſurprized them in the dead of the night, and finding them ſleepy and intoxicated they killed all they met with; and among the reſt Anilæus fell a ſacrifice to their rage.

In ancient times perpetual variances had happened between the Babylonians and Jews, reſpecting their rights, cuſtoms, and mode of living; ſometimes one party having the advantage, and ſometimes the other: ſo that the debate commonly ended without a deciſion. During the life of Anilæus, and while he was ſupported by his friends, the Babylonians were kept in ſome ſort of awe; but in conſequence of his violent death, they now aſſumed courage to affront the Jews on every occaſion, till they rendered their lives a burden to them; and by their inſufferable inſolence, many of them were compelled to abandon their habitations, and to retire into Seleucia, the principal city of that province, and which received its name from Seleucia Nicanor, who was the founder thereof: now this was a place ſacred to Liberty, where great numbers of Macedonians, Greeks and Syrians lived together in a promiſcuous manner. In this city the Jews reſided, much at their eaſe, for the ſpace of five years, and in the ſixth year a violent plague raging in Babylon, many more of that people were compelled to retire into Seleucia; a circumſtance that gave riſe to greater diſtreſs than they had yet known; as will appear from the following ſhort narrative.

There were perpetual quarrellings between the Greeks and Syrians of this city, but in all their diſputes the advantage lay on the ſide of the Greeks, till the Jews came thither, who being a brave and warlike people, the Syrians procured their aſſiſtance, and obtained the advantage. The Greeks, finding the inconveniences they lay under, and that they ſhould be ruined unleſs they could deſtroy the connection between the Syrians and Jews, they privately reſorted to ſome particular friends they had among the Syrians, for their advice how to heal the breach, and bring matters to an accommodation. The propoſal was received in an amicable manner, and referred to the conſideration of ſome principal people of both parties, who were to adviſe on the moſt proper mode of proceeding; and they ſoon agreed to end the controverſy, by joining againſt the Jews as the common enemy of both.

In consequence of this agreement they attacked the Jews in an unguarded hour, of whom they destroyed above fifty thousand, not one escaping who was not protected by some friend or neighbour. The wretched residue fled to Ctesiphon, a city of the Greeks near Seleucia, the winter residence of the king of Parthia, where his valuable furniture was deposited. Here they took up their residence, in hope of protection within the verge of the royal court: but the Jews in general were so terrified by the Babylonians and Seleucians, exclusive of their fears from the Syrian conspiracy, that most of them retired to Nearda and Nisibis, expecting protection from the strength of those places, and the valour of their defenders. This is a faithful representation of the affairs of the Jews in Babylon at this period.

End of the Eighteenth Book.

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK XIX.

Containing the history of the transactions from the year of the World 4003 to 4009.

CHAP. I.

The emperor Caius Caligula exercises the most horrid barbarities upon the Jews. Caius claims the name and adoration of a god, calling himself the brother of Jupiter. He despoils all the temples of Greece of their sculptures, paintings, and other dedications, for the purpose of adding splendour to his palace, and commands Memmius Regulus to transport the statue of the Olympian Jupiter to Rome; but in this he is not obeyed. Upon the birth of a daughter, he causes the image of the child to be placed upon the knee of the statue of Jupiter in the capitol. Claudius, the uncle of Caius, is accused by his bond-man, named Pollux. Caius reflects upon Chæreas for a pusillanimity of disposition, and he determines to take revenge for the affront, and communicates his purpose to Popedius. A charge alleaged against Popedius by Timidius. A woman named Quintilia put to the torture, which she supports with great resolution. Chæreas informs Clemens and Papinius of his intention. The bold and generous sentiments of Chæreas, who conceiving a suspicion that he is in danger of being betrayed by Clemens, repairs to Cornelius Sabinus, in order to consult

conſult him on the buſineſs. Chæreas and Sabinus open their minds to Minucianus; and theſe three perſons form an important reſolution. A voice in the air commands them in the name of the Almighty to proceed. The execution of the deſign being ſuſpended, Chæreas becomes impatient, and propoſes to undertake it himſelf. He gives encouragement to his aſſociates. They come to an abſolute determination. After performing ſacrifice, Caius goes to the theatre, a deſcription of which place is given. The conſpirators take their ſeveral ſtations. The death of Caius, and a relation of the manner in which it was effected. The honour of the action attributed to Chæreas. Aſprenas, Norbanus, and Anteius cut to pieces: the different accounts reſpecting that matter. Proclamation made of the death of Cæſar. The meeting of Chæreas, Clemens, and Minucianus. The ſenate aſſemble.

THE unexampled cruelties which the emperor Caius exerciſed upon the Jews were not confined to Jeruſalem and the neighbouring provinces: but, with the utmoſt inveteracy of deliberate malice, he extended his inſupportable tyranny throughout every part of the Roman dominions. No place under his juriſdiction more fatally experienced the effects of his ſavage barbarity than Rome. In the general oppreſſion he ſeemed to direct his vengeance principally againſt the moſt conſiderable men, ſuch as the ſenators, patricians, and the order of men called equites or knights, who in point of wealth and dignity were next inferior to the ſenate, and from whom thoſe who compoſed the ſenate were frequently ſelected. He appeared to derive a peculiar gratification in ſubjecting theſe people to the violence of his brutal rage: he condemned many of them to baniſhment, and the vileſt indignities; others he cruelly murdered, and their effects he confiſcated; ſo that to be poſſeſſed of property was a ſituation of the moſt imminent danger. He arrogated to himſelf the appellation of a god, and inſiſted on public adoration from his ſubjects. In the Capitol, which is the moſt famous of all the Roman temples, he declared himſelf to be the brother of Jupiter, whom he had the effrontry to addreſs under that character; and in innumerable other inſtances he betrayed an equal degree of vanity and extravagance. He was deſirous of paſſing from a city in Campania, called Puteoli, to Miſenum, a town on the oppoſite ſhore of an arm of the ſea thirty ſtadia over, but, conſidering it as a degradation of his dignity to paſs in a galley, he cauſed a bridge to be conſtructed, extending from one to the other promontory, and over this he paſſed in his chariot, triumphing in the vain idea of having ſubjected both earth and ſea to his dominion in a manner conſiſtent with his imaginary divinity.

This ambitious emperor plundered all the temples in Greece of their fineſt paintings, ſculptures, and other precious articles dedicated to God; and he iſſued orders for conveying the ſpoil to ornament his palaces, gardens and houſes of pleaſure; ſaying, that ſince Rome was the moſt magnificent city, the moſt curious and valuable productions could not, with equal propriety, be depoſited in any other place. He had the effrontry to ſend to Memmius Regulus, commanding him to cauſe the ſtatue of the Olympian Jupiter, that exquiſite production of Phidias, the ſtatuary of Athens, which was held in the higheſt eſtimation throughout Greece, to be removed to Rome: but this

unreaſonable order was not complied with; for the artificers informed Memmius Regulus that by diſplacing the ſtatue it muſt inevitably be broken. A tradition is preſerved, that during the time Memmius Regulus had the removal of the ſtatue under deliberation he was deterred from carrying the project into effect by a moſt extraordinary viſion, in conſequence of which he wrote a letter of excuſe to Caius. Had not the death of the emperor intervened, he would infallibly have puniſhed the diſobedience of Memmius by the loſs of his head.

To ſuch an exceſs did the inſolence and vanity of this man arrive, that, upon the birth of a daughter, he cauſed the image of the child to be conveyed into the capitol, and placed upon the knee of Jupiter, thereby intimating that the infant ſtood in an equal degree of relationſhip to Jupiter and himſelf; and he challenged the ſpectators to determine which of the fathers was moſt reſpectable. The people entertained the utmoſt deteſtation of the conduct of Caius, but ſtill they ſervilely ſubmitted to all his extravagant humours. He not only gave permiſſion to ſlaves, but even afforded them all poſſible encouragement, to alledge charges of whatever nature they thought proper againſt their maſters: and theſe accuſations proved the more oppreſſive as they were conſtantly ſupported by the authority of the emperor, who rewarded the informers in proportion to their degree of iniquity. A capital offence was alledged againſt Claudius, the uncle of Caius, by his bond-man, named Pollux; and on this occaſion Caius preſided on the bench, with a view to procure his uncle to ſuffer the death of a criminal, on a falſe accuſation: but in this deſign, however, he did not ſucceed.

The countenance he afforded to detractors and informers of the moſt abandoned principles and practice having given ſlaves a ſuperiority to their patrons, and cauſed an infinity of other moſt deſperate evils, the people vented the bittereſt execrations againſt the emperor, as the author of the prevailing evils, and ſuggeſted to themſelves various meaſures for extirpating from the earth ſo deteſtable a monſter, ſome being influenced by a deſire of revenge for the injuries they had ſuſtained, and others on the principle of avoiding the miſchiefs with which futurity ſeemed to be pregnant.

The emperor having extended the pernicious influence of his tyranny to the extremeſt degree, his immediate death was conſidered as the only effectual means of reſtoring the ancient authority of the laws, and ſecuring the public tranquillity. The death of this cruel man was an event highly favourable to the Jews, for by it they were happily preſerved from the deſtruction to which he had deſtined them.

It is neceſſary to be exceedingly minute in the narrative of the death of this wicked prince, ſince it will afford a gratification to curioſity, by ſhewing the wonderful operations of the divine providence in the juſt diſpoſal of events; inſtruct the virtuous part of mankind not to deſpair in the utmoſt extremities of ill-fortune; and at the ſame time prove an admonition to thoſe placed in the exalted ſpheres of life againſt reſting their hopes on vain and treacherous foundations, or pointing their wiſhes to the attainment of tranſitory enjoyments; and afford a conſolatory inſtruction that the happineſs of

life is only to be procured by a ſteady adherence to the principles of virtue and piety.

Three conſpiracies were formed for effecting the deſtruction of the unnatural and deteſted tyrant, and each faction was ſubject to the command of a leader of approved and diſtinguiſhed reſolution. A Spaniard of Corduba, named Æmilius Regulus, had the command of one troop; another was under Caſſius Chæreas, the tribune; and Annius was the leader of a third detachment. Theſe parties were compoſed of men remarkable for intrepid and reſolute diſpoſitions: and they all held Caius in the utmoſt deteſtation, conſidering him as the moſt abominable monſter that nature had produced. Æmilius Regulus, being a man of an honourable and generous temper, was the enemy of Caius from the abhorrence he naturally entertained of every ſpecies of wickedneſs: Minucianus was conſcious that the vengeance of the tyrant would prove fatal to whoever incurred his diſpleaſure, and partly on this conſideration his enmity was produced, and partly in revenge for the death of Lepidus, a man of ſtrict honour and unblemiſhed character, and his particular friend, whom the tyrant had cruelly murdered: the office which Chæreas held required him to be frequently about the perſon of the emperor, and he therefore, apprehended his life to be continually in the moſt imminent danger from the ferocious diſpoſition of his maſter, who took every opportunity of upbraiding him with effeminacy; the dangerous predicament in which he ſtood, and the inſults he perpetually received, heartily diſpoſed him to aſſiſt in the enterprize of effecting the deſtruction of Caius. Notwithſtanding they were reſpectively influenced by particular and diſtinct motives, they were unanimous in the common cauſe. They conſidered it the indiſpenſable duty of true patriotiſm to ſacrifice their lives in defence of their country, and to encounter every danger and difficulty rather than ſuffer mankind to labour under the oppreſſion and bloody outrages of the moſt barbarous and unrelenting tyrant. Chæreas was more reſolutely determined upon carrying the exploit into execution than his companions: this extraordinary ardour was occaſioned by a conſciouſneſs that he had advantages above the others, which would enable him with the leſs difficulty to perform the great enterprize whence he expected to derive a very conſiderable reputation: for, being one of the tribunes, in virtue of his office he had free acceſs to the perſon of the emperor.

It was now the time for performing the circus games and exerciſes, in which entertainment the people of Rome found a particular pleaſure. On this occaſion it had been a long eſtabliſhed cuſtom for the people to be allowed the liberty of petitioning the emperor; and when their demands were reaſonable, it was ſeldom they met a refuſal: at this time then the multitude aſſembled in great numbers, and requeſted the payment of part of their taxes and tributes might be remitted. Inſtead of granting their requeſt, Caius gave way to the moſt violent expreſſions of rage, and commanded his guards to ſeize the people who had preſumed to make the clamour, and put them immediately to death; and in conſequence of this cruel order, ſeveral were inſtantly ſlain. The people patiently ſubmitted to this act of violence; but it ſerved to caution them againſt putting their lives to ſuch imminent hazard

hazard in future for the purpose of preserving their money. This last instance of barbarity inspired Chæreas with additional avidity for attempting the enterprize, and stopping the bloody rage of the brutal tyrant: he several times intended to destroy Caius while he was at table, but was induced to suspend the execution of his design by the expectation of a more favourable opportunity, when he might be at a greater certainty of succeeding in his attempt. Chæreas had for a considerable time been captain of the guards, and he now held a commission for collecting certain revenues: the extreme poverty of some of the people on whom the tax was imposed operated upon his compassionate disposition, and therefore he was not so severe in exacting the payment of arrears as Cæsar wished him to be. In consequence of this lenity he incurred the displeasure of Cæsar, who upbraided him for being an insignificant creature in the execution of his office, and destitute of the spirit necessary to enforce payment; and whenever Chæreas applied to him for the watch word, it was his constant practice to give a word, the import of which conveyed a reflection upon him for being of a pusillanimous and effeminate temper: but notwithstanding this, Caius himself made no scruple to assume the habit and ornaments of a woman, and, at ceremonies he had established, to accommodate his behaviour in every respect to a resemblance of the female character.

When Chæreas delivered the word to his brother officers, it constantly rendered him an object of derision to them, and it was seldom they failed observing to him that they expected the word would bear a ridiculous meaning. This mockery of Caius at length became so intolerable to Chæreas, that he could no longer refrain from communicating his purpose to his particular friends, in the number of whom was a senator named Popedius, who had passed the several degrees of honour, but being one of the sect of Epicurus, his whole attention was engrossed upon indulging his desire of living in perfect ease. An accusation was made against Popedius by Timidius, his professed enemy, purporting that he had made use of expressions of a dangerous tendency and violently reflecting upon Caius: he pretended that the charge he had adduced was founded on the evidence of Quintilia, a comedian of singular beauty, of whom Popedius was enamoured. Upon Quintilia's refusing to give false testimony against her lover, Timidius requested that she might be put to the torture, which Caius commanded Chæreas to see instantly performed. It was the tyrant's custom to appoint Chæreas to offices of this kind, from an idea that having so frequently reproached him for being a timid and woman-hearted creature would cause him to execute his commands with greater severity. As Quintilia was passing to the place where she was to suffer torture, she trod on the foot of one of the conspirators, thereby intimating that no sufferings should compel her to a confession of the enterprize that was in agitation.

Chæreas was under so strong a necessity faithfully to execute Cæsar's commission, that he could do no otherwise than inflict great severities upon Quintilia, though they proved a great violence to his inclination. Having sustained her sufferings with wonderful fortitude, he conducted her into the presence of the emperor, mangled, torn, and disfigured in a most shocking manner;

manner: notwithſtanding the natural cruelty of his temper, Caius entertained ſome pity for the miſerable object, and gave her a conſiderable ſum of money, as ſome compenſation for her ſufferings; and he reſtored Popedius to liberty.

Chæreas was exceedingly afflicted upon conſidering that he had been the inſtrument of inflicting a ſavage barbarity upon a woman whoſe ſufferings had moved even the emperor to compaſſion, and he looked upon this as an event that would greatly detract from his reputation. Matters were in this ſituation when Chæreas reſolved to open his mind to Papinius, who as well as himſelf was a tribune, and Clemens, a captain of the city troops. Addreſſing himſelf to Clemens, "The public are ſenſible (ſaid he) that neither "you nor myſelf have been deficient in the diſcharge of our duty to the em- "peror, and that we have aſſiduouſly directed our attention to detect and "fruſtrate conſpiracies; ſome of the parties concerned in fomenting inſurrec- "tions we have ſubjected to tortures ſo extreme that the deplorable condition "of the offenders has given birth to pity even in the ſavage breaſt of the "emperor, and others we have put to inſtant death: but is it not deroga- "tory to the character of men of honour and ſoldiers to engage in offices of "ſo horrid a nature?" To this, Clemens made no reply; but his countenance evidently betrayed a ſenſe of ſhame, ariſing from the reflection of having complied with the mercileſs orders of Caius, in direct violation of the dictates of conſcience and humanity. Chæreas now proceeded to the following effect: "Public fame declares Caius to be the author of the intolerable "grievances which prevail throughout the city and empire; and they are "ſo notorious that it is wholly unneceſſary for me to recapitulate them: "but the truth is, that ourſelves are to be juſtly conſidered as the cauſe of "thoſe outrages which the people of Rome and mankind have too long in- "dured; for we have executed the moſt barbarous commiſſions, even at "the time when, had we been diſpoſed to the glorious enterprize, we might "have relieved the world from the oppreſſion of a mercileſs tyrant: but "inſtead of this, we have ſervilely ſubmitted to offices which have degrad- "ed our characters as ſoldiers and men of honour, and branded our names "with eternal infamy. We cannot pretend to the glorious reputation of "defending the liberties of our country: our buſineſs has been to ſupport "the man who inceſſantly labours to enſlave our bodies and ruin our ſouls. "In obedience to a bloody tyrant we have perpetrated the moſt horrid mur- "ders, and inflicted the moſt excruciating tortures upon other people; and "we muſt expect that we ſhall ourſelves be conſigned to ſimilar violences. "Our abject compliance is judged to be the effect of compulſion and fear, "not of reſpect and duty; and we muſt therefore be the objects of dread and "ſuſpicion rather than of eſteem and confidence. So wanton is the barbarity of "Caius that he obſerves regard to neither guilt nor innocence, but thoſe "over whom he has authority, he indiſcriminately conſigns to death or "other puniſhments, according to the extravagancies of his humour. Theſe "circumſtances being conſidered, it will appear indiſpenſably neceſſary to "purſue meaſures for the preſervation of our own lives and the liberties of "our country."

Clemens declared his approbation of the ſentiments of Chæreas, whom he enjoined to profound ſecrecy, obſerving, that if the leaſt intimation of the plot ſhould tranſpire, the certain conſequence would be death to all the parties concerned. " It is my advice (ſaid he) that we attempt not to carry our " plot into execution till time ſhall afford us a favourable opportunity. The " years I have paſſed have abated the violence of my paſſions, and perſuaded " me that the beſt councils are thoſe which may be purſued with the greateſt " ſafety." Clemens now departed, deeply ruminating upon what had paſſed during the interview.

The indifference of Clemens gave riſe to a ſuſpicion in Chæreas that he was not firmly attached to the cauſe; and therefore he haſtened to a brother-tribune named Cornelius Sabinus, who he knew to be a man of ſtrict integrity, ſteadily diſpoſed to ſupport the liberties of his country, and exceedingly diſſatisfied with the preſent ſituation of public affairs, on which Chæreas determined fully to explain himſelf, being perſuaded of the rectitude of his friend's principles and the ſolidity of his judgment. The jealouſy he entertained of Clemens occaſioned him to be very urgent for an immediate diſpatch of the buſineſs in hand. He found that Sabinus entertained ſentiments perfectly correſponding with his own, though he had not ventured to divulge them: but he gave Chæreas the ſtrongeſt aſſurance of ſecrecy, and that he would aſſiſt in the enterprize.

They agreed that it would be improper to loſe time in bringing matters to an iſſue: and they now repaired to Minucianus, who they knew to be an enemy to the preſent ſyſtem of government, and a man remarkable for a dignity of mind and a rigid adherence to the principles of virtue. Caius, who had naturally an enmity againſt men of honour and integrity, had cauſed the death of Lepidus, the particular friend of Minucianus, and on account of that event the averſion he had conceived againſt him was greatly encreaſed, for he was ſenſible that the loſs of his friend muſt have incurred the ill-will of Minucianus. The expreſſions made uſe of in previous conferences enabled Chæreas, Minucianus and Sabinus to form a judgment of each others ſentiments, though they deemed it imprudent publicly to declare their diſapprobation of the ſyſtem of government; but the conſideration of being engaged in the ſame intereſts united them in a firm bond of friendſhip. The dignity and virtue of Minucianus had on former occaſions commanded great reſpect from Chæreas and Sabinus; and in the preſent inſtance they reſolved to preſerve their uſual deference towards a man of ſuch ſingular merit, and to divulge their buſineſs to him in a gradual manner.

The ridicule which Caius caſt upon Chæreas by giving the word was the ſubject of public diſcourſe. Minucianus aſked Chæreas what word the emperor had given; and, happy in a queſtion ſo favourable to his deſign, he replied; " Whatever word the emperor may have given, let your word be " LIBERTY. The conformity of our ſentiments animates me to proceed in a " cauſe to which I am reſolutely diſpoſed. This ſword which I now graſp " will be ſufficient for us both: let us then haſten to the execution of our " deſign, your prudence and courage ſerving as examples for my conduct; " and reſt aſſured that your commands ſhall be obeyed with chearfulneſs and " punctuality.

" punctuality. Succeſs does not ſo much depend upon the ſtrength of the " arm as upon the intrepidity and fortitude of the mind : a brave ſoul, there- " fore, is not depreſſed by the want of arms; for courage ſupplies the defici- " ency of weapons. I am impatient for the glorious exploit : and whatever " may be the event as to myſelf, I am perfectly indifferent; for I have more " important concerns than the making proviſion either for my life or fortune " at the time when the lives of my fellow ſubjects, and the laws and liber- " ties of my country depend on the will of a ſavage tyrant. Since you have " been pleaſed to declare your approbation of the intended enterprize, if it " ſhall prove my fortune to ſtrike the deciſive blow, I hope I ſhall not incur " your envy for having freed mankind from a ſtate of the moſt intolerable " oppreſſion." Minucianus now embraced Chæreas, and wiſhed his attempt might ſucceed, after which they parted.

It is related that the conſpirators were encouraged to proceed in their deſign by the following circumſtances: as Chæreas was enter- ing the palace, a voice was heard, bidding him, in the name of the Al- mighty, purſue the cauſe in which he had engaged. Chæreas was at firſt alarmed, ſuppoſing himſelf betrayed; but upon reflection, he imagined the ex- hortation to have been either an encouraging declaration of divine provi- dence, or an addreſs from ſome perſon concerned in the conſpiracy, with a view to animate him to the enterprize.

Great numbers of knights, ſoldiers, and people of other denominations, who were friends to the intended revolution, had aſſembled, and they were unani- mouſly of opinion that matters had arrived to ſo critical a conjuncture that the deſtruction either of Cæſar or the commonwealth was inevitable; and they were emulous to exceed each other in whatever they ſuppoſed would con- tribute towards the preſervation of their country. The conſpirators were joined even by Calliſtus, a freedman and great favourite of the emperor, over whom he had ſo conſiderable an influence that, rather than a ſubject to, he appeared to be a partner in, the tyrannous government. By the moſt corrupt practices he had amaſſed immenſe wealth, but he, notwithſtanding, judged his ſituation to be very precarious under Caius, whom he knew to be implacably reſolute in fully accompliſhing every ſcheme of miſchief he con- ceived. Calliſtus imagining that on the ſcore of his wealth, which was a temptation ſcarcely to be reſiſted, and on many other accounts, he was in imminent danger, deemed it prudent to ingratiate himſelf into the favour of the next ſucceſſor; and he therefore privately applied to Claudius, inform- ing him that he had been frequently urged by the emperor to deſtroy him by poiſon, but that, from motives of kindneſs, he had adopted ſtratagems for amuſing the emperor, who ſtill expected that his commands would be carried into execution.

I am inclined to diſpute the authority of Calliſtus's report, and to believe that his view was merely to obtain an intereſt in Claudius; for had Caius in- tended to effect the death of his uncle, he would not have ſuffered his de- ſign to be fruſtrated by the excuſes of Calliſtus, whoſe death muſt have been the immediate conſequence of diſobedience to the commands of the tyrant. However, Claudius conſidered himſelf to be under great obligations to

Calliſtus, who he looked upon as the inſtrument of providence for effecting an happy deliverance.

Though Chæreas was anxiouſly deſirous of puſhing matters to an immediate iſſue, the execution of the plot was deferred from time to time, through the irreſolute and inactive diſpoſition of ſome of the confederates. Chæreas declared that he would not have heſitated to deſtroy Caius even in the Capitol, at the time he was performing ſacrifice for his daughter, or, while he was diſtributing gifts to the multitude, to have thrown him headlong from the battlements of his palace: he obſerved that as he judged himſelf ſecure, and was ſeldom upon his guard, he might have been ſurprized on ſome public ſolemnity, or at the private ceremonies which he had himſelf inſtituted, eſpecially as he was ſurrounded by attendants who held him in abhorrence, notwithſtanding the neceſſary regard to their ſafety rendered it prudent to conceal their ſentiments. The apprehenſion that all opportunities might be loſt, and the end of the conſpiracy fruſtrated, by further delays, rendered Chæreas ſo impatient that he upbraided his companions with entertaining the ſuperſtitious notion that the perſon of Caius was ſacred; declaring that he was himſelf ready to undertake the buſineſs, and to engage to diſpatch the tyrant, even without the advantage of any kind of weapon or inſtrument of death. His aſſociates highly applauded his undaunted reſolution and ſteady zeal in the public cauſe: but they were inclined ſtill to procraſtinate the deciſive attempt till the time for celebrating the games inſtituted in honour of Auguſtus, to whom the Romans firſt owed the loſs of their liberty; for he took the authority veſted in the people into his own hands, and eſtabliſhed the monarchical form of government. Oppoſite the palace a theatre was erected, to which the Roman nobility, their wives and children, and other people of condition reſorted: and it was propoſed that the plot ſhould be executed on one of the public days when the emperor was ſurrounded by the many thouſands of people which repaired to this place on occaſion of the entertainments; as in caſe of an alarm, the guard would not be able to obtain admiſſion time enough to prevent the exploit; and it was urged that an attempt in any other place would not be attended with ſo great a probability of ſucceſs, as the military power would have a fairer opportunity to interpoſe and utterly defeat the conſpiracy, the conſequence of which would be certain deſtruction to all the parties. Chæreas agreed to this meaſure, which was to take place on the firſt day of the public ſpectacles; but they were not able to put their deſign in execution till the third day, which was the laſt of the exhibitions and entertainments: and the conſpirators would have ſuffered even this day to elapſe had not Chæreas animated them by an addreſs to the following effect: "We are united in an honourable and righteous cauſe: "but cowardice and indolence have ſo ſhamefully prevailed that we ſtill re- "main in the firſt ſtage of our buſineſs. This unpardonable delay ſuſpends "our lives, fortunes, and the ineſtimable liberties of our country in the "danger of being irretrievably ruined. Have we not reaſon to apprehend "that our delays will produce a diſcovery of our intentions; in which "caſe, inſtead of delivering our county, we ſhall provoke the mercileſs "tyrant to the exerciſe of oppreſſion with redoubled fury. Can it be

"expected

" expected that a conduct similar to that we have hitherto pursued will prove " advantageous either to ourselves or to our country? Let us exert a necessary spirit in the glorious cause we have undertaken, and immortal fame " will be the rich reward of our generous endeavours." Chæreas now made a pause, in order that his associates might consider and more fully understand his address: but no reply being made, he proceeded thus: " For what purpose, I entreat you, is it that you make these frequent hesitations and delays? You cannot be ignorant that this is the last day of the entertainments, on the conclusion of which Caius means to go to Alexandria, and thence proceed to make the tour of Ægypt. Would it not reflect eternal dishonour upon us, should we suffer this monster, who is a disgrace to human nature, to escape our vengeance, and leave to some generous Ægyptian the glorious opportunity of doing that justice to mankind which we dare not attempt? The time, my friends, will no longer admit of deliberation: before this day shall elapse I will acquit myself of the duty I owe to my country and to mankind; for I will allow no man to dispute with me the glory of relieving the world from this detestable tyrant."

This generous address inspired the party with a desire of having the enterprize attempted on the instant; and it being the day on which Chæreas, as captain of the guard, was, according to his turn, to go to the emperor for the word, he put his sword to his side, as usual on such occasions, and repaired to the palace. The multitude were pressing to obtain places, and the emperor appeared particularly gratified by the confusion that prevailed amongst them; for there being no parts purposely assigned for the reception of the senators, knights, and other people of distinction, men, women, masters and slaves, of all denominations, crouded promiscuously together. Sacrifice was offered up to Augustus, to whose honour the solemnity was dedicated; and during the ceremony some blood which sprang from the victim stained the robe of a senator named Asprenas. This circumstance proved a subject of mirth to the emperor: but the rest considered it as an unfortunate omen, and such indeed it proved; for in the tumult that ensued Asprenas was slain. It was remarked with surprize, that on this day the emperor shewed an extraordinary share of good humour and mirth. Sacrifice being performed, he repaired to the theatre, attended by such of the courtiers as were most particularly attached to him. The theatre was a temporary building composed of frames of wood which were taken to pieces and put together as occasion required: it had two entrances, one gate opening towards the court, and another opposite the passage through which the actors passed, that they might not incommode the spectators; and on the same side as the door opening to the passage was a space separated by partitions for the actors and the performers on musical instruments.

Cæsar being seated on the right hand side of the theatre, Chæreas and the rest of the tribunes near him, and the multitude having taken their places, a senator and a military man, named Bathybius, in a whisper asked Cluvitus, a man of the consular dignity, who sat next him, whether he had heard any news. The answer was in the negative. Bathybius then said, " I must inform you that this day the tragedy of the tyrant is to be performed."

Cluvitus, in a verſe from Homer, urged him to be careful that he was not overheard by the Grecians. Fruit and birds were now thrown down among the people, and the confuſion of ſcrambling for the prizes ſeemed to afford Caius uncommon delight. During the entertainments two matters were introduced which may be conſidered as unfortunate omens: the firſt was a corrupt judge ſuffering public juſtice, and the other a repreſentation of the tragedy of Cinyra, wherein herſelf and her daughter * Myrrha were put to death: and during theſe performances a conſiderable quantity of blood was ſpilt, for the purpoſe of giving the ſcene the greater appearance of reality. Theſe repreſentations took place on the anniverſary of the death of Philip, the ſon of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, who upon entering the theatre was ſlain by his friend Pauſanias.

Caius was deliberating within himſelf whether he ſhould retire to bathe and receive ſome refreſhment, and then return to the theatre. Minucianus, who ſat near Cæſar, obſerving Chæreas, and fearing the opportunity for executing the plot might be loſt, roſe in order to follow and encourage him in his reſolution: but Caius gently took hold of his robe, and in an accent of kindneſs, aſked him whither he was going. Upon this Minucianus again took his ſeat; but his apprehenſion returning, he roſe a ſecond time, and the emperor made no offer to detain him. Aſprenas, who was engaged in the conſpiracy, endeavoured to prevail upon Caius to retire, as was uſual, ſaying that, after bathing and receiving ſome nouriſhment, he would return to the entertainments with additional pleaſure.

Having ſtationed the conſpirators in places moſt convenient for effecting the enterprize, Chæreas became impatient of longer delay; and it being now paſt three in the afternoon, he reſolved to return to the theatre and aſſault Caius there: he was however ſenſible that if he purſued this deſign, many lives muſt be loſt: but he conſidered the liberties of his country as a concern infinitely more important than the preſervation of ſome individuals. He proceeded towards the theatre, but before he reached that place, the word was given that Cæſar was returning to the palace. The conſpirators cleared the way, ſeemingly as if by order of the emperor, but their view was only to plant themſelves near where he was to paſs. The proceſſion was led by Claudius, the uncle of Caius, who was followed by Marcus Minucianus, who had married his ſiſter, and after him came Valerius Aſiaticus. The eminent quality of theſe perſons entitled them to paſs without moleſtation. The above-mentioned perſonages were followed by Caius, attended by Paulus Aruntius. Having reached the entrance of the palace, he turned into a private way leading to the baths, in order to view ſome youths who had been ſent him from Aſia, and were celebrated for their ſkill in the Pyrric manner of dancing, and for compoſing and ſinging ſacred hymns. When he had entered this narrow paſſage, he was followed by Chæreas, who aſked him for the word, which was given, but, as uſual, it conveyed a meaning ſo highly indecent and affronting that the tribune rebuked Caius in very ſevere language, and then ſtabbed him between the neck and the ſhoulder, but the weapon was ſtopped by a bone. Though the wound was not mortal, he

* Vide Sam. Petiti Leges Atticas, p. 248.

he neither made complaint, nor called for aſſiſtance, but he groaned, and attempted to eſcape; he then received a blow from Cornelius, which occaſioned him to fall upon his knees; and then enſued an univerſal outcry of "down with him, diſpatch the tyrant," during which he received many wounds, and at length yielded up his life.

Some pretend that Chæreas did not mean the firſt blow to be mortal, but that a repetition of wounds ſhould prolong his miſery. It does not, however, ſeem probable that Chæreas could be ſo weak as to put his own ſafety and that of his friends to the moſt imminent hazard by ſo dangerous a delay. Aquila is ſaid to have given the wound that cauſed the death of Caius: but the reputation of the enterprize was attributed wholly to Chæreas, who originally ſuggeſted the deſtruction of the emperor, formed the confederacy, animated his aſſociates to effect the enterprize in deſpite of the attending danger, and when matters had arrived to an extremity, by a ſingular exertion of courage, effectually humbled the power and pride of the unnatural and barbarous tyrant. Hence it appears that mankind were indebted for this great exploit to the ſteady fortitude and unremitting diligence of Chæreas.

The great achievement having taken place, the conſpirators were greatly alarmed by reflecting on the little proſpect they had of making a ſafe retreat. They judged it impoſſible to return by the way they came; for the paſſages were extremely narrow and crouded with ſoldiers, whoſe duty had called them to attend near the palace on occaſion of the feſtival: at length they determined that it would be moſt expedient to retire by another way to the houſe of Germanicus, who was father to the lately deceaſed Caius: this building is contiguous to the palace, or rather it may be called part of that edifice; for they are connected by ſtructures raiſed by preceding emperors, each of which is ſtill diſtinguiſhed by the name of its reſpective founder. Having eſcaped to this place, they judged their ſituation would be perfectly ſecure till the multitude gained information of the death of Cæſar.

The German body guards called the Celtic legion, were the firſt who gained intelligence of the death of Caius: theſe men were of ſingularly athletic and robuſt conſtitutions; in temper cruel, and addicted to ſudden and violent paſſion, but of ſuch remarkable intrepidity in the practice of arms that, when equally matched, it was ſcarcely poſſible to ſubdue them. The death of Caius exaſperated theſe men to the higheſt pitch of extravagance, but their concern was founded on no generous motive of eſteem, but on the conſideration that they ſhould be deprived of their uſual emoluments; for the emperor had diſtinguiſhed theſe people by diſtributing frequent rewards among them. They were commanded by Sabinus, who was originally a gladiator; and it was not on account of any merit on his own part, or on that of his anceſtors, but to a ferocious diſpoſition and a robuſt form of body that he was indebted for his advancement. Sabinus led his party in ſearch of the murderers of Cæſar, and the firſt they met was Aſprenas, whom they inſtantly tore to pieces. We have already mentioned the robe of this ſenator being ſtained by the blood of the victim at the ſacrifice

crifice as an unfortunate omen. A man of very diſtinguiſhed rank in the city, named Norbanus, ſeveral of whoſe anceſtors had acquired a high reputation by ſerving in quality of generals in the army, was next aſſaulted by theſe German ruffians; but he preſently diſarmed the firſt who attacked him, ſoon after which he was ſlain; but being a man of great ſtrength and activity, and of uncommon courage, he would have ſold his life at a very dear rate had he not been oppreſſed by numbers. The third ſenator they encountered was Anteius, who had ventured from his retreat from a deſire of viewing the body of Caius, againſt whom he had entertained an implacable enmity on the following account: having fallen under the diſpleaſure of Caius, the father of Anteius incurred the ſentence of baniſhment; but this not being ſufficient to ſatiate his revenge, the tyrant cauſed him to be put to death in his exile. Beſides the three perſons above-mentioned, many others whom they encountered in their way were indiſcriminately ſlain by this barbarous troop of Germans.

The news of the death of Cæſar being brought to the theatre, the people were thrown into the greateſt aſtoniſhment imaginable: thoſe who wiſhed the intelligence might prove authentic were fearful of repoſing any confidence in the rumour, leſt their hopes ſhould be diſappointed; others were not inclined to believe the report becauſe they wiſhed it might prove falſe; and a third party were of opinion that the accompliſhment of the action ſurpaſſed all poſſibility. Thoſe who entertained the latter notion were chiefly women, young people, ſoldiers and ſlaves. He obtained the favour and good wiſhes of the women and young people by the prizes he diſtributed, and the entertainments he gave, under the pretext of gratifying the people; but he was entirely actuated by his unnatural propenſity to the deſtruction of his fellow creatures; the ſoldiers were attached to him on the conſideration of obtaining pay in his ſervice, and being, in ſome meaſure, the partners of his oppreſſion; for they were the inſtruments of his vengeance upon good men, and ſhared in the booty obtained from thoſe whom the tyrant aſſigned to ruin: the bondmen were attached to him by the encouragement he gave them to advance falſe accuſations againſt their maſters; for if a ſlave was deſirous of gaining his freedom and amaſſing riches, nothing farther was neceſſary than to point out where his maſter's riches were depoſited; and it was a matter of abſolute certainty that, without the leaſt regard to common juſtice, Caius would ſeize the ſpoil: thus on the double motive of liberty and avarice were ſlaves induced to effect the ruin of their employers; for though the accuſations were evidently deſtitute of foundation in truth, they were conſtantly ſupported by the authority of Caius, who granted unconditional pardon to the informers, and the law allowed them one eighth part of the confiſcated effects.

The people of diſtinction who believed the intelligence of the death of Cæſar to be true, either from their wiſhes that it might be ſo, or from being informed of the conſpiracy, were exceedingly careful to avoid all diſcourſe on the ſubject; for they were conſcious that if by their looks or any other means they ſhould betray the leaſt ſymptom of ſatisfaction, the inevitable conſequence muſt be inſtant death.

Various reports concerning the event were circulated; ſome pretending that Cæſar had been wounded, but not mortally, and that he was attended by ſurgeons. The people, however, judged it unſafe to make a declaration of their ſentiments; for they were uncertain whether thoſe who publiſhed the news were attached to the intereſts of Caius's party, or to the oppoſite faction; and therefore they conſidered it equally dangerous to take a deciſive part either in favour of, or againſt the revolution. The report which ſerved more effectually than all the reſt to depreſs the ſpirits of the nobility was, that upon being wounded, Cæſar, without waiting for the aſſiſtance of ſurgeons, haſtened with all poſſible ſpeed to the market-place, where in a declamatory addreſs he appealed to the multitude on the cruelty exerciſed upon him. Theſe different rumours operated upon the people according to the ſentiments they reſpectively entertained: but the conſternation among them was general, and ſo great that they did not dare even to quit their places, for they knew their fate did not ſo much depend on the guilt or innocence of their intentions as upon the evidence which would be advanced by the informers, and the interpretation which the judges would put upon that evidence.

During this diſtracted ſituation of affairs, the theatre was ſurrounded by the enraged Germans, brandiſhing their drawn ſwords: upon the appearance of theſe troops the people in the theatre were alarmed in the higheſt degree, and they imagined that, whether they remained, or attempted to eſcape, they ſhould be equally certain of being put to inſtant death. The ſoldiers having forcibly gained admittance into the theatre, a moſt terrible clamour enſued among the people, ſome of whom made proteſtations of their innocence, appealing to the gods to witneſs their truth; others made uſe of ſupplications, excuſes, ſubmiſſions, and every other means which they conceived might tend to deprecate the wrath of the ſoldiers.

So truly deplorable was the ſituation of the people that the tenderneſs of compaſſion aſſailed the cruel hearts of the Germans, whoſe conſciences now upbraided them with the acts of barbarity which they had already perpetrated; for after having put Aſprenas and others to death, they carried the heads of thoſe unfortunate perſons about, oſtentatiouſly expoſing them as public ſpectacles; but they at length depoſited the heads upon the altar. The unhappy death of ſo many perſons of diſtinction, and the brutal and inſulting triumph of the Germans, inſpired the friends of the deceaſed ſenators, and other people of rank, with the moſt lively affliction, which was greatly encreaſed by the alarming conſideration that their own lives were in the moſt imminent danger. The death of Caius did not yet afford perfect ſatisfaction even to thoſe who had been his moſt inveterate enemies; for they remained under the moſt dreadful apprehenſion that they ſhould not long ſurvive the tyrant.

During the general conſternation; a public cryer named Aruncius, a man of conſiderable wealth and of great influence among the people, came to the theatre habited in deep mourning, and, diſſembling his real ſentiments, he aſſumed every appearance of the moſt ſincere and tender affliction, and with an exalted voice made public proclamation of the death of the emperor. The

Germans now appeared to relent, and being commanded by their officers to ſheath their weapons, they obeyed, and the tumult ſubſided. The public declaration of the death of Cæſar was undoubtedly the means of preſerving the people in the theatre, as well as many others who might have fallen into the power of the Celtic legion; for while the German ſoldiers who formed that corps entertained an idea that Caius was ſtill living, ſo great was their affection for him that, in revenge for the conſpiracy raiſed againſt him, they would have exerciſed an indiſcriminate barbarity upon the people, regardleſs of the miſeries which neceſſarily muſt have reſulted to the commonwealth in the effects of their violent and ungovernable rage. Upon confirmation of the news of Cæſar's death, they conſidered that no motive remained for giving additional proofs of their attachment, which their maſter was no longer in a condition to reward, and that there was great reaſon to apprehend they might be ſubjected to puniſhment if it ſhould prove their future fortune to be under the government of the ſenate.

In the mean time Chæreas was exceedingly diſtreſſed leſt Minucianus ſhould not eſcape the general danger: he therefore applied reſpectively to ſuch of the ſoldiers as he imagined he might ſafely confide in, earneſtly entreating that, if they ſhould meet with Minucianus, they would be particularly attentive to provide for his ſafety, and behave to him with every poſſible inſtance of kindneſs and reſpect; and in conſequence hereof Chæreas and Clemens were conducted to their reſpectable friend, who, addreſſing himſelf to Chæreas, liberally complimented him on the ſucceſs of his endeavours to preſerve the liberties of his country; ſaying that, in the name of the commonwealth, he would take upon himſelf to congratulate him on the addreſs he had proved himſelf to be maſter of in framing the plan of the revolution, and the ſingular bravery he had diſplayed in carrying it into execution. "However tyrannical rulers (ſaid Minucianus) may exult in "the ſhort-lived pride of lawleſs dominion, they muſt be the objects of "deteſtation to the virtuous part of the world, and their triumphs muſt at "length terminate in a miſerable and ſhameful end, which inevitably "awaits them." The obſervations of Minucianus were exemplified in the caſe of Cæſar; for by a continual violation of the legiſlative eſtabliſhment, and the inſupportable oppreſſion to which he ſubjected the very people who were moſt firmly attached to his intereſts, he laid the foundation for the conſpiracy: thus was he the inſtrument of his own ruin; for the repeated injuries and inſults which he heaped upon his beſt friends, inſpired them with the moſt inveterate enmity, to which he, at length, deſervedly fell a ſacrifice. A phyſician named Arcyon was ſent for, in order to adminiſter relief to ſome perſons in the theatre who had been wounded; and the guards being retired, he ſeized the favourable opportunity of providing for the ſafety of his friends by ſending them away, under the pretext of employing them to bring him remedies. The ſudden retreat of the phyſician's friends occaſioned the utmoſt confuſion amongſt the multitude; for they quitted their ſeats, and with the utmoſt anxiety endeavoured to get out of the building where they had been ſo long confined under the moſt terrible apprehenſions.

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In the interim the ſenate aſſembled in the palace, whither the populace preſently reſorted in great multitudes, and vehemently demanded public juſtice upon the murderers of Caius. The ſenate deemed it not prudent openly to oppoſe the deſires of the people, leſt they ſhould be provoked to ſtill greater extravagancies of outrage. During the general tumult, a man of conſular dignity, named Valerius Aſiaticus, went among the people, and upon being aſked if the murderers had been diſcovered, and who were the parties concerned in the deed; he replied, "Would it had been my for-"tune to have deprived the tyrant of life!"

The ſenate having paſſed a decree in condemnation of the memory of Caius, they proceeded to iſſue an order for the ſoldiers peaceably to repair to their quarters, and the citizens to their reſpective habitations; promiſing the ſoldiers conſiderable gratuities, and the reſt of the people a diminution of the taxes impoſed upon them, on condition of their not tranſgreſſing the limits of regularity and diſcretion. Thus was a happy termination put to a popular and violent clamour, which, but for ſo ſeaſonable a check, would probably have encreaſed to a fatal degree, and have given riſe to rapine, ſacrilegious violences, and other enormous crimes. The whole number of thoſe perſons who compoſed the ſenate being now aſſembled, they proceeded to deliberate on the expediency of re-eſtabliſhing themſelves in their ancient authority.

CHAP. II.

The ſoldiers determine to eſtabliſh a monarchical form of government, and declare Claudius the ſucceſſor of his deceaſed nephew Caius. Saturninus receives intelligence of the reſolution of the ſoldiers, and in a public-ſpirited and animated harangue adviſes a reſtoration of the commonwealth to its original ſtate. Chæreas applies to the conſuls for the watch-word, and Liberty is the word they give. Chæreas cauſes the wife and daughter of Caius to be put to death. Particulars reſpecting the death and character of Caius. Claudius conceals himſelf: his character. The heads of Aſprenas and others expoſed as a public ſpectacle. Gratus diſcovers Claudius, and advances him to the ſovereignty. The ſoldiers unanimouſly declare themſelves attached to the intereſts of Claudius, who they carry to the camp, in order to inveſt him with the ſovereign authority. The ſenate are deſirous to reeſtabliſh the commonwealth in its ancient ſplendor, and the people are equally ſanguine to ſecure to themſelves the power of appealing to a ſuperior tribunal from republican oppreſſions. The ſenate ſend an admoniſhing letter to Claudius.

WHILE the ſenate were engaged in deliberations on the ſtate of public affairs, the body of ſoldiers aſſembled, and proceeded to debate on the queſtion, "Whether the eſtabliſhment of a popular or an imperial "government would be moſt eligible?" The purport of their reſolutions was, that a commonwealth would not be able to provide for the public exigencies, and that on other accounts an eſtabliſhment of that nature would not prove beneficial to the people; and further, that as they had been entertained as the companions rather than as the ſervants of Caius, it muſt neceſſarily

neceſſarily greatly diminiſh their conſequence to ſubmit to a ſtate of dependence upon ſuch a number of perſons as would have authority over them, if the adminiſtration were to be lodged in the hands of the ſenate. Therefore they determined to elect Claudius, the uncle of the deceaſed Caius, to the ſovereign command, judging that his diſtinguiſhed birth and many eminent qualities, gave him a ſuperior claim to that dignity. They immediately fetched Claudius from his houſe, and proclaimed him emperor, expecting that he would liberally reward them for being the authors of his exaltation. The proceedings of the ſoldiery were ſoon conveyed to Anæus Sentius Saturninus, in the ſenate-houſe, and he, finding affairs arrived to ſuch an extremity that every hour muſt neceſſarily produce additional troubles, roſe and delivered himſelf with a boldneſs and freedom of ſentiment that reflected great honour upon himſelf, and proved worthy of the particular attention of his patriotic auditory. His addreſs was to the following purpoſe:

" After an interruption of ſo many years to our natural rights and liber-
" ties, it was ſcarcely to be expected, moſt noble friends, countrymen and
" fellow-citizens, that we ſhould be reſtored to the enjoyment of the in-
" eſtimable bleſſings of freedom. But the late change in our fortune has
" given us the happy opportunity of congratulating ourſelves upon being,
" at this very moment, in the actual poſſeſſion of our antient independency.
" The ſpace of time that may be allowed for the enjoyment of happineſs
" we cannot pretend to determine; it is a matter wholly under the direc-
" tion of the divine providence, to whoſe bounty we are indebted for our
" preſent advantages. Though we enjoy freedom but for a ſingle hour,
" that ſingle hour will give riſe to ſenſations whence we may form an idea
" of the ancient ſtate of our once flouriſhing, free, and happy common-
" wealth. I am not qualified to enlarge on the freedom of ancient days:
" but I muſt acknowledge that I am warmly diſpoſed to recommend a vi-
" gorous exertion in defence of that liberty which it is our preſent fortune
" to enjoy: and I cannot but conſider the ſituation of thoſe men to be en-
" viable, whoſe fortune it was to be born in an age that promoted the ſtudy
" and practice of virtue and piety, and was glorioufly diſtinguiſhed for de-
" fending the liberties to which mankind have a common and indiſputable
" claim. I conceive that the perſons who are entitled to a degree of ho-
" nour next inferior only to that due to the immortal gods, are thoſe who,
" by a ſingular exertion of heroiſm, have afforded us, even in theſe dege-
" nerate times, ſome reliſh of the ineſtimable bleſſings of the ancient li-
" berty: and that it may be in our power to tranſmit theſe bleſſings to
" poſterity, is the moſt fervent wiſh of my ſoul: for, as to ourſelves, a ſhort
" experience, confined even to the limits of a ſingle day, will ſuffice: the
" aged will quit this tranſitory ſtate of mortality with the leſs regret, after
" ſo unexpected a change; and the riſing generation will be taught to
" emulate the glorious conduct of their anceſtors. When I ſpeak of oc-
" currences which took place previous to my time, it is not to be under-
" ſtood that I depend on any other authority than that of common tra-
" dition: but when I advert to the ſubject of tyranny, and the miſerable

" events resulting therefrom, I shall assert no more than what I can fully
" justify and authenticate on the certain ground of grievous experience.
" Tyranny confounds the order of government, it prevents generous spirits
" from exerting themselves in glorious actions, suppresses all emulation of
" noble deeds, renders mens minds as servile as their bodies, and reduces
" the institutions of law and equity to a contemptible dependance on the
" capricious inclinations of an arbitrary ruler. If we recur to the usurpa-
" tion of Julius Cæsar, it will appear that, to gratify an insatiable ambi-
" tion, he sacrificed the laws and liberties of the people, and established a
" monarchical government on the ruins of the commonwealth. His suc-
" cessors in the sovereign authority seem to have directed their principal at-
" tention upon the means of surpassing him in every species of iniquity;
" for they have manifested the most violent and unabating rancour in vex-
" atious persecutions and barbarous murders of men distinguished by their
" steady adherence to the principles of honour and virtue. Caius, from
" whose insupportable tyranny the world has been this day delivered, per-
" haps, surpassed the examples of the most abandoned of his predecessors,
" in the exercise of an ungovernable and brutal fury upon citizens, friends
" and relations, and other daring violations of the laws both divine and
" human. After the commission of rapines, adulteries, and other enor-
" mous crimes, it is the disposition of tyrants still to remain unsatisfied;
" they find a cruel satisfaction in wreaking vengeance upon the innocent
" issue of those persons who had incurred their displeasure, and cherish the
" diabolical desire of extirminating whole families; however patiently sub-
" jects may submit to oppression, tyrannical rulers are continually under
" the apprehension of danger, and, with a view to provide for their own
" security, their attention is constantly employed upon devising means for
" effecting the death of those whom they have already subjected to most
" grievous injuries. Being at length happily relieved from the yoke by
" which we have been so long most heavily oppressed, it is become our in-
" dispensable duty unanimously to exert our utmost endeavours to restore the
" ancient glory of Rome, and re-establish the commonwealth in its former
" state of splendor and happiness. Since we are no longer subject to a con-
" trouling power, we may deliberate on the measures necessary to be adopted
" for the public good, without danger of our resolutions being rendered
" abortive, or of putting our own safety to the most imminent hazard by
" exerting our endeavours to serve our country. Let us remember that it
" was to the contemptible pusillanimity of men preferring an inglorious
" existence, in a state of the most abject slavery, to the chance of an ho-
" nourable death, that the lately deceased tyrant was indebted for the op-
" portunity of rendering us the miserable victims to the most intolerable op-
" pression. I desire very particularly to recommend that ample justice may
" be done to Chæreas, by conferring upon him the distinction he has so
" highly merited; for he originally suggested the destruction of the abo-
" minable monster, and by an effort of patriotic resolution, he has, under
" the divine assistance, this day given us possession of the invaluable blessings

" of liberty: he has put his own life to the hazard for the public good, " and he is indiſputably intitled to a recompence proportioned to his emi- " nent ſervices. Good men are ever ready to pay due acknowledgements " to their benefactors: it would brand us with eternal diſgrace ſhould we " heſitate to confeſs that Chæreas has bound us all in a common bond of " gratitude. The conduct of Brutus and Caſſius, in regard to Julius Cæſar, " deſervedly acquired them great honour: but Chæreas has entitled him- " ſelf to a ſtill more glorious diſtinction. The whole Roman empire ſuffered " a moſt terrible devaſtation in the civil war which was the conſequence of " the exploit of Brutus and Caſſius: but the glorious enterprize of Chæ- " reas has effectually relieved us from all our miſeries, and given us a moſt " agreeable proſpect of a permanent felicity."

The addreſs of Saturninus proved highly to the ſatisfaction of the whole aſſembly; but the ſpeaker's attention being wholly confined to the ſubject of his diſcourſe, he did not recollect that he wore a ring on his finger, the ſtone of which bore a repreſentation of the head of Caius; this ring being obſerved by Trebellius Maximus, he ſuddenly roſe, and took it from the finger of Chæreas, and it was inſtantly broken in pieces.

As the night was now approaching, Chæreas went to the Conſuls for the watch-word, and the word they gave was liberty. The people were exceedingly rejoiced at hearing this word, which they underſtood to be an indication that the ancient authority would be reſtored. Before the Cæſars uſurped the ſovereign authority, it was an invariable rule for the Conſuls to give orders to the ſoldiers: and the giving liberty as the watch-word was the firſt authority which the ſenate exerciſed after being depoſed. Chæreas delivered the word to the four companies of troops who had declared themſelves firmly attached to the cauſe of the ſenate. Soon after they had received the watch-word the ſoldiers departed, and preſently afterwards the multitude diſperſed, rejoicing in the happy proſpect of the commonwealth being reſtored to its original ſtate of ſplendor and happineſs, and unanimouſly applauding Chæreas as the deliverer of his country.

Chæreas apprehending that there would ſtill be danger as long as the widow and daughter of Caius were permitted to ſurvive, diſpatched Julius Lupus, who was one of the tribunes, with an order to put them both to death: he employed this perſon in the buſineſs, partly on account of his being a kinſman to Clemens, and partly on the conſideration that as he had taken a very active part in the conſpiracy, he might derive his ſhare of honour by the actual performance of ſome exploit for the public ſecurity. Several of the confederates, however, judging that Ceſonia had not ſtimulated her huſband to enſlave the people, or exerciſe cruelty upon the many illuſtrious Romans who had fallen victims to the brutal vengeance of Caius, cenſured Chæreas for adviſing the deſtruction of the widow, who they conceived to be by no means chargeable with the crimes of her late huſband. On the other hand it was urged that, with a view to the gratification of her amourous deſires, Ceſonia had adminiſtered to Caius a provocative preparation, which had operated ſo powerfully as to affect his intellects, and precipitate him to the perpetration of the moſt ſhocking barbarities; and that the

the woman muſt therefore be conſidered as the primary ſource of the common calamities. The party who eſpouſed the latter opinion prevailed, and therefore Julius Lupus haſted away in order to execute his commiſſion. Upon his arrival at the palace, he perceived Ceſonia bitterly lamenting her unhappy fate, as ſhe lay with her infant daughter extended on the floor, by the corpſe of her huſband, which, in a bloody and mangled condition, lay expoſed, without any of thoſe decencies which it is uſual to provide for the dead. Ceſonia was heard to utter only exclamations againſt Caius for having refuſed to adopt the meaſures ſhe had repeatedly recommended, which would have ſecured him from ſo tragical a cataſtrophe. The preciſe meaning of theſe expreſſions ſtill remains a matter of uncertainty. It was believed by one party, that the counſel ſhe referred to was, to moderate his too rigourous government, leſt, by the continued exerciſe of barbarity and oppreſſion, his ſubjects ſhould be ſo enraged as to unite in effecting his deſtruction. The conſtruction which others put on her words was, that having received ſome intimation of a conſpiracy, ſhe had adviſed him to cauſe every individual of whoſe loyalty there was the leaſt reaſon to entertain a ſuſpicion, to be inſtantly put to death. Ceſonia requeſted Lupus to approach and view the mangled and bloody corpſe of Caius; and after giving way to the moſt violent emotions of grief, ſhe caſt her eyes upon Lupus, from whoſe countenance ſhe conceived a ſuſpicion of the purpoſe that had brought him to the palace, and this was fully explained by what he afterwards ſaid to her. After employing a ſhort time in bewailing her miſerable fate, with a ſingular fortitude and reſolution, ſhe preſented her bare throat to Lupus, urging him immediately to conclude the fatal tragedy which his aſſociates had begun. Having put Ceſonia and her infant daughter to death, Lupus immediately diſpatched intelligence of his exploit to Chæreas.

Caius expired in the fourth year of his reign. Even when a private perſon he was brutal and malicious in the higheſt degree: his appetite was depraved; he patronized informers; was of a cowardly diſpoſition, and conſequently cruel. He was fond of power but as it enabled him to behave cruelly to thoſe who had not offended, and to commit murder and rapine as the prelude to ſeizing on their effects. He courted the flatteries of the vulgar, and was ſo wild and extravagant in his ambition as not to be ſatisfied without the erection of temples and altars to his honour. The reſtraints of law and morality were equally diſagreeable to him; and he had no mercy on his moſt intimate friends, when inſpired by a principle of revenge. Poſſeſſing no virtue of his own, he was a foe to virtuous men, and was remarkably impatient of contradiction. He was guilty of laying with his own ſiſter, which procured him the utmoſt hatred of the people: for inceſt was deemed a crime of ſo black a dye, that it was ſcarcely thought poſſible that it ſhould be committed; in fact this atrocious offence had not been even heard of for ſeveral ages. It is not in my power to aſſert that he ever did, or even attempted any work of true dignity and magnificence, tending to the credit of the empire, and the general welfare of ſociety, except his erecting harbours and ſtore-houſes near Rhegium; and in the vicinity of Sicily, for the convenience of the ſhips which arrived from Ægypt with corn. This was, unqueſtionably,

queſtionably, a work of great public uſe, and emolument; but even this he did not purſue till it was compleated, but left it unfiniſhed, partly through the idleneſs and inattention of his agents and artiſts, and partly through the ficklenefs of his own diſpoſition; for his ideas were perpetually engaged on idle ſchemes, and he choſe rather to exhauſt his treaſure on his perſonal gratifications, than on works of great and public utility. Yet he was a moſt excellent orator, and a proficient in Greek and Latin. He poſſeſſed great preſence of mind, and was well ſkilled in extempore declamation on all ſubjects. His addreſs tended at once to convince the judgment, and conciliate the affections of his hearers, in debates of the utmoſt importance; a happineſs in him that was partly natural, partly acquired. Being educated under his father Germanicus, and his uncle Tiberius, who preceeded him, he emulated theſe illuſtrious perſons, who were diſtinguiſhed by this kind of eminence; and was anxious, in this particular at leaſt, to preſerve the dignity of his birth and education. But to what purpoſe is it for a man to poſſeſs a liberal and virtuous education, if, the moment he is at his own diſpoſal, he perverts its advantages to purpoſes diametrically oppoſite to what was intended! It is extremely difficult for men who have full power to do what they pleaſe, to act as they ought, from the mere impulſe of moral rectitude. When Caius firſt took poſſeſſion of his government, he ſelected for his miniſters a number of perſons diſtinguiſhed by their virtue and capacity, by which he greatly conciliated the affection of the people; but as his mind became by degrees depraved, he diſmiſſed his ancient ſervants in a diſgraceful manner; and at length, by the tyranny of his conduct, urged his ſubjects to ſuch acts of deſperation as ended in the loſs of his life.

Claudius, as hath been previouſly obſerved, being informed of the death of Caius, and the confuſion that reigned through the court in conſequence of that event, retired to conſult his own ſafety; though in fact he was in no danger, other than that an inſult might be offered to his rank: for he had been always inclined to a life of retirement; his conduct was modeſt and temperate: he was a lover of learning, particularly Greek literature, and an enemy to all the noiſe and hurry of life.

At this time the populace were half diſtracted; the palace was crouded with ſoldiers, who ran from place to place in the utmoſt confuſion; and the common people hurried about without regard to the authority of government. During this tumult, the guards, who were men of the firſt character among the ſoldiers, began to conſider of the moſt proper mode of proceeding; not that they regretted the death of the prince, who they thought had been puniſhed according to his demerits; but they conceived it would be prudent to adjuſt their own affairs; the enmity of the Germans, likewiſe, againſt the murderers, was leſs impelled by their wiſhes for the public weal, than a regard to their private intereſt. All theſe circumſtances combined, tended only to encreaſe the apprehenſion of Claudius, which was not leſſened by the ſight of the heads of Aſprenas and his aſſociates which were carried about in triumph.

Claudius had now retreated to a place where it was not poſſible to get but by ſome dark ſtairs, and there he ſtood concealed. In the interim, Gratus,

one of the emperor's guards, ſaw a perſon in a corner, who ſeemed to wiſh to conceal himſelf, and not knowing him, advanced, though the other begged him to retire. Having drawn him from his retreat, and recognizing him, he called out to thoſe near the ſpot, that he had found Germanicus, the moſt proper man to fill the vacant throne. Claudius, apprehenſive that he ſhould be put to death on account of Caius, earneſtly entreated their forbearance, and proteſted his innocence of the whole affair. Hereupon Gratus, with a ſmiling countenance, took his right hand, and bid him not to be apprehenſive for his ſafety; but rather think of taking poſſeſſion of the empire, "Of which (ſaid he) the gods have deprived Caius, and now offer "to Claudius by the hands of Gratus; that the people who have been ſo "long cruelly oppreſſed may be relieved from their burdens, and the pub-"lic welfare maintained: wherefore, Sir, in the name of heaven, reſume "your courage, and take poſſeſſion of the throne of your anceſtors." This being ſaid, Claudius was elevated on the ſhoulders of the populace, his joy and fear having rendered him incapable of ſupporting himſelf.

While theſe things were tranſacting, the guards aſſembled in ſtill greater numbers round Gratus, and began to murmur among themſelves, ſaying how unreaſonable an affair it was, that the inoffenſive Claudius, who had lived ſo quiet and retired a life, ſhould be thus deſtroyed; for they conceived that he was now on the point of being hurried away to execution. Some of them were for appealing to the conſuls, and as the ſoldiers crouded ſtill more together, thoſe of the people who had no arms diſperſed to ſeek their own ſafety. The progreſs of Claudius was now ſtopped; for he was unable to walk, and thoſe who had carried him had retired, on the former miſapprehenſion, fearing that they might be partakers of his fate.

The troops being now in poſſeſſion of the palace, their numbers encreaſing every moment, and no one to oppoſe their proceedings, they began to conſider how they ſhould ſettle the affairs of the commonwealth. The ſoldiers rejoiced to ſee Claudius among them, and joined in one opinion that he ſhould be advanced to the empire; partly in reſpect to his brother Germanicus, for whoſe memory every one entertained the kindeſt regard, and partly to prevent the ambitious projects of any of the ſenators, who having heretofore cauſed great commotions in the ſtate, might probably do the ſame again, if it ſhould be in their power. They now deemed the republican form of government to be irrecoverably loſt; and thought, if it was neceſſary that an emperor ſhould be choſen, it might not be improper for them to have the credit of advancing whoever ſhould be promoted to that dignity. Reaſoning in this manner, they preſumed it would be good policy to fix on Claudius for the man, and thus take to themſelves the whole merit of the obligation. The troops in general were ſo perfectly convinced of the reaſonableneſs of this mode of arguing, that after a ſhort conſultation on the buſineſs, they joined in an unanimous reſolution; and ſome of them taking Claudius on their ſhoulders, carried him to the camp, the whole body of the ſoldiers following, there to compleat the buſineſs they had begun.

During theſe proceedings a difference aroſe between the ſenate and the people at large; the former being for the eſtabliſhment of the commonwealth in its ancient ſplendor, and defending their authority from the uſurpations of tyranny: on the contrary, the latter, envying the power aimed at by the ſenate, wiſhed for a regal reſtraint on the proceedings of its members, and that they might be ſecured from their oppreſſions by an appeal to a higher power. The people at large, therefore, were tranſported at the elevation of Claudius, preſuming that, under his government, they ſhould be preſerved from the calamities of civil war, and all that conſequent diſtreſs in which the wars of Cæſar and Pompey had involved them.

The circumſtance of the ſoldiers having carried Claudius in this manner to the army, was no ſooner made known to the ſenate, than they ſent ſome particular perſons of their own body, who were inſtructed to caution Claudius "Not to endeavour to aſſume the government by force, but rather to "act as one of the ſenators, leaving the care of public concerns to that "body, who were legally qualified to direct the public adminiſtration of "affairs." They were likewiſe to repreſent, "With what a degree of ty-"ranny former maſters, among whom was Caius, had treated the people; "and of the danger Claudius himſelf had been in from the tyrant; and to "hint how ill it would become him to practiſe tyranny who had condemned "it in another: but that if he would own the authority of the ſenate, "and re-aſſume his former principles and practice, he would obtain the "higheſt applauſe from a free and powerful people, and obtain the charac-"ter of a wiſe and good man, contented with the ordinations of law and "providence. On the contrary, if he perſiſted in his deſign, after the "judgment that had been inflicted on Caius, they ſhould undoubtedly up-"poſe him, for which purpoſe they were well provided with arms, troops, "and every other requiſite: but that their chief dependance was in the "aſſiſtance of heaven, in behalf of ſo juſt and equitable a cauſe as the de-"fence of the public liberties."

The principal commiſſioners deputed to attend Claudius on this occaſion were, Veranius and Brouchus, who having delivered their meſſage, threw themſelves at his feet, and earneſtly entreated him not to take any ſtep that might riſk the involving the public in the calamities of a civil war: but the commiſſioners obſerving that Claudius was ſo ſurrounded with perſons belonging to the army, that the power of the conſuls was greatly inferior to that of the troops, they ſimply requeſted of him, that "If he was deter-"mined to aſſume the ſovereignty, he would decline taking it by violence, "but accept it from the ſenate; ſince it would by no means appear ſo cre-"ditable to ſeize it from the people by force, as to receive it as a proof of "their eſteem."

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Claudius adheres to his resolution. A report circulated by Agrippa that Caius was not dead. Claudius almost resolved to yield to the senate; but is encouraged by Agrippa, who takes his seat in the assembly, and gives his opinion on the present posture of affairs. Agrippa deputed to desire Claudius to resign his claim; but gives him previous instructions what to say. The reply of Claudius, who administers an oath of fidelity to his troops. An early assembly of the senate. The soldiers demand an emperor. A speech of Chæreas against Claudius. The soldiers march to fetch Claudius, but Sabinus protests against him. The people in general compliment him. An assault on Quintus Pompeius, who is protected by Claudius. Several of the senators wounded. The advice of Agrippa to Claudius. The execution of Chæreas, Lupus, and others. Sabinus pardoned by Claudius; but he afterwards falls on his own sword.

CLAUDIUS being perfectly well acquainted with the pride of the people who now made their solicitations to him, answered the commissioners in as polite a manner as he could do consistent with the laws of prudence. But the temptation of power was great; he was instigated by Agrippa; the soldiers were importunate in their advice, and promised to support him in the assertion of his pretensions; wherefore he was prevailed upon to assert the right he had to the dignity thus freely conferred on him.

Agrippa having disposed of the dead body of his friend Caius in a decent manner, and adjusted affairs as well as the present confusion would admit, he immediately went among the guards, to whom he reported that Caius was not absolutely dead, though very dangerously ill of his wounds, and that he was going to procure the assistance of physicians: but being informed that Claudius had been borne away by the soldiers, Agrippa immediately hurried after him through the croud, and at length, with much difficulty, found him; but terrified in such a high degree, that he was on the point of surrendering to the senate: but Agrippa instantly mentioned some circumstances to him, that confirmed him in his former resolution of maintaining the station he had acquired; and having thus done, he departed.

Not long afterwards Agrippa was invited to assume his place in the senate, whither he went, dressed in the gayest and most elegant stile, and as if totally ignorant of all that had happened. He had no sooner taken his seat, than he demanded of the senators how Claudius had disposed of himself: on which they related all the facts as they had happened, and then asked him what he thought of the present position of public affairs. To this he said: "There is nothing I possess in this world which I hold so "dear, but I would readily part with it to promote the dignity of the se- "nate: but I should be happy to hear something proposed, tending to pro- "mote the solid advantage of the commonwealth, rather than to listen to "idle tales, which are calculated only to catch the attention of the vulgar: "for it is a serious truth that, without an adequate provision of arms, men,

" and money, as a foundation on which to proceed, there is very little fuc-
" ceſs to be hoped for in a conteſt for dominion and authority." In anſwer hereto, the ſenate ſaid, that, with regard to thoſe eſſential articles, they were moſt amply provided; that as to troops, they had a ſufficient number of ſlaves, who would be very happy to be engaged on the condition of receiving their freedom. " This may be (ſaid Agrippa); and with ſubmiſſion
" to your ſuperior wiſdom, I wiſh your expectations may not fail of ſucceſs:
" but give me leave to make one obſervation. You are not unacquainted
" that the troops with which Claudius is provided are all veterans, well ex-
" perienced and diſciplined: whereas, on the contrary, we have none but
" a raw and undiſciplined rabble of wretched creatures, who ſcarce ever
" beheld a naked ſword, to engage with ſo many men of approved valour;
" wherefore, under correction of your better judgments, I humbly propoſe
" that ſome perſons may be commiſſioned to wait on Claudius, to endeavour
" to prevail on him to reſign his claim; and if any difficulty ariſes with
" regard to the perſons to be deputed, I am willing to make one on this
" buſineſs."

This propoſition appeared ſo reaſonable to the ſenate, that they immediately deputed Agrippa, and ſome other perſons, to tranſact this affair. Agrippa, however, contrived previouſly to have a private meeting with Claudius, whom he informed of the uneaſy ſtate of mind in which the ſenate was, and dictated to him what anſwer he ſhould make to the deputies, which was thought becoming the dignity of a prince. In conſequence hereof, when the commiſſioners attended, Claudius addreſſed them as follows: " I am not ſurprized that the government being lodged in a ſingle
" perſon is ſo diſagreeable to the ſenate, when I reflect how much diſtreſs
" the tyranny of ſome late princes hath cauſed them: but for myſelf, I
" have not an idea of any greater ſatisfaction than what will ariſe from the
" impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, which will ſecure the liberties and
" poſſeſſions of my ſubjects: for it is my intention, though ruling under
" the name of a prince, to govern by the general conſent and advice of my
" people. With regard to my ſincerity in what I now ſay, I wiſh only to
" refer the ſenate to thoſe proofs of uprightneſs and moderation which I
" have already given in times of great diſtreſs and difficulty." Having thus ſaid, he diſmiſſed the commiſſioners; and, after they were gone, made a ſpeech to his ſoldiers, to whom he adminiſtred an oath of fidelity, and preſented each private man with five hundred drachmas, gratifying the officers with proportionable ſums, and promiſing that the ſoldiers who were not preſent ſhould be in like manner rewarded.

Hereupon the ſenators ſummoned a meeting of their body, who aſſembled in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, on the following morning before day-break. Some of them, apprehenſive of ill conſequences, were afraid to be preſent, and therefore concealed themſelves in the city; while others went out of town privately, rather chuſing to ſubmit to ſlavery, and thereby preſerve themſelves from perſonal injury, than to run the riſk of loſing all their preſent poſſeſſions, by a fruitleſs conteſt for what they deemed to be

be already loſt; ſo that, on the whole, not more than an hundred ſenators were preſent.

During the height of their debate on the important buſineſs in hand, a number of ſoldiers came to the door, and called out to the ſenators, deſiring that they would appoint ſome ſingle perſon to govern them, ſince it was evident that nothing but confuſion aroſe from a multiplicity of governors: but they left to the ſenate the choice of a proper perſon. This propoſal appeared to be a ſnare, from which they knew not how to extricate themſelves; for they conceived that they had every thing now to apprehend from Claudius, inſtead of the liberty they had promiſed themſelves; though there were among the ſenators ſeveral men, who from the dignity of their families, and their affinity to Cæſar, might reaſonably have claimed the imperial honour. Among theſe was Mareus Minutianus, a perſon of the firſt rank, who by marriage was allied to the Cæſars, having wedded Julia, the ſiſter of Caius. This man offered himſelf to ſucceed to the dignity; but the conſuls artfully declined the conſideration of his pretenſions. Valerius Aſiaticus would willingly have put in his claim, but he was prevented by the remonſtrances of another Minutianus, who had been one of the conſpirators againſt Caius; for affairs were now in ſuch a ſituation, that any competition with Claudius would have produced a ſcene of horror and devaſtation not to be deſcribed; ſince his adherents were provided with great numbers of gladiators, and all kinds of military perſons, beſides a large body of watermen, and other people of the inferior claſs, who had been procured to attend, in caſe their aſſiſtance ſhould be wanted. Several of the ſenators, who intended to have been candidates, were prevented from making their appearance, on account of this dangerous confuſion, as they apprehended that fatal conſequences might ariſe, both to themſelves and the public.

Day-light began now to approach, when Chæreas, with a conſiderable number of people, arrived, and making a ſignal to the ſoldiers to keep ſilence, intimated that he had ſomething to ſay, and wiſhed to be heard: but the anſwer was that an emperor ought to be immediately made choice of, without loſs of time; and they prevented his ſpeaking by their vociferations. It was now evident to the ſenate, that this was not a proper time to think of adjuſting the government, when their authority was deſpiſed by the military, and the reverence due to their diſtinguiſhed rank made a jeſt of by the loweſt and moſt abandoned of the people. The conſpirators being informed of theſe ſentiments, grew perfectly outrageous; on which Chæreas, with an air of the utmoſt contempt, ſaid to them that, "If they "would not be ſatisfied without an emperor, he would produce one for "their ſervice, if they would but procure him an order from Eutychus, "as a juſtification of his conduct." It is worthy of remark, that this Eutychus was a charioteer to Caius, a man of moſt abandoned character, who had ſerved his maſter in the vileſt offices. To this taunting ſpeech of Chæreas he added many other bitter invectives, declaring that he would ſooner produce to them the head of Claudius, than acknowledge him as an empe-

ror; adding, "Has not a madman ſufficiently puniſhed us, but a fool muſt "be our next choice?" But his remarks and reflections were equally loſt on the public: the ſoldiers, without regarding what he ſaid, inſtantly drew their ſwords, took their colours, and proceeded to find Claudius, in order to ſwear allegiance to him, as others had heretofore done.

The ſenate was now abandoned by thoſe very people that ſhould have been its defenders; the conſuls were nearly reduced to the degree of private men, and the people in general almoſt diſtracted with grief and conſternation, on the reflection how unhappy their fate muſt be, after the inſults that had been offered to Claudius: every man, however, ſeemed to lay the blame of theſe misfortunes on others, in the wiſh to extenuate his own conduct. During the violence of this confuſion, Sabinus, one of the confederates, made his appearance, and ſolemnly proteſted that he would ſtab every man he met, ſooner than acknowledge the authority of Claudius; and, by ſeeing him in poſſeſſion of the empire, confeſs his own abject ſubmiſſion to ſlavery. Then turning to Chæreas, he ſaid, "How will you juſ-"tify your conduct? Will you, who were one of the firſt aſſertors of the "general liberty againſt Caius, recede from your magnanimous reſolu-"tion, in fear of death; as if a brave man could be happy who is not "likewiſe free?" To this Chæreas replied, "No: I am determined that "my liberty and life ſhall end together; but, at preſent, I ſhould be happy "to know the ſentiments of Claudius."

During this confuſed ſtate of public affairs, great crouds of people from all parts hurried to the camp, to pay their compliments to Claudius; and among theſe came Quintus Pompeius, one of the conſuls, who had acquired the particular enmity of the army, becauſe he had animated the ſenate to the ſupport of their liberties. On his coming forward to pay his reſpects, the ſoldiers drew their ſwords to attack him, and he muſt have fallen a ſacrifice to their rage, but that Claudius placed him by his ſide, and thus protected him. Some other ſenators, who came with Pompeius, were more roughly treated; ſeveral of them, who advanced to ſalute Claudius, were kept back by blows; all of them were in great danger of their lives, and among them Aponius went away wounded. King Agrippa now interfered with Claudius, who, on his requeſt, treated the ſenators and men of rank in a complaiſant and friendly manner: Agrippa obſerving that, when thoſe ſubjects were loſt, he would have no others but what he would bluſh to acknowledge. In purſuance of his advice, Claudius directed them to meet him at the palace, to which he was conveyed through the town in a litter, the way being cleared by a party of ſoldiers.

Now Pollio, lately made captain of the guards to Claudius, had iſſued orders that none of the confederates ſhould appear in public; but Chæreas and Sabinus, two of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of them, preſumed to violate this order: in conſequence of which, as ſoon as Claudius was arrived at his palace, and his friends aſſembled round him, he condemned Chæreas to death. Even the friends of Claudius deemed their conduct to have been inſpired by principles of bravery; but as it was thought neceſſary to puniſh the treachery, by way of example, for the preſervation of princes in future

times,

times, Chæreas was conveyed to the place of execution, with Lupus, and others of the conſpirators. In his death he exhibited great ſerenity of mind; nor by a ſingle look or action did he depart from the dignity of his character. On the contrary, Lupus behaved in a moſt daſtardly manner, and Chæreas treated him with the utmoſt contempt on that account. When Lupus was ſtripped, he complained that he was cold, to which Chæreas replied, that "Wolves felt no cold," in alluſion to the word lupus ſignifying wolf, as well as the name of a man. The executioner being prepared to do his office, Chæreas ſaid, "Are you a maſter of the buſineſs of cutting "throats, and has your ſword a good edge?" After which he bade him uſe the ſame weapon with which he had killed Caius. At length the officer did his duty, and diſpatched him at a ſingle blow: but Lupus, afraid of the ſtroke of death, kept in continual motion, ſo that the executioner was obliged to give him ſeveral blows, by which he was much cut and bruiſed, before he could be put out of his pain. When the people, a few days afterwards, came to celebrate the feaſt of expiatory oblations to the ſpirits of their departed friends, they paid Chæreas equal honour with the others, by throwing their offerings into the fire, agreeable to the accuſtomed practice, and ſoliciting his pardon for their former ingratitude. Thus ended the life of Chæreas.

With regard to Sabinus, he not only received a pardon from Claudius, but was continued in the poſt that he had heretofore held, in conſideration that he did not violate his truſt, even in apparent treachery. Sabinus, however, was ill diſpoſed to make a proper uſe of the mercy that had been extended to him, for he immediately ſacrificed his life, by falling on the point of his ſword.

CHAP. IV.

Agrippa confirmed in his kingdom by Claudius. A diſturbance ariſes between the Jews and the Greeks. An edict of Claudius in favour of the Jews of Alexandria. Another edict, in favour of the Jews in general.

CLAUDIUS was no ſooner eſtabliſhed in his government, than he made it his buſineſs to diſcharge all ſuſpected perſons from his army; which being done, he publiſhed an edict confirming Agrippa in the poſſeſſion of the kingdom which Caius had heretofore beſtowed on him; and herein the management and diligence of Agrippa in his ſervice, were very much extolled. He likewiſe gave him the government of Judæa and Samaria, as having been a part of the kingdom of his grandfather Herod; and this he conſidered as an act of reſtitution of what the family had been formerly poſſeſſed of: and he alſo, of his own mere bounty, beſtowed on him Abela, and the adjacent lands of mount Libanus, which had been the poſſeſſion of Lyſanias. Certain articles of agreement between this king, and the inhabitants of Rome, having been engraven on a copper-plate, were placed in the centre of the great market-place of that city, as a memorial to future ages.

Claudius

Claudius dismissed from prison his old friend Alexander; likewise Syfimachus, the officer of the customs, who had formerly been agent for Antonia, mother of Caius; but that prince, urged by passion, had imprisoned him. Claudius also contracted that his son Marcus should marry Berenice, the daughter of Agrippa; but the youth dying before the marriage was consummated, Agrippa gave the maid in wedlock to his brother Herod, on whom Claudius bestowed the kingdom of Chalcis, at the request of Agrippa.

During the reign of Caius the Jews had been very much oppressed and persecuted by the people of Alexandria: but they now began to re-assume their courage, and applied to arms, which gave rise to a sedition between them and the Greeks. On the first advice of this disturbance Claudius wrote to the governor of Ægypt to use all possible endeavours to suppress it: and at the request of the two kings, Agrippa and Herod, sent edicts to Alexandria and Syria to the following purport.

Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, *Tribune and prince of the senate, sendeth greeting:*

" FORASMUCH as we are informed that the Jews of Alexandria have " been heretofore gratified by former kings of Ægypt with equal rights and " privileges, enjoyed by the rest of the inhabitants, as is manifest by sundry " royal decrees, and records which are still extant in confirmation thereof: " and also that those rights and privileges have been to them continued since " Augustus first annexed that city to our empire, and from that time transmitted without controversy throughout the days of Aquila, and other succeeding governors which have been sent to Alexandria: and that the same " Augustus, on the death of their ethnarch, granted them the permission to " make choice of another in his stead; and to enjoy the full exercise of " their religion and discipline, without being molested or controled by any " one:

" Now whereas Caius Cæsar, instigated by a degree of madness ending in " blasphemy, hath violently urged the Jews to worship him as a God, in " violation of the faith and honour of the imperial grant, and in opposition " to all the rights of conscience; and whereas violent outrages were committed against those who refused to comply, by a factious party in Alexandria, who opposed their fellow-citizens the Jews: Now be it hereby declared that all those proceedings of Caius shall be void and of no effect; " and we direct that the aforesaid privileges of the Jews shall remain in full " force and virtue; and, by our sovereign authority, we hereby direct and " ordain, that both parties shall live together in love and unity, on terms " of general friendship, without disturbing the repose of the public."

The above are the contents of the edict particularly issued with regard to Alexandria; and the same prince issued another, respecting the Jews of the empire in general, of which the following is a copy:

Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, *high-priest, Tribune of the people, and consul elect for the second time, hereby notifieth, That,*

" ON the requisition of the kings Agrippa and Herod, our most valuable " friends, that we should grant equal liberties to the Jews in all parts of " our empire, respecting their customs and worship, to those we have al- " ready granted to the Jews of Alexandria; we most readily comply with " their request, not only in respect to the solicitors, but in consideration of " the merits of the people, and in gratitude for the amicable services they " have at all times rendered to the Roman power. For these reasons we " deem it just that they should be admitted to an equal share of the general " rights and immunities of all our cities, as well Grecian as others; and " that they enjoy them in the same ample manner which they did during " the reign of Augustus, of auspicious memory: and it is our farther will " and pleasure, that from this time forward, in whatever part of our do- " minions they reside, they be allowed to govern themselves by their own " laws, free from all interruption or hindrance, on the condition that they " make a decent use of this indulgence, nor seek to molest others in the free " exercise of their opinion, while they are permitted to enjoy their own sen- " timents in the manner most agreeable to themselves.

" Having thought proper to declare thus much, we hereby direct that " due notice of this our proclamation be given in all cities, plantations, " corporate towns, and other districts under our jurisdiction, as well in " Italy as in all other places; and that the several kings, princes, and " governors under our dominion have copies thereof sent them, for the pur- " pose of their being exposed to the view of all the people, for the space of " thirty days."

CHAP. V.

Claudius orders Agrippa to his government. Agrippa dedicates his chain of gold to God. Simon advanced to the office of high-priest, in the room of Theophilus. The command of the army given to Silas. Some inhabitants of Doris dedicate a statue to Cæsar in the synagogue of the Jews. Agrippa complains to Petronius of this outrage.

BY the above edicts Claudius Cæsar intimated the respect he had for the Jews: and as soon as he had issued them, he directed king Agrippa to repair to his government, having previously distinguished him by an abundance of honours, and given him a number of letters of special recommendation to all the governors and intendants of provinces through whose jurisdictions he was to travel. Agrippa adjusted his affairs, in the most expeditious manner, and when this was done, he immediately went to Jerusalem, where he discharged himself of all his sacred vows, and offered up sacrifices agreeable to the rigid forms of the law; likewise obliging numbers of the Nazarenes to cut off their hair. Agrippa having been heretofore bound with an iron chain

by order of Tiberius, a golden chain had been preſented to him by Caius, of the ſame weight as that of iron: now this chain of gold Agrippa dedicated to God, directing that it ſhould be hung up over the box of the holy treaſure, in the veſtry, as a laſting monument of the power and kindneſs of providence, in affording relief to mankind in their deepeſt calamities; and to intimate to the people in general, that the God who permits us to be oppreſſed, is able to raiſe us to our former ſtation. This conſecrated chain repreſented a lively picture of a prince become the ſport of fortune, and confined in irons; and then, as ſoon as imagination could form an idea, reſtored to his liberty, and becoming a greater prince than he was before. Nor is this any thing but what is agreeable to the viciſſitude of human affairs: for it often happens that things the moſt proſperous go at once to decay; while thoſe the moſt adverſe ſoon become proſperous!

Agrippa having thus diſcharged his duty to God, his next ſtep was to diveſt Theophilus, the ſon of Ananus, of the office of high-prieſt, which he beſtowed on Simon, the ſon of Boethus, who bore the ſurname of Canthara. Now this Simon had two brothers, who had already officiated as high-prieſts, as had alſo their father, Boethus, whoſe daughter was married to king Herod, as hath been mentioned in another place. This ſingular diſtinction likewiſe happened in the family of Simon the high-prieſt, the ſon of Onias, whoſe three ſons ſucceeded to that office, during the Macedonian government, of which notice hath likewiſe been already taken.

The king had no ſooner adjuſted the affair of the pontificate, than he began immediately to pay his reſpects and acknowledgements to the inhabitants of Jeruſalem, for the honour they had done him, and the veneration they had ſhewn him, by aboliſhing the tax on houſes, which had been paid in former times; which he conſidered as an act of civility that could not eaſily be exceeded. Agrippa now appointed Silas to be general of his army, in conſideration of the many dangers and difficulties they had formerly encountered in company of each other.

Some time after theſe events a number of young men belonging to Doris, impelled by the heat of their own imaginations, aſſembled together, and under pretence of a regard to religion, dedicated a ſtatue to Cæſar in the ſynagogue of the Jews. This circumſtance gave the utmoſt offence to Agrippa, who thought it would tend, in a high degree, to bring their religion into contempt: he therefore loſt no time in repairing to Petronius, the governor of Syria, to whom he made complaint of the inſult that had been offered: and Petronius expreſſed his abhorrence of the inſolence of the intruders, to whom he wrote a letter of rebuke, conceived in the following terms.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The offenders reprimanded by Petronius. Simon removed from the office of high-prieſt, with a view to reſtore Jonathan. He declines the honour, and ſpeaks in behalf of his brother Matthias. Marſus ſucceeds Petronius in the government of Syria.

Publius Petronius, *Governor of* Syria, *by appointment of* Tibetius Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus, *ſendeth greeting to the magiſtrates of* Doris.

" FORASMUCH as I have been certainly informed that, in oppoſition to " the edict of Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus, granting to the " Jews full liberty to live agreeably to their own laws and cuſtoms, ſome of " the people under your juriſdiction have been ſo preſuming, in defiance of " the ſaid imperial edict, as to profane their ſynagogue, by erecting therein " the ſtatue of Cæſar, which is an inſult on their religon, a violation of the " freedom Cæſar hath granted them, an affront to their conſcience, and an " indignity offered to the majeſty of Cæſar; for his image ought rather to " have been placed in his own temple than in that of others, and by no " means in the ſynagogue, particularly as the emperor had thought fit to " permit every man the free indulgence of his own opinions. I with to de- " cline giving any orders as from myſelf in this buſineſs, after ſo atrocious " an inſult offered to the authority of my maſter, who has not only gratified " the Jews with reſpect to their religious ſentiments, but alſo allowed them " the priviledges of freemen, in common with the Greeks, in the ſeveral " cities where they reſide: yet as affairs are now ſituated; as an outrage hath " been undoubtedly committed in defiance of the authority of Cæſar; and " whereas you diſclaim all concern in the affair, which you attribute to the " licentiouſneſs of a mob: you are therefore hereby required and command- " ed to deliver ſome of the offending parties to my officer Vitellius Proculus, " that he may bring them to me to anſwer for their conduct; or at leaſt " make him acquainted with their names; otherwiſe you will be ſuſpected " of having been concerned in the buſineſs. In the interim, have a proper " regard to the peace of the public, and quell thoſe turbulent ſpirits that " are diſpoſed to create confuſion. With regard to my honoured maſter " and myſelf, we are exceedingly anxious not to give the leaſt offence to " the Jews by furniſhing them with any opportunity or pretext of doing " juſtice to themſelves. However, for your fuller information in this affair, " and that you may not plead ignorance of the opinion of the emperor, I " herewith tranſmit you a copy of his edict to the people of Alexandria, " which was communicated to me by the honoured prince Agrippa, as I " was ſitting in the chair of juſtice; though it is already well known to the " public: and this edict poſitively requires the ratification of all Cæſar's " conceſſions in favour of the Jews. Wherefore I now give it you in ſtrict " charge, that from henceforward you forbear all kind of litigations with " that people, and peaceably permit them to worſhip God in their accuſ-

" tomed manner." In a word, Petronius gave such directions in this business, that he soon rectified all the abuses complained of, and prevented the like enormities being perpetrated at a future period.

Not long after this time king Agrippa removed Simon, surnamed Cantharas, from the office of high-priest, designing to restore Jonathan, the son of Ananus, as a person better qualified for that honourable distinction: but Jonathan declined it, with an acknowledgement of the favour intended by the king, whom he addressed in the following manner: " As the Almighty did " not think me worthy of retaining that sacred office, I rest contented in the " consciousness of having once worn the holy vestments. I could, origi- " nally, have better justified my entrance into that holy order, than I now " could my re-assumption of the dignity: but, Sir, as you seem to pay a " high regard to the worthiness of the party, permit me to recommend to " your majesty my brother, who is a man uncorrupted by the vices of this " world, blameless and without offence before God and man, and of course " highly proper to fill this dignified station." This candid and modest behaviour of Jonathan so pleased the king, that he readily agreed to his resignation of the office, which he bestowed on his brother Matthias. In a short space of time after this, Petronius was dismissed from the government of Syria, and Marsus succeeded to that honourable post.

CHAP. VII.

Silas thinks it reasonable that he should share the government with Agrippa. His pride and impertinence. Agrippa sends him to prison, but afterwards invites him to court. The reproachful answer of Silas, who is again ordered to prison. Jerusalem fortified by Agrippa; but the work is stopped by Claudius. The bounty of Agrippa. His magnificence at Berytus. He goes from Berytus to Tiberias, and receives royal visits. Marsus complimented by Agrippa. Elionæus made high-priest, instead of Matthias. Games in honour of Cæsar. Blasphemous compliments to Agrippa. An owl perches over his head. He becomes violently tormented, reproaches his flatterers, acknowledges his frailty, and dies. Account of his revenue and children. The ingratitude of Cæsarea and Sebaste. Affrontive behaviour. It is proposed by Claudius that the son succeed the father, but this is over-ruled by the favourites. Cuspius Fadus entrusted with the command.

SILAS, who was general to Agrippa, contemplating his faithfulness to the king, the imminent dangers he had encountered with him, and the difficulties he had undergone in his service, thought that as they had been friends and associates in the distresses of war, they had a right to an equal share in the honour and prerogative of government. Having meditated on these circumstances, he considered himself equal to the king, whom he treated with unwarrantable liberties. He was most insolent in his common discourse, at one time boasting of his own merit, and then insulting the king with his former low situation; frequently reminding him of the great services he had done him, the pains he had taken, and the hazards he had run to contribute to his gratification. These kind of speeches, often repeated

peated, had the appearance of reproach, and grew exceedingly tireſome to the king, who thought the freedom that was taken was greater than good manners would warrant; for the man who has been in a low ſituation does not like to be reminded of it when he riſes to a more elevated rank: and it diſplays equal meanneſs and ignorance to reproach a man with obligations conferred.

The behaviour of Silas became at length ſo rude, that the king was provoked beyond all patience, and, in the violence of his paſſion, deprived him of his command, and ſent him to his own country as a priſoner. But when Agrippa came afterwards to reflect on the ſeverity he had uſed towards a perſon to whom he had ſo many obligations, his heart began to relent; and the anniverſary of his birth-day now approaching, when all perſons began to make preparations to celebrate the royal feſtival, he ſent for Silas, to make one of the company: but the latter, who was a man that prided himſelf in ſpeaking his mind freely, and particularly in caſes where he thought himſelf offended, addreſſed the people who brought him the invitation in the following manner: "You perceive, gentlemen, the honour that is intended me by the king; but his preſent obliging diſpoſition will be of "ſhort continuance; and this conduct is but a ſpecimen of his former behaviour. He has deprived me of my commiſſion, and deſtroyed my reputation, as far as lay in his power; and does he think that I will now "refrain from ſpeaking the truth, or ceaſe declaring my opinion, while I "am ſupported by the conſciouſneſs of my own integrity? No: the public ſhall be apprized of the diſtreſs from which I have relieved him, and "the danger I have encountered for his ſake: and how am I rewarded but "by a chain and a dungeon! Injuries like theſe ought not to be forgotten, "nor to paſs unrevenged: take this anſwer to the king your maſter." It was now evident to the king that the obſtinacy of Silas was not to be overcome; wherefore he was again ordered to priſon.

Agrippa now gave his attention to the city, and fortified the walls of what was called the new town, at the public expence; building them higher, thicker, and ſtronger than they formerly were; and would finally have rendered Jeruſalem impregnable, but that Marſus, governor of Syria, ſent private intelligence of it to Claudius, fearing there might be ſome farther deſign: on which the emperor inſtantly wrote to Agrippa, to forbid his proceeding; whereupon the work was ſuſpended.

Agrippa was by nature ſo bounteous, that he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his liberal actions, having no higher pleaſure than in ſhewing the generoſity of his temper on all proper occaſions. Herein he widely differed from his predeceſſor Herod, who was of a deceitful, harſh, and cruel diſpoſition; excluſive of which he diſtinguiſhed the Greeks above the Jews in a moſt partial manner; which is evidenced in the treaſure he expended on foreign works of architecture and elegance; ſuch as theatres, temples, galleries, bathing-houſes, and places of parade: whereas he never put himſelf to any conſiderable expence in the erection of public works to the honour of the Jews. On the contrary, Agrippa was, in the higheſt degree, gentle and humane,

a friend and patron of ſtrangers, and of mankind in general; but in a more particular manner bountiful and compaſſionate to thoſe of his own profeſſion and country. To gratify his liberal wiſhes he choſe Jeruſalem for his conſtant reſidence. He was exact and punctual in the duties of religion, and offered a ſacrifice every day; yet he was free from all taints of ſuperſtition. One remarkable inſtance of his benevolent diſpoſition will appear from the following narrative.

At a time when Agrippa was at Cæſarea, a certain lawyer, named Simon, publicly reflected on him as a man of diſorderly life, who ought in juſtice to be puniſhed for his irregularities, agreeable to the practice of the church in ſuch caſes. Of this circumſtance the governor ſent intelligence to the king, who inſtantly tranſmitted an order for the attendance of Simon, who accordingly went to him, and arrived at a time when the king was at the theatre; whereupon his majeſty called to him, and, in a ſtrain of great humanity, ſaid, "If you know any thing of me, my friend, that is diſagreeable, I would wiſh you to make public declaration of it in this place." Simon could ſay nothing in his juſtification; but, in a confuſed manner, begged the king's pardon, which was inſtantly granted, (contrary to the general expectation,) and received an immediate gratification, excluſive of the pardon; for Agrippa prided himſelf more in the exerciſe of an act of humanity, than in that of revenge; and thought mercy, rather than pride, to be the characteriſtic of a king.

In every place where Agrippa arrived, ſome proofs were given of his bounty and magnificence; but Berytus was diſtinguiſhed above the reſt; for at that place, at an immenſe expence, he erected a theatre and an amphitheatre, of equal ſplendor; together with a number of bagnios, and arched walks, which were all finiſhed in the higheſt degree of perfection. Theſe diſtinguiſhed buildings were dedicated with a very extraordinary degree of pomp: variety of ſhews were exhibited in the theatre; with a diverſity of muſic, and other kinds of entertainments. In the amphitheatre, a number of gladiators exhibited their feats, in ſingle combat: and this being ended, no leſs than ſeven hundred malefactors were expoſed to another ſeven hundred, forming the reſemblance of a battle, and they fought till every man was deſtroyed; by this plan the execution of public juſtice being rendered a matter of entertainment to the ſpectators.

Soon after this, Agrippa went from Berytus to Tiberias, a city of Galilee, where ſeveral royal perſonages paid him their compliments; as Antiochus, king of Comagena; Sampſigeran, king of the Emeſenes; Cotys, king of the Leſſer Armenia; Polemon, an inferior prince of Pontus; and excluſive of theſe, Herod, king of Chalcis, and the brother of Agrippa. Theſe were received and entertained with a degree of royal hoſpitality becoming the character of Agrippa and his viſitors; and it was deemed much to the honour of the former to have ſo many gueſts of eminent diſtinction. While the above illuſtrious perſons were with Agrippa, Marſus, the governor of Syria, proceeded to pay him a viſit; and Agrippa, through reſpect to the ſovereignty of the Roman empire, went ſeven miles from town to meet him: but the above viſit, as it afterwards happened, occaſioned a diſſention between them;

them; for Marſus finding ſo many kings aſſembled in ſuch harmony, was apprehenſive that the public ſafety might be endangered by ſo powerful an alliance. Wherefore he diſpatched meſſengers to them reſpectively, directing that they ſhould depart without loſs of time, which circumſtance ſo diſguſted Agrippa, that he had ever afterwards the utmoſt contempt for Marſus.

Agrippa now diveſted Matthias of the office of high-prieſt, which he beſtowed on Elionæus, the ſon of Cithæus. In the third year of his reign over all Judæa, Agrippa made a journey to Cæſarea, formerly known by the name of Straton's tower, where a great number of the nobility, and other perſons of rank aſſembled from all parts of the province, to be preſent at a ſolemnity of games and ſhews, which he inſtituted in honour of Cæſar. Early in the morning of the ſecond day of this feſtival, Agrippa went to the theatre, habited in a ſilver ſtuff, of ſo rich and ſingular a texture, that the eyes of the people were dazzled by the reflexion, as the beams of the riſing ſun ſtruck on it. The rays of light that emitted therefrom appeared to the vulgar to have ſomething divine in them, and inſpired them equally with ideas of fear and veneration: and, on this occaſion, a fawning crew of contemptible flatterers extolled him as a deity, and in a formal manner, "Entreated him to pardon "the ſins ariſing from their ignorance, when they thought he was a mere "mortal; whereas they were now convinced that he was a being of ſuperior "rank, and ſomething more than human."

Gratified in a high degree by this odious flattery, he ſought not to ſuppreſs it; but while, in the pride of his heart, he was contemplating on his ſuperior dignity, and lifting his eyes towards heaven, he beheld an owl over his head, ſitting on a rope; which he conſidered as the fore-runner of miſchief, as a ſimilar circumſtance had heretofore been of good fortune: nor was he miſtaken; for he inſtantly felt a violent pain at his heart, and convulſions in his bowels. In the extremity of his torments, he addreſſed his ſurrounding friends, ſaying, "Now behold your god is ſentenced to death: by this inevitable "fate I ſhall prove the abſurdity and impiety of flattery, and by my death "convince the world that I am not immortal. The will of heaven be done! "I have had no reaſon, during my life, to envy the happineſs of any prince "exiſting; but ambition has been my ruin!"

He had no ſooner ſpoke theſe words than his pains encreaſed to ſuch a degree that it was neceſſary to remove him into the palace; and a rumour immediately ſpread through the town that the king was at the point of death. Hereupon the people in general, men, women and children, adopted the cuſtomary mode of clothing themſelves in ſackcloth, and united in prayers to God for the recovery of the king. In the interim, Agrippa, who was in an apartment at the top of the palace, could not refrain from tears on ſeeing his mourning ſubjects proſtrate on the pavement below. His extreme pain continued, unabated, from that time to the end of five days, when he died in the ſeventh year of his reign, and the fifty-fourth of his age. During the firſt four years of his reign he governed under Caius the emperor; Philip being tetrarch during the firſt three years; and in the fourth Herod being joint tetrarch with him. Claudius was emperor during the remaining three years; and excluſive of the government of Judæa, had beſtowed on him

thoſe

thoſe of Cæſarea and Samaria. His annual income was reckoned at twelve hundred myriads; but notwithſtanding this revenue he was obliged to borrow; for the liberality of his diſpoſition was ſuch that his expences exceeded his receipts. Silas being now in priſon; and Herod, prince of Chalcis, and Chelcias, general of the troops, being both his inveterate enemies, diſpatched Ariſton to deſtroy him, as by the order of the king, before his death was made public.

Thus ended the life of Agrippa, whoſe ſurviving family conſiſted of a ſon of his own name, aged ſeventeen years, and three daughters; of whom the eldeſt, Berenice, when ſixteen years old, was married to her uncle Herod. The ſecond, Mariamne, was ten years old; and the youngeſt, Druſilla, ſix years. Mariamne was contracted to Julius Archelaus, the ſon of Chelcias, and her ſiſter to Epiphanes, the ſon of Antiochus, king of Comagena.

The death of king Agrippa was no ſooner made known to the public, than the inhabitants of Cæſarea and Sebaſte, inſtead of making a proper acknowledgement of the many obligations he had conferred on them, loaded his memory with the moſt ſcandalous and opprobrious epithets that their imaginations could poſſibly give riſe to. It happened that at this time there was a number of ſoldiers at thoſe places, who, in aid of the calumny, took the ſtatues of Agrippa's three daughters from the palace, and conveyed them in triumph to public brothels, with brutiſh terms of reproach that are too infamous for repetition. They feaſted, and played the tricks of buffoons in the ſtreets, adorned their heads with flowers and garlands, perfumes and ointments, as if they were ſacrificing to Charon; and likewiſe drank libations of thanks for the king's death. In this manner they entertained themſelves, regardleſs of all the favours they had received from, and the obligations they owed to Agrippa, or of thoſe due to Herod, his grandfather, who had founded thoſe ſplendid cities, and the temples and ports appertaining thereto.

At this time Agrippa, the ſon of the deceaſed king, was at Rome; being educated in the court of Claudius, who being informed of the death of the father, and the horrid inſults that had been offered to his memory by the ungrateful inhabitants of Cæſarea and Sebaſte, expreſſed great concern at the loſs of the king, and equal indignation at the ingratitude of the other parties: wherefore he formed an idea of immediately ſending the preſent Agrippa to take poſſeſſion of his father's kingdom, which was equally agreeable to an oath he had taken, as conſiſtent with common reaſon and equity. But the emperor was eaſily diverted from carrying this plan into execution, by the perſuaſion of a number of favourites who ſurrounded him. They urged that it was unſafe to truſt ſo important a buſineſs in the hands of a man ſo young and unexperienced; for the commiſſion was of ſo difficult a kind, that it would furniſh ample employment for the moſt acute genius in the empire.

Theſe artful inſinuations induced Claudius to change his mind, and thereon he deputed Cuſpus Fadus to the command; but paid ſo great a reſpect to the memory of the deceaſed, that he ſtrictly charged him not to receive Marſus into the government, on the conſideration that he had been the determined enemy of Agrippa: but he gave him ſtill more particular directions to puniſh ſeverely the inhabitants of Cæſarea and Sebaſte, on account of the in-

dignities they had offered to Agrippa and his daughters. He commiſſioned him likewiſe to diſpatch to Pontus five cohorts, and the other troops that were in thoſe two cities; and to cauſe that their places ſhould be ſupplied by a ſelect body of men from the Roman legions then in Syria. This laſt order, however, was not obeyed; for on an earneſt application, Claudius was induced to permit thoſe troops ſtill to remain in Judæa. From this circumſtance aroſe many great calamities which were afterwards ſuffered by the Jews; and which gave riſe to a ſeries of war when Florus had the command: ſo that Veſpaſian, though the conqueror, was obliged to compel them to quit the country.

END of the NINETEENTH BOOK.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK XX.

Containing the history of the transactions from the year of the World 4009, to 4030.

CHAP. I.

Claudius deprives Marsus of his commission for Syria, and bestows it upon Cassius Longinus. A rupture between the Jews and the Philadelphians. Cuspius Fadus causes Annibas, Amaram, and Eleazar, the principal ringleaders, to be apprehended, and the first to be put to death, and the other two to be banished. Fadus passes sentence of death upon Tholomæus, the captain of a desperate band of robbers. Cæsar commands the sacred vestments to be deposited, as formerly, in Antonia: but Agrippa petitions that the Jews may continue in possession of the holy robes, and his request is granted. Claudius's letter to the senate. Herod, the prince of Chalcis, removes Canthara from the pontificate, and appoints Joseph to succeed him.

SOME short time subsequent to the decease of Agrippa, which we have spoken of in the preceeding book, the emperor Claudius manifested the respect he entertained towards the memory of his late royal friend, by removing Marsus from the government of Syria, and appointing Cassius

Longinus to succeed him, agreeable to the request which Agrippa had made and frequently repeated in divers letters to Claudius.

At this period Cuspius Fadus assumed the government of Judæa: and in virtue of the commission entrusted to him, he determined to suppress an insurrection which then prevailed between the Jews resident on the other side the river Jordan, and the Philadelphians, respecting the boundaries of a village called Mais, which was inhabited by a people remarkable for their courageous and warlike dispositions. The Jews having taken up arms, and put several of the Philadelphians to death, without authority from their superiors for pursuing such violent measures, Fadus was so highly incensed against them on account of their insolent and seditious proceedings that he caused Annibas, Amaram, and Eleazar, the principal ringleaders, to be put in irons; and he soon afterwards sentenced Annibas to death, and his two companions to banishment. "If (said he) they supposed themselves to be "aggrieved by the Philadelphians, it was their duty to submit their com- "plaints to my consideration. But since they have offered so daring an af- "front as to constitute themselves the judges of their own conduct, and "have insolently taken into their own hands a power that does not belong "to them, to dispense with inflicting the punishment they have incurred, "would be inconsistent with the duties of the office which I am appointed "to execute."

Soon after the above-mentioned sedition had been quelled, Tholomæus, the captain of a band of robbers who had committed great devastation in Arabia and Idumæa, was brought before him; and he sentenced the delinquent to be put to death; and pursued the most effectual measures, with unremitting assiduity, for extirpating all other invaders of the public peace, and despoilers of private property. He then sent to the priests and principal men of Jerusalem, requiring them, under the authority of a mandate granted by Cæsar, to restore the pontifical vestments, particularly assigned to the use of the high-priest, to the castle of Antonia, where they had been deposited in ancient days. It being apprehended that the requisition for restoring the sacred robe and sacerdotal stole to the castle of Antonia, might exasperate the multitude, the troops were drawn up, in order to preserve the public tranquillity: and the priests and other leading people of Jerusalem, judging that to put an absolute negative on the demand would be attended with danger, applied to Fadus and Longinus, respectfully soliciting that they might be permitted to represent their case to Claudius, and that proceedings might be suspended till they should obtain the emperor's answer to their petition. Their request was complied with, on the condition of delivering up their children as hostages, to which they readily consented; and the deputies in behalf of the Jews departed for Rome. Information being given to Agrippa, who was at that time resident at the court of Cæsar, of the arrival of the deputies, and the business they were employed to negociate, he petitioned that Cæsar would permit the sacred vestments still to continue in the possession of the Jews, and that, if he should be pleased to grant the request, he would transmit an order to Fadus, signifying his benevolent determination. Hereupon Claudius caused the deputies to be

called

called into his preſence, and informed them that he granted the favour they were commiſſioned to ſupplicate, bidding them make acknowledgments to Agrippa, whoſe interceſſion had influenced him in favour of the Jews: and he delivered to them the following letter.

Claudius Cæſar Germanicus, *tribune of the people, the fifth time elected conſul, the fourth time emperor, and the tenth time father of his country; ſends greeting to the ſenate, the people of* Jeruſalem, *and the whole nation of the* Jews.

" Whereas Agrippa, whom we have brought up with as much tenderneſs " and care as we could have manifeſted had he been our own iſſue, and to- " wards whom we entertain a moſt warm affection, has preſented your com- " miſſioners to us; and whereas the ſaid commiſſioners have expreſſed due " acknowledgments of our unremitting attention to promote the welfare of " your nation, and have repreſented the anxiety you entertain for being al- " lowed to continue in poſſeſſion of the pontifical robes and ornaments; " now we fully accede to your requeſt, but we grant this inſtance of kind- " neſs on condition that a ſtrict adherence be paid to the regulations eſta- " bliſhed in the time of Vitellius, whoſe memory we hold in very high ve- " neration, on account of the extraordinary virtues he poſſeſſed. Be you " farther informed, that we are influenced in your favour, partly on a prin- " ciple of piety; for our opinion is, that men may reaſonably claim a right " to the free exerciſe of the religion of their country; and partly by a " reſpect to king Herod and his ſon Ariſtobulus, between whom and our- " ſelf a reciprocal friendſhip ſubſiſts. By Cornelius, the ſon of Ceron; " Tryphon, the ſon of Theudion; Dorotheus, the ſon of Nathanael; and " John, the ſon of John, we have tranſmitted advices on the above buſi- " neſs to Cuſpius Fadus, our lieutenant. Dated the 4th of the calends of " July. Rufus, and Pompeius Sylvanus, Conſuls."

On the interceſſion of Herod, prince of Chalcis, and brother of the de- ceaſed Agrippa, Claudius nominated him to the charge of the temple, the holy veſſels and other treaſures, and inveſted him with the authority of ap- pointing the high-prieſt: and, till the concluſion of the Jewiſh wars, this power remained in the family of Herod. Having removed Canthara, Herod advanced Joſeph, the ſon of Caneus, to ſucceed him in the pontifical dignity.

CHAP. II.

Izates, king of Adiabena, and Helen, his mother, embrace the Jewiſh religion. Helen married to her brother Monobaſus, who hears a voice, while in bed with his wife. Helen brings forth two ſons, the elder of whom is named Monobaſus, and the other Izates. The partiality of the father towards the latter, who he ſends for ſafety to Spaſinus, where he marries Samachas, daughter of king Abenerigus. Monobaſus ſettles the province of Cæron upon Izates, ſoon after which he expires, and Izates is declared his ſucceſſor. The government entruſted to Monobaſus, during the abſence of Izates, whoſe other brothers are impriſoned. Upon the return of Izates, Monobaſus reſigns his authority. All the brothers of Izates,

Izates, excepting the elder, ſent as hoſtages to Cæſar and Artabanus. The arguments of Eleazar prevail upon Izates to ſubmit to circumciſion. Helen goes to Jeruſalem, where ſhe generouſly affords great relief to the people during a terrible famine. Artabanus ſolicits Izates to protect him againſt the conſequences of a conſpiracy. Izates applies to the Parthians by letter, urging them to call their king home. Upon the death of Artabanus, he is ſucceeded by his ſon Vardanes, who endeavours to perſuade Izates to commence hoſtilities againſt the Romans: but Izates rejects his advice. Having made war upon Izates, Vardanes is deſtroyed by his own ſubjects, and his brother Gotarza ſucceeds him, and he being alſo put to death, the government devolves to another brother of the ſame family, named Vologeſus. Abias, the king of Arabia, ſupports the ſubjects of Izates in a conſpiracy, and after being defeated, he deſtroys himſelf. Vologeſus prepares to engage Izates; but is obliged to draw off his army in order to protect his own dominions, which are ſuddenly invaded. The death of Izates, who is ſucceeded by Monobaſus. The mother returns to Adiabena, where ſhe dies. The remains of Izates and Helen interred at Jeruſalem. Theudas, a falſe prophet, put to death by Fadus.

ABOUT this period Helen, the queen of Adiabena, and * Izates, her ſon, embraced the Jewiſh religion on the occaſion which we ſhall hereafter relate. The king of Adiabena, who was named Monobaſus, otherwiſe Bazeus, became violently enamoured of his ſiſter Helen, and eſpouſed her. It happened that when they were in bed together, at a time when Helen was pregnant, her huſband threw his arm over her body, and, while in that poſition, he heard a voice, bidding him remove his hand, leſt it ſhould injure the unborn infant, which would prove an object of the particular care of the Divine Providence. He was aſleep when he heard the voice, but having awakened, and being ſomewhat recovered from his ſurprize, he communicated the extraordinary circumſtance to his wife. In the due courſe of time ſhe was delivered of a male child, to whom the father gave the name of Izates. Before the birth of Izates, he had a ſon, by the ſame princeſs, whom he called after himſelf; and by different wives he had ſeveral other ſons.

Monobaſus entertained a more tender affection for Izates than the reſt of his children; and his partiality was ſo apparent, that they conceived a moſt intolerable envy towards the favourite. The king perceived their jealouſy, but was inclined to attribute it to a deſire they ſeverally entertained of obtaining the firſt place in his eſteem, rather than to conſider it as proceeding from deliberate and ſettled rancour: but obſerving that matters daily bore a more threatening aſpect, he determined to remove Izates into a ſituation which ſhould ſecure him againſt the effects of the enmity of his brothers. He therefore ſent him to the fort of Spaſinus; and in order to ſecure him a favourable reception, furniſhed him with powerful recommendations and magnificent preſents to king Abennerigus; who received the youth with remarkable tenderneſs and reſpect, and at length conceived ſo

* Ezates, according to Tacitus.

high an eſteem for him, that he gave him in marriage his own daughter Samachas, and with her, by way of dower, a tract of land which produced a conſiderable revenue.

Being now arrived to a very advanced age, and apprehending that his diſſolution was ſpeedily approaching, Monobaſus was exceedingly deſirous of once more beholding his favourite ſon; who he therefore recalled from Spaſinus, and after embracing him with the greateſt tenderneſs and affection that can be imagined, he aſſigned over to him the province of Cæron *, which was highly celebrated for the production of various kinds of aromatic plants of the moſt excellent quality, and for containing the veſtiges of Noah's ark, which were expoſed to view, and eſteemed matters of great curioſity. During the remaining part of his father's life, Izates reſided in the country of Cæron.

In a ſhort time the king reſigned his life, and on the very day of his deceaſe, the queen aſſembled the miniſters, commanders, and principal officers, and informed them that her late huſband had elected Izates to ſucceed him in the ſovereign dignity, deeming him more eminently qualified than either of his other ſons for diſcharging the duties of the royal ſtation; but ſhe requeſted their advice, obſerving that a private opinion would not operate to procure the happineſs of a prince, in oppoſition to the general ſentiments of the people. The queen directed this compliment in order to diſcover the intereſts they were inclined to ſupport. According to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the country, the miniſters, when the queen had concluded her addreſs, made a profound reverence, and then proceeded to inform her, that they were perfectly ſatisfied as to the juſt preference of the deceaſed king towards Izates, who they were unanimouſly deſirous of advancing to the regal dignity. They ſaid the people were ready to acknowledge allegiance to Izates; and that if the queen judged it expedient, they would themſelves engage to deſtroy the brothers, and ſuch other relations as it might be apprehended would diſpute the right of Izates to aſſume the throne. Helen thanked them for the inſtance they had ſhewn of their zealous attachment to her ſon; but ſaid, ſhe deemed it improper to take any meaſures againſt the brothers, or other branches of the family, without the ſanction of Izates's approbation. Apprehending that they ſhould not be able to prevail upon the queen to conſent to the death of the brothers, the council urged that the ſafety of the new king rendered it neceſſary to impriſon them, and entruſt the adminiſtration of government to a perſon whom the queen might approve, till the arrival of Izates. The queen acquieſced in the meaſures laſt recommended by the council, and nominated Monobaſus, the elder brother, to aſſume the office of viceroy. She then placed the crown upon the head of Monobaſus, delivered to him the ſignet-ring and royal robe, called the ſampſera, which had belonged to his father, and inveſted him with the full powers of government during the abſence of Izates; who returned to Adiabena immediately upon receiving intelligence of the death of his father; and, on his arrival, Monobaſus reſigned his authority with the utmoſt readineſs.

During

* Cardon, in Eechart's Georg. Sacr. l. 1. c. 3.

During the reſidence of Izates at the fort of Spaſinus, a Jew merchant, named Ananias, contracted an acquaintance with ſome ladies of the court, and inſtructed them in the knowledge of God, according to the principles of the Jewiſh religion. Theſe women introduced the merchant to Izates, who he alſo converted, and in compliance with the earneſt entreaties of the prince, accompanied him to Adiabena, when he was recalled a ſhort time previous to the deceaſe of his father. It happened that, at the ſame time, another Jew converted queen Helen to a belief in our religious principles.

Upon finding that his brothers and other relations were impriſoned, Izates was extremely concerned, and the ſilent admonitions of conſcience would not permit him to conſent to their death, or to detain them in chains: but ſtill he reflected that if he reſtored them to liberty, the provocation to revenge which they had received might render his own ſafety very precarious: therefore, to avoid either extreme, he ſent them, accompanied by their children, as hoſtages, ſome to Claudius Cæſar, at Rome, and the reſt to Artabanus, king of Parthia.

When Izates perceived the partiality of his mother to the religion of the Jews, he deemed it proper to make a profeſſion of his own faith: and conceiving that while he remained in a ſtate of uncircumciſion he could not properly call himſelf a Jew, he determined to ſubmit to the operation, which he conſidered as eſſentially neceſſary to his perfect converſion. The queen endeavoured to diſſuade him from this meaſure, which, ſhe obſerved, muſt neceſſarily be followed by very dangerous conſequences, ſince it could not be expected that the people would preſerve their allegiance to a profeſſed Jew. The advice of his mother occaſioned the king to defer the execution of his deſign, on the propriety of which he conſulted Ananias, who declared himſelf perfectly of the queen's opinion. He ſaid, that if the king perſiſted in his purpoſe, he muſt himſelf be abſolutely neceſſitated to depart from Adiabena, in order to avoid the vengeance of the people, who would conſider him as a public ſeducer, and an enemy to the government; adding, that the adoration of the Almighty being an act of the heart, the external ceremony of circumciſion would be diſpenſed with, when the peace and ſafety of a whole people would be endangered by a compliance, provided an implicit obedience was obſerved to the laws and precepts of Moſes. Theſe, and other arguments of the like nature, reconciled the king to the notions of the queen and Ananias.

Some time having elapſed, a Jew, named Eleazar, came from Galilee to Adiabena; he was a man of great knowledge in the Moſaic inſtitutions, and it was referred for him to remove every doubt which had revived in the king's mind reſpecting the neceſſity of circumciſion. Eleazar being introduced to the king, found him engaged in the ſtudy of the books of Moſes, and ſaid to him, "I fear, Sir, you are not apprized of the affront you offer to the law, and of your high offence to the Almighty; for to be acquainted with the holy will is not ſufficient: a due conformity to the ſacred commandments of the Lord is abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation. On what motive can you remain in ſo dangerous a ſtate as that of uncircum-

" circumcision? If you are ſtill ignorant of the law which pronounces cir-
" cumciſion to be neceſſary, continue to read, and you will be convinced
" that to diſpenſe with ſo eſſential a ceremony is to be guilty of an horrid
" impiety." This remonſtrance had ſo powerful an effect upon Izates, that he commanded the immediate attendance of a ſurgeon in a withdrawing room, where he ſubmitted to the operation. Having informed his mother and Ananias of the tranſaction, they expreſſed the moſt terrible anxiety for the ſafety of the king's perſon and government; ſaying, that if the leaſt intimation of the circumſtance was communicated to the people, an inſurrection muſt be the inevitable conſequence, ſince they would never ſubmit to be governed by a prince profeſſing a faith contrary to the eſtabliſhed religion of the country: and they were greatly alarmed on their own accounts, apprehending that in the general outrage they ſhould fall a ſacrifice to public vengeance, under the ſuppoſition of being the adviſers and abettors of an act ſo violently militating againſt the inclinations of the people. The caſe of Izates is to be conſidered as an admirable leſſon to mankind; for it pleaſed the Almighty to deliver him from the moſt deſperate and hopeleſs ſituation; thereby intimating that virtue and piety will infallibly meet with due reward; but this matter will be treated of more at large in the ſequel.

Izates being eſtabliſhed in the peaceable poſſeſſion of his government, and having obtained in his own country, as well as in foreign parts, the reputation of being a juſt and wiſe prince, eſteemed by his fellow-creatures, and particularly favoured by the Almighty; the queen conſidered that ſince affairs were ſo happily ſituated in Adiabena, ſhe might reaſonably indulge an inclination ſhe had conceived of viſiting the holy temple at Jeruſalem, and of performing worſhip, and offering ſacrifice, according to the eſtabliſhed regulations. Izates highly approved of the intended expedition, provided his mother with immenſe ſums of money, and proceeded with her ſeveral days on her journey. At this time ſo terrible a famine prevailed in Jeruſalem that many of the inhabitants daily periſhed; the arrival of the benevolent queen therefore proved a very happy circumſtance; for ſhe had no ſooner received information of the public neceſſities than ſhe diſpatched meſſengers to procure the means of ſubſiſtence. In a ſhort time great quantities of wheat were brought from Alexandria, dried figs from the iſland of Cyprus; and theſe and other articles which had been procured by her order, ſhe cauſed to be diſtributed among the diſtreſſed Jews, whereby ſhe obtained a degree of reputation adequate to the ſeaſonable proof ſhe had afforded of her munificent and liberal diſpoſition. Upon receiving intelligence of the famine, Izates ſent vaſt ſums conſigned to the governors of Jeruſalem, to be applied to the uſe of ſuch of the people as ſtood in need of relief. But the particulars of the royal bounty on the above occaſion will come with more propriety hereafter.

The principal men at the court of Parthia having engaged in a conſpiracy, they became at length ſo formidable, and proceeded in their deſigns with ſo much reſolution, that the king judged it would be exceedingly dangerous to remain in his own dominions; he therefore determined to requeſt the advice and aſſiſtance of Izates, as the moſt probable means of re-eſta-

bliſhing himſelf in his former ſtate of ſafety and power. In purſuance of this deſign Artabanus collected about a thouſand of his relations and moſt truſty friends, and, attended by theſe perſons, proceeded to meet Izates. The kings, who were not perſonally known to each other, met on the public way; but, from the great ſplendor and magnificence of his equipage, Artabanus readily concluded that the party approaching could be no other than Izates; therefore advancing towards him, he ſaluted him, according to the cuſtom of the country, with a reverence called *adoration*, and then addreſſed him to the following purpoſe: "Let me not be the object of "your contempt, moſt illuſtrious prince! becauſe you now ſee me in the "degrading ſituation of an humble ſupplicant. From the regal dignity it "is my unhappy fortune to be reduced to the obſcurity of a private ſtation; "and the extremity of my circumſtances compels me to ſeek a reſource in "your majeſty's beneficence: and permit me to declare, that I entertain "hopes of receiving ſuccour from a prince, whoſe excellent underſtanding "will naturally ſuggeſt to him a juſt idea of the viciſſitudes to which human "life is expoſed; and who will reflect that his own elevated ſtation affords "no perfect ſecurity againſt a change of fortune ſimilar to that which I "have unhappily experienced. I muſt further obſerve, that it is the com-"mon intereſt of princes to aſſiſt and protect each other, for the ſucceſs of "a revolt againſt one prince ſerves to encourage the reſtleſs and factious "ſpirits of other nations to conſpiracy and rebellion." The addreſs of Artabanus was accompanied with tears, and a countenance that plainly evinced the dejected ſtate of his heart. When Izates underſtood that his ſupplicant was the king of Arabia, he inſtantly diſmounted from his horſe, and in the moſt kind and encouraging manner exhorted him not to deſpair, but rather to cheriſh the hope that divine Providence would reſtore him to his former exalted ſtation. "Be aſſured, royal ſir, (ſaid Izates) that you will "find in me a ſteady friend, and a more conſiderable ally than you expect: "for I will re-eſtabliſh you in the full poſſeſſion of your former authority, or "relinquiſh my own crown in your favour." Izates now obliged Artabanus to mount his horſe, declaring his intention of accompanying him on foot, in acknowledgment of his ſuperiority; but in this Artabanus refuſed to comply, ſaying he would inſtantly diſmount if Izates did not take horſe and lead the way. At length Izates complied and conducted Artabanus to his palace, obſerving towards him every mark of diſtinction, honour and reſpect. He complimented him with the firſt place at all entertainments and other meetings, and in every other inſtance ſhewed him the greateſt reſpect; for he regulated his conduct according to the former ſtate of Artabanus, without deducting any thing for the unhappy revolution of his fortune, which he juſtly conſidered as a circumſtance to which every ſovereign was conſtantly expoſed.

Izates now diſpatched letters to the Parthians, earneſtly entreating them to recal Artabanus to his dominions, giving his word of honor, and offering, if they ſhould deem it neceſſary, to ratify it by the ſolemnity of an oath, that, on condition of their compliance, he would become engaged

that a full pardon ſhould be granted to all paſſed offences. Their anſwer was rather an evaſion than an abſolute refuſal; for they urged that having elected a man named Cinnamus to the ſovereignty, an attempt to diſpoſſeſs him of the authority would inflame the populace to an ungovernable outrage. Cinnamus, who had been brought up under the care and direction of Artabanus, was greatly affected at the miſerable ſituation of that prince; and being a man of an honourable and generous diſpoſition, he ſent word to him, that if he would return, he would himſelf be anſwerable for his perſonal ſafety, and reſign to him the ſovereign authority. On this aſſurance Artabanus ſet out in order to take poſſeſſion of his kingdom; and on the way he was met by Cinnamus, who taking the crown from his own head placed it on that of Artabanus, ſaluting him by the title of king, and behaving towards him with the greateſt reſpect and reverence, and the uſual formalities of ſtate. In teſtimony of his gratitude to Izates for having reſtored him to his throne, Artabanus granted him the privilege to wear a tiara, and lay on a bed reſembling thoſe which the kings of Parthia had the excluſive right to uſe; and he preſented him with the fruitful and extenſive country of Niſibis, which had formerly belonged to the kings of Armenia, and was celebrated for containing the antient city erected by the Macedonians, and called Antioch, but afterwards diſtinguiſhed by the name of Mygdonia.

Soon after the above occurrences Artabanus died, and was ſucceeded in the government by his ſon Vardanes, who ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne endeavoured to prevail upon Izates to commence hoſtilities againſt the Romans: but he was maſter of too great a ſhare of penetration to ſuffer himſelf to be unneceſſarily involved in a war with ſo powerful and well diſciplined an enemy: he was beſides on other accounts averſe to the meaſure propoſed by Vardanes; for he had ſent five ſons to be inſtructed in the language and diſcipline of the Romans, and his mother had taken up her reſidence at Jeruſalem for the benefit of devotional exerciſes in the holy temple. Izates endeavoured to divert Vardanes from his purpoſe by frequently repreſenting to him the undoubted bravery and great ſtrength of the Romans, and the ſurprizing exploits they had performed: but Vardanes was ſo highly offended by theſe expoſtulations that he immediately declared war againſt Izates: but he had cauſe ſeverely to regret his intemperate conduct. The reſolution that Vardanes had formed, and continued to perſevere in, of commencing a war againſt the Romans proved ſo highly offenſive to his ſubjects that they put him to death, and elected his brother Gotarza to ſucceed him in the government. After a ſhort reign, Gotarza was treacherouſly murdered; and the throne was aſcended by his brother named * Vologeſus, who gave the government of Media to Pacorus, the elder, and that of Armenia to Teridates, the younger brother by the father's ſide.

By the exemplary piety of Izates he acquired the reputation of being a perfectly virtuous and in every reſpect a happy prince: and in conſideration of the happy conſequences that had reſulted from the king's change of religion,

* Spanheim obſerves, that, according to an ancient coin, the name is Bolagaſes.

gion, Monobasus, his brother, and his other relations, formed the intention of adopting the customs and manners of the Jews. When the nobility and other principal people of the kingdom learnt what religious principles were entertained by the royal family, they were incensed in the highest degree; but they disguised their sentiments, judging they should by such caution find an opportunity of revenge with the less difficulty. They wrote to Abias, the king of Arabia, representing that Izates had forfeited every claim to allegiance from his subjects by an impious desertion of the established religion of his country, and that they were, therefore, resolved that he should not escape with impunity. They urged Abias to a declaration of war against Izates, promising him great sums of money, on condition of his compliance, and that on the first encounter they would desert their king in the open field. Abias accepted the proposal made to him, and immediately marched a formidable body of troops against Izates. When the armies arrived within sight of each other, Izates's soldiers fled, appearing to be in the utmost consternation: the king, however, made a safe retreat to his camp, without betraying any marks of confusion, or abatement of his natural courage. Upon making enquiry into the cause of the desertion, he discovered it to have been a pre-concerted plot between the enemy and his own subjects. Such of the conspirators as he was able to detect he consigned to punishments adequate to their demerits. On the day following he gave battle to the Arabian army, which he entirely defeated, committing great slaughter upon a part of the army, and putting the rest to flight: he closely pursued Abias, till he took refuge in the castle of Arsamas; and having reduced this place by storm, and made booty of an immense treasure, he returned to Adiabena in all the pomp of conquest. To avoid being taken prisoner, Abias put an end to his own life.

The leading men at Adiabena who formed the conspiracy against Izates still held the determination to pursue their purpose, notwithstanding a consciousness that their late treachery had intirely subjected them to the mercy of their king. They wrote to Vologesus, the king of the Parthians, urging that his apostacy from the religion of his country had rendered Izates the object of universal detestation to his subjects, and supplicated that measures might be pursued for effecting his destruction, and that the Parthian would nominate some person of his own nation to assume the government, which their present king was no longer worthy to possess. In consequence hereof, and without any reasonable ground of quarrel, Vologesus determined to commence a war against Izates. The Parthian manifested his intention by a revocation of the grants which his father Artabanus had made in favour of Izates, and a menace of immediate war if he presumed to dispute his pleasure. The conduct of Vologesus proved highly embarrasing to Izates; for he considered that to be deterred by threats into a compliance would be an argument of meanness of spirit; and farther that by relinquishing the privileges which had been so duly confirmed to him, and which he had so well deserved, no material advantage would be produced, since it was not probable that his acquiescence would induce the Parthian to suppress his hostile designs. At length he came to a resolution of risking life, honour

and fortune on the iſſue of a battle, fully depending on the aſſiſtance of the Almighty. He ſent his wives and children to a caſtle of great ſtrength; and cauſed great ſtores of grain and other neceſſaries to be removed to the ſtrongeſt forts he poſſeſſed; and burnt, or otherwiſe deſtroyed all the forage, hay, and ſuch other articles in the neighbourhood as could not be removed, and which if ſeized by, might have proved ſerviceable to the Parthian army. Having taken the above precautions, Izates waited to receive the enemy. Vologeſus had collectedan army much more formidable than could poſſibly be expected in ſo ſhort a time: and he formed his camp on the banks of a river ſeperating Adiabena from Media: near the ſame ſpot Izates encamped his forces, which conſiſted of ſix thouſand cavalry. Vologeſus diſpatched an herald to inform Izates that he was preparing to attack him with the whole force of his empire, which extended from Bactria to Euphrates, in order to puniſh him for having inſolently diſobeyed his commands, and refuſed to acknowledge him as a maſter; and that he was guilty of an egregious folly in depending for ſucceſs upon the deity he worſhipped, who had not power to protect him. The anſwer that Izates returned by the meſſenger was, that in point of numbers he did not pretend to rival Vologeſus; but that he reſigned himſelf to the will of an eternal God, whoſe goodneſs and power ſurpaſſed the narrow limits of human comprehenſion. Having diſpatched the herald, Izates proſtrated himſelf upon the earth, and thus addreſſed the Lord: "Almighty and ever bleſſed God, whom thy pious ſervants never ſupplicate in vain, vouchſafe to extend thy mercy to thy faithful creature, who now ſubmits himſelf to thy divine will, infinite goodneſs, and almighty power: puniſh the impious temerity of thoſe people who have dared to blaſpheme thy ſacred name: but this vengeance upon mine enemies I do not ſupplicate ſo much on my own account, as in vindication of the affronted honour of thy holy name." The humiliation and prayers of this truly pious prince proved acceptable to the Almighty: and on the ſame night the following event happened, which deſerves to be conſidered as a remarkable indication of the divine Providence in his favour. Vologeſus received intelligence that the Dahæ, and the Sacæ (inhabitants of Scythia,) encouraged by the king's abſence, had made an incurſion into his dominions, where they were employed in ravage and devaſtation: hereupon Vologeſus led his army in order to repel the invaders.

Soon after the above events, Izates expired in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his government. He left four ſons, but in acknowledgment of the integrity of his brother in reſigning the authority that had been commited to him in truſt, he appointed Monobaſus to ſucceed him in the ſovereignty. The deceaſe of ſo truly religious, affectionate and dutiful a ſon cauſed great affliction to queen Helen: but the advancement of Monobaſus to the throne afforded ſome mitigation to her grief. Upon the death of Izates the queen returned to Adiabena; but ſhe did not long ſurvive. Monobaſus ſent the remains of his mother and brother to be depoſited in the three pyramids which the queen had erected at the diſtance of three furlongs from Jeruſalem. Farther particulars reſpecting Monobaſus will be introduced hereafter.

During

During the time that Cuſpius Fadus held the government of Judæa, a pretended prophet, named Theudas, perſuaded great numbers of people to take their moſt valuable effects and follow him to Jordan, promiſing that by a ſingle word he would cauſe the waters to divide and afford them a dry paſſage to the oppoſite ſhore. He was followed by a great multitude, but they had ſufficient reaſon to repent their folly; for Fadus ſent againſt them a troop of cavalry, by whom many were ſlain, and others made priſoners. The ſoldiers returned to Jeruſalem, and the head of the impoſtor was expoſed as a public ſpectacle.

CHAP. III.

The government of Judæa devolves from Cuſpius Fadus to Tiberius Alexander. Judæa afflicted by a terrible famine. The crucifixion of James and Simon. Galilee taxed by Cyrenius. Joſeph depoſed, and Ananias appointed to ſucceed him in the pontificate. Tiberius Alexander ſucceeded by Cumanus. Herod, the brother of Agrippa, dies, leaving three ſons, Ariſtobulus, Bernicianus, and Hyrcanus. Claudius beſtows the kingdom of Chalcis upon the younger Agrippa.

CUSPIUS Fadus was ſucceeded in the government of Judæa by Tiberius Alexander, the ſon of that Alexander who held the office of * alabarcha in Alexandria, and who was conſidered as the moſt wealthy citizen of his days. Tiberius Alexander apoſtatized from the religion of his anceſtors, and was in other reſpects a more exceptionable character than his father. At this time a terrible famine raged in Judæa, when queen Helen procured corn for the relief of the people at an immenſe expence, as we have already mentioned. Alexander cauſed the crucifixion of James and Simon, the ſons of Judas of Galilee. During the time that Cyrenius was employed in taxing Galilee, the ſufferers above-mentioned exerted their endeavours to ſpirit up the Jews to a revolt againſt the Romans.

Joſeph, the ſon of Camydas was removed from the pontifical dignity by Herod, the king of Chalcis, who appointed Ananias, the ſon of Nebedæus, to ſucceed him. Tiberius Alexander was ſucceeded by Cumanus; and about the ſame period died Herod, brother of Agrippa the great, leaving the following ſons: Ariſtobulus by a former wife; and Bernicianus and Hyrcanus, by Berenice, the daughter of his brother, king Agrippa. Claudius Cæſar appointed the younger Agrippa to ſucceed to the throne of Herod. During the government of Cumanus, an inſurrection took place in Jeruſalem, in which great numbers of Jews were deſtroyed, as will appear in the following chapter.

* Vide Turnebus's Adverſaria, l. xxvii. c. 25.

CHAP. IV.

A great concourſe of Jews repair to Jeruſalem on occaſion of the feaſt of the paſſover. Cumanus orders a body of troops to guard the temple, and prevent tumults among the populace. A ſoldier offers a ſhameful indignity to the temple, and the crime is charged upon Cumanus. The army ordered to retire into the caſtle of Antonia. The people thrown into conſternation, and in the general diſorder twenty thouſand of them are ſmothered and trampled to death. Cumanus ſeeks revenge for the murder of a domeſtic to the emperor, and in the tumult the books of Moſes are found, and deſtroyed by a ſoldier. The Jews apply to Cumanus for redreſs; and the offender is condemned to loſe his head.

THE time now approaching when it was uſual for the Jews to celebrate the paſchal feaſt, otherwiſe called the feaſt of unleavened bread, vaſt multitudes of people reſorted to Jeruſalem on occaſion of the feſtival. Cumanus judged it prudent to place a company of ſoldiers to guard the temple, and to ſuppreſs any diſturbances that might ariſe among the populace. His predeceſſors had frequently taken this precaution on ſimilar occaſions. On the fourth day of the feſtival a ſoldier had the audacity to expoſe himſelf entirely naked to the public, who were enraged to the higheſt degree by this act of indecency, which they conſidered not ſo much as a mark of diſreſpect to themſelves as a manifeſt inſult to the Almighty power to whoſe honour the feſtival was dedicated. Some people, of more daring ſpirits than the reſt, attributed the offence to Cumanus, alledging that it was not probable the ſoldier would have been guilty of ſo daring an inſolence without having received encouragement from the governor. This diſgraceful imputation proved the ſource of great affliction and anger to Cumanus: but he exhorted the people in terms of gentleneſs to moderate their paſſion, and not to proceed to any acts of violence: but obſerving that inſtead of appeaſing, his arguments ſerved to inflame the rage of the populace, he commanded the troops to march into the caſtle of Antonia, which, as we have already mentioned, commands a view of the temple. Upon perceiving the army advance, the people apprehended that they were preparing to attack them, and the idea of danger was ſo prevalent that each endeavoured to provide for his own ſafety by a precipitate retreat, and the paſſages being narrow twenty thouſand of them were either ſmothered or trampled to death in the crowd. Thus did one beaſtly action of a ſoldier turn a public feſtival into a day of general ſorrow; for the public no longer attended to their prayers and ſacrifices and other ceremonies, but employed themſelves in lamentations and mournings.

Soon after the above unhappy events, ſucceeded another heavy affliction to the Jews. A number of people who had eſcaped from the neighbourhood of the temple had proceeded to the diſtance of about an hundred furlongs from the town, when they met one of the emperor's domeſtics, whoſe name was Stephen; and this man they aſſaulted and robbed. When the circumſtance was related to Cumanus, he detached a body of troops, with a commiſſion to ravage the villages of the neighbourhood wherein the fact

was committed, and to make prisoners of some of the principal inhabitants. In the plunder one of the soldiers found the books of Moses, which he produced to his companions, and having execrated the whole Jewish people, and their laws, with the utmost virulence of rage, he tore and utterly destroyed the books. Hereupon the Jews assembled in great multitudes, and Cumanus being at Cæsarea, they repaired thither, and supplicated that justice might be exercised upon the offender, urging that they did not consider him as deserving punishment for the affront to themselves, so much as for his horrid impiety to the Almighty. Cumanus judged it not prudent to deny the justice claimed by the Jews, lest a popular revolt might be the consequence: and after having consulted his friends on the matter, he sentenced the offender to have his head struck off.

CHAP. V.

A dissention between the Jews and Samaritans. The Jews defeated by Cumanus. The Samaritans exhibit complaints against the Jews to Numidius Quadratus, who pronounces in favour of the defendants. The matter re-heard at Lydda. Dortus and four others put to death. Ananias and Ananus, with several others, sent to Rome, in order for trial before the emperor. The cause heard by Claudius, who condemns the Samaritans to death, and Cumanus to banishment; and sentences Celer to be dragged to death in the streets. The government of Judæa given to Claudius Felix. Drusilla married to Azizus, and Marianne to Archelaus. The separation of Drusilla and Azizus, who abandons her religion, and marries Felix. Messalina put to death in consequence of her husband's jealousy. Claudius Cæsar dies, and, it is supposed, by poison. Nero declared emperor: he contrives the death of Britannicus, his own mother, Octavia, and others. Upon the death of Azizus, his brother succeeds to the throne of the Emesenes. Nero gives the lesser Armenia to Aristobulus, and part of Galilee, with the government of other places, to Agrippa.

SOON after the tumult mentioned in the preceding chapter had been appeased, a terrible dissention happened between the Samaritans and the Jews, the particulars of which we shall now proceed to relate. When the Galileans repaired to Jerusalem to celebrate the public festivals, it was their custom to pass through Samaria. As these people were going to Jerusalem on some public occasion, a quarrel took place between them and the inhabitants of a village called Nais, situated in the great plain, and under the jurisdiction of Samaria, and several of the people of Galilee lost their lives in the contest. The Galileans being incensed to an excess of rage, requested Cumanus to assert their cause, and he promised that due punishment should be inflicted upon the promoters of the disturbance; but they rejected all terms of accommodation, declaring their resolution to seek redress by arms. In this disposition they applied to other Jews, representing to them that a state of slavery was, under the most favourable circumstances, a life of infamy, but that with the addition of tyranny and injustice it became wholly intolerable.

intolerable. In ſhort, they animated the other Jews to take up arms; and Eleazar, the ſon of Dinæus, was elected to the chief command. For ſeveral years Eleazar had been a mountaineer, and obtained a livelihood by making incurſions in Samaria. Cumanus marched againſt the Jews with ſome ſquadrons of cavalry from Sabaſte, four companies of foot, and a body of Samaritans compleatly armed; and with theſe forces he entirely defeated them, committing a great ſlaughter, and taking a great number of priſoners.

The ſituation of the Jews was now in every reſpect ſo truly deplorable, that thoſe who were moſt diſtinguiſhed for rank, integrity, moderation, and good ſenſe, humbled themſelves in ſackcloth and aſhes, and fervently appealed to heaven to avert the dreadful calamities which ſtill ſeemed to be ſuſpended over their heads. They repreſented the deſolate ſtate of their country, the eventual deſtruction of the temple, and ſlavery of their wives and children to nations addicted to profane religions; adjuring their countrymen by the love of their religion, country, liberties, families and laws, to moderate their extravagant paſſions, ſuppreſs all farther deſigns of war, and peaceably return to their reſpective habitations. The arguments made uſe of had the deſired effect upon the common people, who gradually diſperſed; and the mountaineers returned to their former quarters, and continued to follow their illegal and rapacious courſe of living. From this period Judæa became a receptacle for robbers.

Numidius Quadratus *, the governor of Syria, being at this time at Tyre, the principal people of Samaria went thither, and exhibited a complaint to him againſt the Jews, charging them with having ſet fire to, and plundered their villages; and alledging that they were not ſo ſenſibly affected by the injuries themſelves ſuſtained, as by the contempt ſhewn to the ſupreme authority of the ſtate of Rome, which poſſeſſed the excluſive right of taking cognizance of all diſturbances ariſing within the province they inhabited. Having made their charge, they demanded juſtice upon the delinquents. The Jews now addreſſed the governor, accuſing their adverſaries with being the firſt promoters of the tumult, and ſeverely arraigning the conduct of Cumanus, who, they aſſerted, inſtead of puniſhing the authors of the riot, had been induced by bribes to connive at their barbarous proceedings. Having heard the accuſation and defence, Quadratus told the parties, that he would go into Judæa and inform himſelf of the real ſtate of the facts, and then pronounce judgment according to the merits of the cauſe. In a ſhort time Quadratus went to Samaria, and the matter in diſpute being ſubmitted to his deciſion, he pronounced that the Samaritans were the original fomenters of the tumult. Information being made to him that a deſign had been conceived among the Jews for promoting an inſurrection, he condemned ſeveral of the priſoners who had been taken by Cumanus to be put to death. From Samaria Quadratus went to Lydda, a borough of ſo much conſideration that it might have paſſed for a capital city, and again heard the cauſe of the Samaritans, one of whom charged an eminent Jew named Dortus, and four others of the ſame tribe, with having endeavoured to ſpirit up the people to an

* According to Salmaſius, Umidius Quadratus. Vide his annotations upon Ælius Spartianus.

an insurrection; and these men he caused to be put to death: Ananias, the high-priest, and Ananus, the captain, he sent in bonds to Rome, to which place he also sent many of the principal Samaritans and Jews, with Cumanus, the governor, and Celer, the tribune, in order for trial before Cæsar. Quadratus now went to Jerusalem, where he apprehended further disturbances would arise, but finding the people in perfect tranquility, and the attention of the Jews wholly occupied in their religious ceremonies, he repaired to Antioch.

The parties being arrived at Rome, a time and place were appointed for trial, and in all probability judgment would have been pronounced in favour of Cumanus and the Samaritans through the powerful interest they had made with Cæsar and the freemen, had it not been for the interposition of Agrippa the younger, who observing that the Jews were in danger of being oppressed by the superior power of their adversaries, earnestly entreated Agrippina to prevail upon her husband Claudius to grant an impartial hearing of the cause, and pass judgment upon those who should appear to have been the offenders. In consequence of the intercession of Agrippina, Claudius consented that the matter in dispute should be brought before him in proper form. From the evidence that was adduced on the trial, he adjudged the Samaritans to be guilty, and condemned them to suffer death; Cumanus he sentenced to banishment, and Celer, the tribune, to be conveyed to Jerusalem, and dragged through the streets till he expired: and he nominated Claudius Felix, the brother of Pallas, to assume the government of Judæa.

In the twelfth year of his reign, Cæsar appointed Agrippa to the tetrarchy which Philip had held, and of Batanæa, with Trachonitis and Abila*, which had been the tetrarchy of Lysanias: but he removed him from Chalcis, after he had enjoyed that government four years. After the great honours and advantages bestowed upon him by Cæsar, this young prince married his sister Drusilla to Azizus, king of the Emesenes, who had been converted to the Jewish religion. Drusilla had been betrothed to Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus, on the condition of his professing Judaism: but upon his refusal to comply with the terms, the contract was dissolved. Another sister, named Mariamne, he espoused to Archelaus, the son of Chelcias, to whom she had been promised by her father Agrippa: and a daughter, named Berenice, was the issue of this marriage.

Soon after their union a seperation took place between Drusilla and Azizus. She was admired as the most beautiful woman of her time: and Felix, the governor of Judæa, became violently enamoured of her. He informed a Jew, named Simon, who was his particular friend, and a man highly celebrated as a magician, of the passion he had conceived; enjoining him to exert his endeavours to prevail upon Drusilla to desert her husband and marry him, and to assure her, that if she consented, he would make her the most happy woman upon earth. Drusilla was prevailed upon to renounce her religion, abandon her husband, and marry Felix: and to this she was partly induced by

* Αβιλλα, but Abila seems to be the true reading. Vide Berkelius upon Step. Bryzant. p. 9.

the desire of avoiding all further uneasiness from her sister Berenice, who envied her the possession of the superior attractions of her person. By Felix Drusilla had a son named Agrippa, who in the time of Titus Cæsar, together with his wife, fell a sacrifice to a violent eruption of Mount Vesuvius, as we shall hereafter particularly relate.

Berenice for a considerable time survived Herod, to whom she was both wife and niece. A report being circulated that a criminal intercourse subsisted between her and her brother, she judged that the most effectual method for clearing herself from the horrid and slanderous accusation of incest would be to prevail upon Polemon, king of Cilicia, to embrace Judaism, and unite herself to him in marriage. In consideration of her great wealth Polemon accepted the proposals of Berenice: but she soon deserted him, and he then abandoned the principles of our religion.

Mariamne was not more virtuous than her sisters; for she quitted her husband Archelaus, and espoused Demetrius, the most considerable Jew of Alexandria, both on account of his family and wealth. He held the office of alabarcha * of Alexandria. By Demetrius Mariamne had a son named Agrippinus, who we shall have occasion to speak of in the sequel.

After a reign of thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days, Claudius Cæsar departed this life; and it was violently suspected that his wife had administered poison to him. She was daughter of Germanicus, the brother of the emperor: she was first married to one of the most considerable men of Rome, named Domitius Ænobarbus, to whom she bore a son called after his father, but whose name was changed to that of Nero, upon being adopted into the family of Claudius. After the decease of Domitius, Agrippina remained in a state of widowhood a considerable time before she was espoused by Claudius. By a former wife, named Messalina, Claudius had Britanicus † and Octavia: being jealous of Messalina, he caused her to be put to death. The eldest of this emperor's children was Antonia, the issue of a marriage with Petronia, and he espoused her to Nero.

In order to secure the succession to her son Nero, Agrippina contrived the death both of her husband Claudius and Britanicus, who was formerly called Germanicus. Immediately upon the decease of the emperor, she made interest with Burrhus, captain of the guards, the principal officers, tribunes, and other leading people, to convey Nero to the soldiers, and declare him successor to the throne. The first action which rendered him remarkable after his advancement to the sovereign power, was the causing Britanicus to be poisoned. A few years after that cruelty, he requited his mother for having given him existence, and possession of the empire, by murdering her in a public and most barbarous manner. He effected the death of his wife Octavia, as well as of many persons highly distinguished by their rank in life, and a proper conformity to the principles of honour and integrity; endeavouring to excuse his barbarity by absurd and improbable pretences that they had concerted plots against his life. But it is unnecessary to dwell on

* Or principal governor of the Jews. Vide Turnebus's Adversaria. l. xx. c. 125.

† See Notes upon Tacitus, by Ryckius, p. 498.

on this subject, the life of Nero having already employed the pens of divers historians. Different writers have spoken of Nero according to their respective prejudices, some having extravagantly commended his good qualities, and others, with equal violence, having excerated his bad ones: but, indeed, a more scrupulous regard to truth has not been observed in the histories of preceding emperors. It is my business to confine myself within the limits of truth in every instance; to touch but slightly on matters not immediately connected with the plan of this history, but to be more particular and diffusive as to what concerns our nation, candidly acknowledging wherein we have deserved censure, and faithfully recording the distresses we have experienced.

But, to renew our narrative; in the first year of the reign of Nero, died Azizus, the king of Emesenes, and he was succeeded by his brother. Nero bestowed the lesser Armenia upon Aristobulus, the son of Herod, king of Chalcis. A part of Galilee, Tiberias, Taricheæ, with Julius beyond the Jordan, and fourteen villages annexed to the same jurisdiction, he subjected to the government of Agrippa.

CHAP. VI.

The robbers and impostors of Judæa encrease. Felix seizes Eleazar by stratagem. Felix employs Dora to effect the death of Jonathan, and he is stabbed by ruffians. The disguise of pilgrims assumed for murderous purposes. The people seduced by a false prophet. The multitude dispersed, but the impostor escapes. A contention between the Jews of Cæsarea and the Syrians. The pontifical dignity conferred upon Ismael. The high-priests divide from the other priests, seize their tythes, in consequence of which the poorer sort perish through want of food.

THE situation of affairs in Judæa became daily more distressing; every part of the country being infested with robbers and seducers, notwithstanding Felix scarcely permitted a day to elapse without condemning some of them to the punishments due to their crimes. One of the most considerable of these people was Eleazar, the son of Dinæus, being the leader of a formidable troop of robbers: Felix got this man into his power by the following stratagem: he gave him an invitation to come over to him, promising in the most solemn manner that he entertained no design to ensnare him, and that he should, in every respect, be in a state of perfect freedom and safety: but Felix betrayed the faith reposed in him, and sent Eleazar in bonds to Rome.

It was through the intercession of Jonathan, the high priest, that the emperor had bestowed the government of Judæa upon Felix: Jonathan, therefore, considering that the public mischiefs arising from mal-administration, would be charged on himself, was induced frequently to expostulate with Felix, with a view to effect a reformation in his conduct. It is the disposition of men of abandoned principles to conceive an aversion towards those who offer good advice, which, however friendly the intention, conscious guilt represents as malevolence and reproach. This proved the case with Felix, who

revolved

revolved in his mind a variety of meaſures for removing Jonathan, and at length communicated his purpoſe to a man in Jeruſalem named Dora, who was held in great eſtimation by the high-prieſt. Felix promiſed Dora a conſiderable ſum of money, on condition of his effecting the death of Jonathan; obſerving that no difficulty would occur in procuring ruffians who would willingly execute the buſineſs. Jeruſalem was at this time infeſted by a deſperate gang of bravoes, provided with daggers concealed under their garments; and Dora employed theſe ruffians to execute the barbarous commiſſion he had accepted from Felix. In their uſual diſguiſe of pilgrims the robbers diſperſed themſelves among the friends, and thoſe who compoſed the train of the high-prieſt; and, availing themſelves of a favourable opportunity, they ſtabbed him amidſt the concourſe of people by whom he was ſurrounded, and then the whole party eſcaped. The impunity which the perpetrators of this horrid and ſacrilegious murder experienced, proved an encouragement to other iniquities of a ſimilar kind; for it became cuſtomary for ruffians, in the diſguiſe of pilgrims, to commit murders at public feſtivals, either from revenge, avarice, or other motives: and this practice was not confined to the ſeveral parts of the city, for the holy temple itſelf was no protection againſt the moſt abominable impiety and ſacrilege. After the ſacred houſe of the Almighty had been degraded from its original ſtate of purity, it is not wonderful that his wrath ſhould fall upon Jeruſalem; that he ſhould deliver the city into the power of the Romans, to be puniſhed by expiatory flames; and that he ſhould condemn the whole nation of the Jews, with their wives and offſpring, to bondage and affliction, in order to convince them, by ſo judicial a puniſhment, of their abominable iniquities.

Beſides the violences committed by robbers, the people ſuſtained great miſchiefs from the impoſitions of pretended magicians and other impoſtors, who ſeduced the populace to follow them into ſolitudes and deſarts, under pretence of ſhewing them miracles: but they had cauſe ſeverely to regret their credulity and folly; for Felix cauſed a number of them to be taken into cuſtody, and put to death. A man came from Ægypt at this time, and pretending to poſſeſs the gift of prophecy, invited the people of Jeruſalem to follow him to the ſummit of Mount Olivet, ſituated at about the diſtance of five furlongs from Jeruſalem; promiſing that upon his pronouncing certain words, they ſhould ſee the walls fall to the earth, affording them a free paſſage to enter the city. When Felix received intelligence of what the impoſtor had propoſed, he ordered his troops under arms, and, with a numerous body of horſe and foot, he preſently attacked the multitude by ſurprize, putting four hundred to death, and making priſoners of two hundred; but notwithſtanding the moſt vigilant ſearch was made, the Ægyptian impoſtor eſcaped.

The robbers, and other abandoned miſcreants, exerted their utmoſt endeavours to engage the people in an inſurrection againſt the Romans, whom they repreſented as oppreſſive to an intolerable degree. They traverſed the country, making ſpoil of the property, and burning the habitations of thoſe who refuſed to unite with them in oppoſing the power of the Romans.

At this period a contention took place between the Cæsarean Jews and the Syrians, on the score of certain privileges. The Jews of Cæsarea established their claim of preference in the right of Herod, their king, as the original founder of the city. The Syrians insisted that, previous to the establishment of the city of Herod, and to its being inhabited by Jews, the place had existed under the denomination of the Tower of Straton. The governors of the adjacent provinces being informed of the prevailing commotion, caused the incendiaries of both parties to be apprehended and whipped: this punishment produced a suspension of the tumult for some time: but the dispute was, at length, revived by the Jews of Cæsarea, who, priding themselves in their riches, calumniated and reproached the Syrians, who replied with no inferior degree of acrimony; for they were encouraged to a boldness of opposition by a consciousness that many of the soldiers in the service of Rome were attached to their cause. From words they proceeded to annoy each other by casting of stones, and the quarrel was continued till many on each side were slain and wounded; but the Jews had considerably the advantage. The contention having encreased to a kind of war, Felix commanded the Jews to decline all farther animosities; but finding that they treated his authority with contempt, he ordered his troops to march against them, and the consequence was, that many of the Jews lost their lives, and a much greater number were taken prisoners. Felix gave the soldiers permission to plunder, and they rifled several of the most considerable houses of property to a great amount. Those Jews who were most remarkable for moderation and honour, dreading still more fatal consequences, solicited Felix to recal his troops, that the offenders might have the opportunity of repenting of their rash and inconsiderate conduct; and he complied with their request.

At this time king Agrippa advanced Ismael, the son of Phabeus, to the pontifical dignity: and the high-priests now detached themselves from the interests of the other priests, and the governors and principal officers and inhabitants of Jerusalem. Each of the high-priests procured the attendance of a guard, composed of the most intrepid and seditious people they could select: and they vilified their adversaries in the most provoking terms, and molested them by casting stones. So shameful was the conduct of the magistrates, in neglecting to restrain the insolence of the high-priests, that, by means of their agents, they destroyed the barns and seized the tithes belonging to the other priests, many of the poorer sort of whom actually perished for want of food. Had no order of government been established, they could not have proceeded to greater extremities.

CHAP. VII.

Felix accused by the Cæsarean Jews: but Cæsar grants him a pardon at the instance of his brother Pallas. A mandate for disfranchising the Jews obtained by Beryllus. Judæa infested by bravoes and robbers. The people seduced to follow an impostor towards the wilderness: the procession stopped by a detachment of soldiers, who destroy the seducer and his followers. Agrippa constructs a palace commanding a view of the temple: and the Jews erect a wall to intercept the sight. Festus orders the wall to be destroyed. The Jews appeal to Cæsar, and, through the mediation of the empress Poppæa, he determines in their favour. Joseph advanced to the pontifical dignity.

THE emperor having now transferred the government from Felix to Portius Festus, some of the most considerable of the Cæsarean Jews repaired to Rome in order to exhibit accusations against Felix for the exercise of tyranny and injustice; and their representations must inevitably have produced his destruction but for the interference of his brother Pallas, who being in high estimation with Nero, solicited and obtained his pardon.

Two distinguished Syrians of Cæsarea applied to Beryllus, who had been preceptor, and now held the office of greek secretary, to Nero, and by an immense sum of money prevailed upon him to procure the emperor's mandate for the disfranchising the Jews, and the revocation of the privileges and immunities of the city of Cæsarea, which they claimed in common with the Syrians. This mandate is to be considered as the cause of all the miseries which we afterwards experienced; for the Cæsarean Jews were thereby enflamed to greater violence, nor did their restless dispositions subside till they were involved in all the calamities of an open war.

Upon the arrival of Festus in Judæa he found the country ravaged and laid waste, the people compelled to desert their habitations, the land overrun by great numbers of robbers, who set fire to, and plundered houses, and committed every other kind of enormity without controul. These desperadoes were called Sicarii*, from the word Sica, signifying the weapon they used, which was curving towards the point, and otherwise made after a form between the Persian scymeter, and the Roman falchion. It was the custom of these bravoes, on public days, when the people resorted to the city, to disperse themselves amongst the multitude and perpetrate the most horrid murders: at other times they attacked towns and villages, and subjected the unfortunate inhabitants to the most cruel extremities of fire and sword.

A famous impostor lived at this time: he seduced great numbers of the people into the absurd notion that if they followed him into a certain wilderness, they should be no longer subject to the misfortunes and accidents of life. However, Festus ordered the procession to be intercepted by a strong detachment of horse and foot, who pursued and put to death the seducer and his credulous disciples.

Near the porch of the royal palace at Jerusalem, formerly belonging to the Asmonæan† race, king Agrippa caused a superb edifice to be constructed. Being

* Vide Drusius de tribus, Sectis Judæorum, l. II. c. 24. † Al. Assamonæn.

Being ſituated on an eminence, it commanded a proſpect of the city; and from the king's bed-chamber might be perceived all that paſſed in the temple. This circumſtance proved highly offenſive to the principal Jews; for our law does not allow our religious ceremonies, particularly the ſacrifices to be expoſed. To intercept the view from the king's bed-chamber, the Jews erected a wall before the ſeats, which incloſed the interior part of the temple toward the weſt, and it likewiſe concealed the galleries without the temple on the other ſide, where the Roman guards are ſtationed on public days, for preſerving tranquillity. Agrippa was highly offended with the Jews for building the wall, and Feſtus was ſtill more ſo; and the latter ordered them immediately to deſtroy it: but they replied, that they would ſooner relinquiſh their lives, than commit any violence upon their temple; and they requeſted that, before any meaſures were purſued againſt them, they might be permitted to appeal to Cæſar, through the agency of deputies; and Feſtus complied with their deſire. They nominated ten eminent citizens, with Iſmael, the high-prieſt, and Chelcias, the treaſurer of the temple, as commiſſioners to repreſent their caſe to Nero. Poppœa, the emperor's wife, a woman of great piety, and a friend to the Jews, interceded with Nero, and prevailed upon him to authorize the continuance of the wall. The empreſs detained Iſmael and Chelcias as hoſtages, but the ten deputies were permitted to return. Agrippa being informed that the Jews had obtained their ſuit, beſtowed the pontificate upon Joſeph, otherwiſe named Cabis, the ſon of Simon, who had formerly enjoyed the dignity of the high-prieſt-hood.

CHAP. VIII.

Albinus ſucceeds the deceaſed Feſtus. Ananus, a cruel and vindictive ſadducee, advanced to the pontificate, in the room of Joſeph. Ananus ſummonſes James, the brother of Jeſus, and others, to appear before the council on an accuſation of blaſphemy, and a violation of the law; and they are condemned to be ſtoned. Ananus threatened by Albinus. Agrippa promotes Jeſus, the ſon of Damneus, to the pontificate, in the room of Ananus. Agrippa makes conſiderable additions to Cæſarea Philippi, and names it Neronias. He conſtructs a ſuperb theatre at Berytus. Jeſus, the ſon of Gamaliel appointed high-prieſt inſtead of Jeſus, the ſon of Damneus. Coſtobarus and Saul attended by ruffians. Albinus ſucceeded by Geſſius Florus. The ſinging men of the tribe of Levi ſolicit and obtain certain privileges. Another ſect of levites officiate in the temple in violation of the law. The temple compleated. Agrippa rejects the petition of the Jews to repair the porch, a deſcription of which is given. Jeſus, the ſon of Theophilus, ſucceeds Jeſus, the ſon of Gamaliel, as high-prieſt. The origin, qualifications and number of the high-prieſts. The different forms of government. Particulars reſpecting the pontificate.

UPON the deceaſe of Feſtus, Nero conferred the government he had enjoyed upon Albinus. At the ſame period Agrippa diſplaced Joſeph, and promoted Ananus, the ſon of Ananus, to ſucceed him in the pontificate.

cate. The elder Ananus was considered as one of the most happy men on earth; for he had five sons, who successively enjoyed the pontificate after him: and this was what no other man could boast. Ananus, the son, was of a vindictive, fierce and haughty temper: he professed the principles of the sadducees, who, as we have already observed, were a sect remarkable for their censorious and uncharitable dispositions. After the death of Festus, and previous to the arrival of his successor Albinus, Ananus assembled a council, and cited James, named Christ, and others to appear, and answer to an accusation of having committed blasphemy, and violated the law; and in consequence of this charge they were sentenced to be stoned. The conduct of Ananus, with respect to these supposed offenders, proved highly disgusting to those citizens whose sentiments were regulated by motives of piety, and a due regard to the laws: and they privately transmitted a representation of the case to the king, requesting that Ananus might be reprimanded, in order to deter him from a repetition of his unjustifiable conduct. The matter was also related to Albinus, then on his journey to Alexandria, to whom the letters set forth, that the parties could not be legally condemned without his concurrence, and that therefore Ananus had been guilty of usurping his authority and violating the law. Highly incensed against the high-priest, Albinus wrote to him a menacing letter, strongly expressive of his displeasure: and on the expiration of three months, king Agrippa deposed Ananus from the pontificate, and appointed Jesus, the son of Damneus, to assume that dignity.

Upon the arrival of Albinus at Jerusalem, he caused a considerable part of the robbers to be put to death, and exerted his utmost endeavours to restore the province to a state of tranquillity. Ananus frequently complimented Albinus and the high-priest with presents, and in many other instances shewed them great respect: and he gained the particular esteem of the people by his affable and generous disposition: but he entertained a number of profligate domestics, who, uniting with others of equally abandoned principles, broke into the barns belonging to the priests, and stole their tythes, cruelly beating and wounding such as opposed them; in consequence hereof the priests, who had no means of subsistence but their tenths, were reduced to the most extreme distress.

On a holiday-eve the robbers privately gained admittance to the city, and surprized the son of Ananus, the high-priest, who held the office of secretary to Eleazar, a military officer, and having confined him in bonds, they carried him off. They dispatched a message to Ananus, proposing that on condition of his prevailing upon Albinus to dismiss from his custody ten of their associates, they would restore their prisoner to liberty. Albinus foresaw that a compliance with the request would be productive of ill consequences; but yet, in a case of so pressing a nature, he could not refuse. The redemption of Ananus's son proved a dangerous precedent; for the desperadoes were perpetually inventing stratagems for making prisoners of the relations of Ananus, for the purpose of redeeming their companions. They greatly encreased in number and strength, and committed the most terrible devastation throughout the country.

Cæsarea Philippi had now been considerably enlarged by king Agrippa, who, in honour of Nero, had given it the appellation of Neronias. At Berytus he caused a superb theatre to be erected at a great expence; and he endowed the building with an immense sum of money, for the purpose of annual exhibitions, and for providing corn and oil to be distributed among the people at a certain proportion by the head. He enriched the city with curious statues, a most valuable collection of antique pieces, the productions of the most capital artists, and other pictures: this town, in short, was the receptacle of the most curious and valuable articles in the kingdom. Agrippa was rendered extremely unpopular by his partiality to Berytus; his subjects considering themselves highly aggrieved by the king's divesting his own cities and villages of curiosities and valuables, for the purpose of gratifying strangers.

Agrippa deposed the high-priest Jesus, the son of Damneus, and appointed Jesus the son of Gamaliel to succeed him: in consequence hereof a violent enmity ensued between the parties, who were each attended by a band of ruffians, and when they met in the streets they reviled each other, and sometimes proceeded so far as to annoy each other by casting stones. Two men of the royal blood, and nearly allied to Agrippa, named Castobarus and Saul, had each a party of bravoes at his command: these men had great interest, and exercised great oppressions upon the poor. From this period is to be dated the destruction of our commonwealth; for the circumstances of the Jews were afterwards continually verging more near to the extreme of misery.

Albinus having received intelligence that Gessius Florus was appointed to succeed him, determined as the most effectual means of obtaining the esteem of the people, to execute justice upon the offenders who had been apprehended and committed to prison. He ordered the prisoners to be brought into his presence; and pronounced judgment upon them according to their degrees of criminality: such as were accused only of slight offences, he dismissed on their paying fines, and he sentenced those to death against whom sufficient evidence was adduced to prove the commission of capital crimes. Thus by clearing the jails did he suffer the country to be over-run by robbers and other abandoned characters. The singing men of the tribe of Levi petitioned Agrippa for permission to use the linen stole, which only the priests had then a right to wear; urging that from a compliance with their request he would derive immortal honour. The king summoned a council, and granted their petition with the usual formalities: and the other levites who served in the temple he permitted to officiate as singers. The grant of these privileges was contrary to the laws and customs of our nation, which have never been violated with impunity.

The temple being now compleated, eighteen thousand workmen, who had been paid for their labour with the utmost punctuality, now become destitute of employment. The people being desirous to assist these distressed artificers, and unwilling to keep large sums of money by them lest they should be seized by the Romans, made a proposal to Agrippa for repairing an edifice, situated on the east side of the temple, which overlooked a narrow valley of

great depth. The wall of this building was four hundred cubits high: the ſtones were white, each being twenty cubits long and ſix deep, and the ſurface of them wrought ſmooth and regular. The ſtructure was raiſed by Solomon, the original founder of the temple. Claudius Cæſar commiſſioned Agrippa to make the propoſed reparations; but Agrippa conſidering the extenſiveneſs of the undertaking, the immenſe ſums of money it would require, and that all human works might eaſily be deſtroyed, he judged that it would not be expedient to comply with the deſires of the public: but he propoſed, inſtead of repairing the ſacred edifice, to pave the ſtreets of the city with white ſtones.

After this, Agrippa advanced Matthias, the ſon of Theophilus, to the pontifical dignity in the room of Jeſus, the ſon of Gamaliel: and in his time the war between the Romans and the Jews commenced.

It will not be improper here to introduce ſome particulars reſpecting the origin and qualifications of high-prieſts, and to mention the perſons promoted to the pontificate till the concluſion of the above-mentioned war. Aaron, the brother of Moſes was the firſt of the order; and he was ſucceeded by his ſons. So inviolable a regard did our progenitors obſerve to the right of hereditary ſucceſſion that only thoſe of the blood of Aaron were deemed eligible to aſſume the holy office, even kings themſelves being excluded. There were eighty-three high-prieſts from the time of Aaron to that of Phanaſus, who during a time of hoſtilities, was elected to the pontificate by a faction: thirteen of them exercifed the holy office from the time of the tabernacle to the Almighty being conſtructed in the deſart by Moſes, to the time of the people entering Judea, where the ſacred temple was erected and dedicated to God by king Solomon. According to the original inſtitution there was no opportunity to ſucceed to the pontifical dignity but through a vacancy by death: but that cuſtom was aboliſhed, and it became uſual to diveſt the high-prieſt of his office and appoint a ſucceſſor. The thirteen perſons above alluded to, deſcendants of the two ſons of Aaron, enjoyed the honourable diſtinction in due rotation*. The firſt eſtabliſhment of the government was ariſtocratical, the ſecond monarchical, after which kings were inveſted with the ſovereign authority. We compute that ſix hundred and twelve years elapſed from the time of our people being conducted out of the land of Ægypt by Moſes to that of erecting Solomon's temple.

Under the government of kings the thirteen high-prieſts, already mentioned, were ſucceeded by eighteen others; reckoning from king Solomon to the time when, after ſubduing Jeruſalem and deſtroying the holy temple by fire, Nebuchadnezzar †, king of Babylon, ſubjected Jozedec and the whole nation to captivity.

Cyrus king of Perſia reſtored the Jews to liberty and their country, after they had remained ſeventy years in captivity in Babylon, and granted them permiſſion to rebuild the temple, the pontificate being at that time in poſſeſſion of Jeſus, the ſon of Jozedec. For the ſpace of four hundred and fourteen years, fifteen of the poſterity of Jeſus enjoyed the high-prieſthood, exer-

* Vide Selden de Synedr. Heb. l. ii. c. 15. p. 393, 396.
† Nabuchadonoſor Joſ.

exercising their authority in a popular manner, and then king Antiochus Eupator, with his general Lysias, put to death the high-priest Onias, otherwise named Menelæus, at the city of Berytus, excluding his son from the succession, and conferring the dignity upon Jacimus, who though of the race of Aaron, was not of the pontifical family. On occasion of the death of Onias, his son, whose name was Onias also, went into Ægypt, and ingratiated himself into the favour of Ptolemy Philometer, and his wife Cleopatra; he prevailed upon them to construct a temple to the Almighty at Heliopolis, similar to that at Jerusalem, and to appoint him high-priest. Respecting this temple we have sufficiently spoken already. Jacimus died after he had enjoyed the high-priesthood three years; but leaving no successor the pontificate remained vacant for the space of seven years. After the revolt of the Jews against the Macedonians, the dignity of the high-priesthood was transferred to the Asmonæan line, Jonathan being promoted to the pontifical office, which he exercised for seven years. Jonathan, falling a sacrifice to the treachery of Tryphon, was succeeded by his brother Simon: and upon Simon being assassinated at a public entertainment by his son-in-law, the dignity devolved to his son Hyrcanus, who enjoyed it thirty one years: upon his decease he was succeeded by his son Judas, otherwise called Aristobulus, who was the first that assumed the title and quality of king; having reigned one year he died, leaving his brother Alexander the heir both to the kingdom and pontificate. Alexander continued in the exercise of the regal and pontifical functions for twenty seven years, and then died, bequeathing the regency to his wife Alexandria, whom he authorised to bestow the pontificate upon one of his sons whom she should most approve: and she conferred the dignity upon Hyrcanus, who enjoyed it during the term of her sovereignty, which was nine years. Upon the decease of Alexandria, Aristobulus declared war against his elder brother Hyrcanus, and having subdued and reduced him to a private station, he assumed the sovereignty and pontificate. At the expiration of three years and three months Pompey conquered Jerusalem and carried Aristobulus and his children prisoners to Rome. He restored Aristobulus to the dignity of high-priest and appointed him prince of the Jews, but he was not to assume the title and character of king. Exclusive of the nine years already mentioned, Hyrcanus remained twenty three years in the exercise of the pontifical function. This time being elapsed, Barzapharnes and Pacorus, men of distinguished characters, and generals in the Parthian army, crossed the Euphrates and made war against Hyrcanus, whom they subdued and carried away prisoner. They promoted Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, to the throne; but in three years and three months he was made prisoner in Jerusalem by Herod and Sosius, who sent him to Anthony, by whose command he was soon after put to death at Antioch.

The Romans having established Herod in the regal dignity, he dispensed with the practice of selecting the high-priests from the Asmonæan family, and disposed of the pontificate indiscriminately, deeming even the most obscure persons in holy orders eligible to the office. The case of Aristobulus is, however, to be excepted; for he being the brother of his wife Mariamne, and the grandson of Hyrcanus, who was taken by the Parthians, and whose memory

memory was held in the higheſt veneration, he promoted him to the high-prieſthood, with a view to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of the people. The great and ſtill encreaſing reputation of Ariſtobulus inſpired Herod with envy and jealouſy; and therefore, as we have already related, he cauſed him to be drowned, while ſwimming in a fiſh-pool at Jericho. After this he entirely excluded the Aſmonæan race from the poſſeſſion of the pontifical dignity: and the ſame conduct was purſued by his ſon Archelaus, and by the Romans, when Judæa came under their government.

In the courſe of one hundred and ſeven years, from the time of Herod to the conflagration of Jeruſalem and the temple by Titus, there were twenty-eight high-prieſts, ſome of them being under Herod, and Archelaus, his ſon. After the deceaſe of Herod and Archelaus, our nation was ſubjected to the ariſtocratical form of government, and the high-prieſt was inveſted with the exerciſe of the ſovereign authority.

CHAP. IX.

Albinus is ſucceeded by Geſſius Florus, the huſband of Cleopatra, who exceeds his predeceſſor in wickedneſs. The beginning of the war between the Jews and the Romans. The hiſtory of the Jews continued from the creation of the world to the twelfth year of the reign of Nero. The author declares his intention of writing the hiſtory of the wars.

NERO appointed Geſſius Florus * to ſucceed Albinus in the government of our nation, and he reduced us to a ſtate of the moſt extreme miſery. By birth he was a Clazomenian; and when he came into Judæa he was accompanied by his wife Cleopatra, who was equal to Florus in a diſpoſition to iniquity. Cleopatra had a great influence over the empreſs Poppœa, and to that influence Florus was indebted for his exaltation. The oppreſſion of this man was ſo intolerable, that the Jews even regretted the loſs of Albinus. Though the wickedneſs of Albinus was exceſſive, he ſtudied to put the moſt favourable appearance upon his conduct; but Florus, on the contrary, triumphed in his iniquity, and all his behaviour ſeemed to intimate that the whole buſineſs of his commiſſion was to effect the ruin of our nation. His avarice and cruelty were without bounds: he gave encouragement to public robbers, by ſharing with them in the ſpoil; which induced him to countenance them in every ſpecies of depredation. His rapacity and tyranny were ſo extreme, that the Jews were driven to the cruel neceſſity of deſerting their country, altars and religious ceremonies, and ſeeking refuge among the moſt inhoſpitable ſtrangers. In ſhort, the oppreſſion of this man precipitated the miſerable Jews to take up arms againſt the Romans, preferring to periſh together, rather than longer to remain the objects of contempt in ignominious ſlavery, and gradually to fall ſacrifices to ſo inſupportable a government. The war commenced in the ſecond year of the government of Florus over Judæa, and in the twelfth year of the

* Geſſius or Ceſtius, in notes upon Catullus by Voſſius.

the reign of Nero. Such as wiſh to be informed of the particulars of the war will be fully gratified by peruſing the books † written on that ſubject.

I here conclude the ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, contained in twenty books and ſixty thouſand lines ‡, comprehending a narrative of what happened to them from the creation of the world to the twelfth year of the reign of Nero; their ſituation in Ægypt and Syria; their ſufferings under the Aſſyrians and Babylonians; and the treatment they experienced from the Perſians, Macedonians and Romans. I have given an authentic account of the ſucceſſion of the high-prieſts during the courſe of two thouſand years; nor have I omitted to treat of the ſeveral forms and revolutions of government. The whole is founded on the authority of the holy writings, as was promiſed at the beginning of the work.

I ſhall here venture to aſſert, that no man could have afforded the Greeks a more perfect hiſtory than the preſent production. The Jews will admit that there is none more converſant in the Moſaical law than myſelf. I have ſtudied the critical and grammatical properties of the Greek language with the ſtricteſt attention: but I pretend to no ſkill in the pronunciation, our people holding the knowledge of many languages in ſlight eſtimation, and conſidering the ſtudy rather as profane, being common both to freemen and ſlaves. The only learning and wiſdom which we account valuable, are a neceſſary attention to a knowledge of our laws, and a juſt conception of the ſacred ſcriptures: but among the numerous candidates there are perhaps but two or three who have arrived to a proficiency in thoſe excellencies.

I have conceived a deſign, by the permiſſion of God, to write a conciſe narrative of the war, from its commencement to the preſent period; being the thirteenth year of the reign of Domitian, and the fifty-ſixth of my age; in which it may not be improper to ſpeak briefly of my family, and my own perſonal conduct, while people are living to bear teſtimony of my truth, or diſprove the authority of my aſſertions ‖. I likewiſe intend to treat of the opinions of the Jews, in four books, concerning the Almighty himſelf and his nature; and alſo of our laws, explaining the reaſons why ſome matters are allowed, and why from others we are expreſſly reſtrained.

† In the time of Veſpaſian, long before the Antiquities were written, the books on the Jewiſh Wars were publiſhed. Vide l. xviii. c. 2. Voſſ. de Hiſt. Gr. & Valeſ. in Euſeb. p. 48. & Ed. Pariſ.

‡ In the original, Ἐξ μυριάσι στίχων.

‖ This ſentence perhaps means the life of the author, which begins our firſt volume. Vide Valeſius upon Euſebius. p. 47, 48.

Concluſion of the ANTIQUITIES of the JEWS.

A

DEFENCE OF THE JEWISH ANTIQUITIES,

IN ANSWER TO APION:

CONTAINED IN AN EPISTLE FROM

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

TO

EPAPHRODITUS.

BOOK I.

IN my history of the Jewish Antiquities (most honoured Epaphroditus) I have said sufficient to ascertain the ancient descent of the Jews, and to prove that they are a people which derive not their origin from any others; also to prove their undeniable claim to this originality from the beginning of time. This I have made appear by a faithful deduction of history for five thousand years, extracted from the authority of the sacred writings: yet has this been insufficient to secure me from the most opprobrious invectives, or to gain my history any other character than that of a fable. It has been asked by my enemies, that if the Jews were of such distinguished origin as I have made them, how it happens that the best Grecian historians have made no mention of the circumstance. It therefore be-

comes me, for three obvious reaſons, to declare the truth: in the firſt place, to confute my enemies; in the ſecond, to inſtruct the ignorant; and, in the third, to repreſent the whole ſtate of the caſe, in an open and fair manner, to all thoſe who are friends to truth. With regard to my authorities, I ſhall make uſe of thoſe only whom the Greek writers themſelves hold in the higheſt reputation: with reſpect to thoſe by whom myſelf or my writings have been traduced, either through ignorance or malice, I ſhall endeavour to make their own words evidence againſt them. I ſhall alſo try to explain how it happens that the Greeks in general have taken ſuch ſlight notice of the Jews: and ſhall prove that, with reſpect to particular writers, they either were, or pretend to be, totally ignorant of the affairs of which I have treated.

The world abounds with people who are ſo devoted to the opinion of the Greeks, that they conſider them as the only perſons worthy to be conſulted with reſpect to the credibility of hiſtory; to the inſult and diſgrace of men of all other nations whatever. Now I own I am greatly aſtoniſhed at the preſumption of theſe pretenders to a knowledge of antiquity, when they are equally oppoſed by plain reaſon and indubitable fact. In matter of hiſtory we ought not to be governed by the private opinion of any particular man, or body of men, but by the internal evidence of the facts themſelves. With regard to the Greeks, every thing among them appears to me to be diſtinguiſhed by the air of novelty. Their buildings, their arts, their laws, are but of late date; and even the uſe of hiſtory among them is but a very modern improvement. On the contrary, they themſelves acknowledge that the Ægyptians, Chaldæans and Phœnicians, (not to mention the Jews) have kept regular periodical records, to tranſmit to poſterity the memorable acts of former times. Theſe were preſerved by means of monumental pillars and inſcriptions, agreeable to the advice of the wiſeſt men among them; that the memory of their public tranſactions might not be loſt, but faithfully recorded to after ages. It is likewiſe worthy of obſervation, that as theſe people lived in an open air and fine climate, their monuments were leſs liable to moulder and decay: which was by no means the caſe with the Greeks, who neither gave orders for ſuch inſcriptions, nor would their climate preſerve them.

It is not at all unnatural for thoſe who erect new ſtates or ſocieties, to think themſelves perfect in the art of government. With regard to the Greeks, their ſkill in letters is of late date, nor are they at this preſent time arrived to a full degree of perfection in this ſcience. Reſpecting their antiquity in this particular, themſelves pretend to no farther origin than the Phœnicians; and conſider Cadmus as their firſt maſter; but neither in their temples, nor on their public regiſters, are they able to produce one authentic memorial of the period to which they pretend to allude. It is an acknowledged fact, that when it was debated if the uſe of letters was known at the time of the Trojan war, the queſtion was carried in the negative; and it was determined that no ſuch characters then exiſted. Certain it is, that there is no Greek manuſcript now extant written before the poem of Homer; and it is equally certain that the Trojan war was at an end before the

the writing of this poem. It will be likewiſe confeſſed, that Homer never committed his poem to writing, but that it was ſung about as a ballad, in different places, till the people had learnt it by heart, and in proceſs of time copies were taken of it from the memory of the reciters; which clearly accounts for the number of errors and contradictions found in the firſt manuſcripts.

With regard to Cadmus, the Mileſian, Acuſilans, and other Grecians, who were afterwards reputed hiſtorians, theſe exiſted but a little time before the inroad made into Greece by the Perſians. Pherecides of Syros, Pythagoras, and Thales, who were among the moſt ancient of their philoſophers on celeſtial and divine affairs, combine to own that they derive their knowledge from the Ægyptians and Chaldæans; and though what has been committed to writing on theſe ſubjects has been allowed the authority of antiquity, yet it is even to this day a doubt, whether the perſons above-mentioned were the authors of the pieces alluded to.

Is it not, then, aſtoniſhing that the Greeks ſhould claim, not only the credit of having a ſuperior knowledge in antiquity, but ſhould arrogate to themſelves the further credit of hiſtorical faith and candour, in preference to other men? Whereas, even from their own works, it is evident that their writings are rather founded on conjecture and opinion, than on matter of fact, and that every man indulges his own fancy in his writings: for their authors ſtill diſagree with each other, and relate to the public very inconſiſtent accounts of the ſame circumſtances.

Equally fruitleſs and tedious would be the endeavour to deſcribe the diſagreement between Hellicanus and Acuſilaus, with reſpect to their genealogies; the contradictions between Heſiod and Acuſilaus; the abſurdities of Hellanicus, which have been expoſed by Ephorus; thoſe of Ephorus which have been remarked by Timæus; thoſe of Timæus by his ſucceſſors; and finally, how Herodotus is contradicted by them all.

Timæus equally diſagrees with Philiſtus and Callias, in their Sicilian hiſtories. The hiſtorians of Athens and Argos mutually attack each other, and are as much at variance as thoſe before-mentioned. Now what kind of agreement are we to expect in the hiſtories written by thoſe who give an account of adventures and tranſactions, when the moſt eminent authors diſagree among themſelves, in their recital of the particulars of the Perſian war? Even Thucydides, who is the moſt careful, candid, and unprejudiced hiſtorian of the age in which he lived, has had his credit called in queſtion on many occaſions.

Many reaſons might be aſſigned for theſe variations among the Greek authors, if it were neceſſary to beſtow the proper attention to diſcover them: but the two points which I ſhall principally inſiſt on are, firſt, in not preſerving the memory of diſtinguiſhed actions, by a proper foundation of their hiſtory in records and memorials; for poſterity muſt be left uninformed without theſe monumental traditions: and ſecondly, I charge them with giving falſe accounts of the hiſtory of ancient times, where they are little

liable to be contradicted. The mode of keeping public registers hath been neglected, not only in the exterior parts of Greece, but even in Athens itself, where the people, with regard to their original, are distinguished by the name of *Earth-born*, and pride themselves above all other people, on account of their antiquity and learning. It is generally acknowledged that Draco's penal laws preceded all their other writings, though they are of not much greater antiquity than the time of the tyrant Pisistrates. What then is to be said with respect to the Arcadians, who received the use of letters later than any of their countrymen, and yet pretend to a precedence in point of antiquity.

Now as there was no valuable intelligence extant, for the instruction of those who were desirous to be well informed, or for the rectifying the errors of those who might otherwise wilfully deviate from the line of rectitude; how was it possible but that their historians should give contradictory accounts; especially if we consider that truth was least of all their object, though they made perpetual professions of a contrary nature? In fact, they wrote with a view to popular applause, and if they could but obtain the name of distinguished orators, they were little solicitous for the name of honest men. Some of them wrote from whim and caprice, totally disregarding the truth of their recital: others were mere panegyrists, and sought only the favour of persons of eminence; while a third sort prided themselves in depreciating the persons and writings of those that preceeded them; all of which deviates entirely from the office and duty of an historian.

When a number of writers agree in the same thing, and concur as to the particulars of time and place, it is an infallible sign that the history is genuine: but the Greeks have proved where the truth lay, by their contradictions of each other. If the only contest between them and us was with regard to elegance of diction, we should not deny them the precedence: but with regard to antiquity, and matter of fact, it is otherwise.

It is known that the Ægyptians and Babylonians were anciently extremely exact in noting their accounts and annals. Among the Ægyptians the care of this registering was committed to the priests, who were very assiduous and careful in the discharge of this duty. The example of the Babylonians was followed by the Chaldæans; and the Phœnicians, on their incorporation with the Greeks, taught them the use of letters, and how far these were subservient to the conduct of life, and the preservation of public traditions. But as this is a matter confessed by all parties, it is unnecessary that I should say any thing farther of it in this place: wherefore I shall content myself with briefly observing that our predecessors took at least as great, if not greater care to secure this order and regulation, than any other people; for the high-priests and prophets were charged with this commission: and the practice hath been regularly kept up to the present time: and, if I may be allowed to prophecy, I dare presume to say it will never fail: for care was originally taken in the choice of persons of distinguished piety and virtue for the office of priest, (exclusive of those who were devoted to the service of the altar) and a provision was made that the line of priesthood should not be contaminated by a mixture with any other family; for no man is qualified to execute the

office

office of a prieſt except his mother be deſcended from the line of the prieſthood; wherefore, regardleſs of riches or rank, the man who makes his pretenſions to the ſacerdotal office muſt produce a number of witneſſes to prove his deſcent in a regular line.

This is not only the caſe in Judæa, but in Ægypt, Babylon, and all places throughout the earth where our people are diſperſed: for our prieſts make it a point of conſcience not to marry with any but thoſe of their own tribes. When they are diſpoſed to wed, they ſend to Jeruſalem the name of the bride, (by permiſſion of her father) with a draught of her pedigree, properly atteſted. But in times of war, (which have frequently happened) particularly in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, Pompey the great, and Quintillius Varus, and likewiſe within our own memory; in theſe caſes the ſurviving prieſts ſupply and reform the old regiſters, and make new ones; and the women who remain are examined with the moſt exact ſcrutiny. The prieſts are never married to captives, leſt they ſhould contract a foreign mixture; nor can there be a more convincing proof of their uprightneſs, than that for the ſpace of two thouſand years the names of all our prieſts have ſtood upon record, from father to ſon. If among the prieſts any one be found to prevaricate, or depart from the truth, he is depoſed from the exerciſe of his function, and forbidden to attend on the altar. By theſe proceedings we are undoubtedly and unavoidably in the right. Few perſons have been permitted to write, and we meet with no contradictions among thoſe that have written. With regard to thoſe wonderful antiquities in the books of the prophets, we do not ſo much account them hiſtory as divine revelation. Reſpecting thoſe who have recorded the hiſtory of their own times, they are not many in number, and their accounts generally agree with each other. But let me proceed in my preſent taſk.

I deem that there are no more than twenty-two books which we are bound to believe; and in theſe are contained the hiſtory of the world from its original to the preſent time. Of theſe twenty-two books five are employed in giving an account of the creation of the world, and the generation of mankind. This hiſtory is continued to the death of Moſes, and comprehends a period of almoſt three thouſand years.

Each of our prophets wrote the hiſtory of the age in which he lived, from the death of Moſes to the reign of Artaxerxes, the ſon of Xerxes, and king of Perſia; and this hiſtory is contained in thirteen books; and the other four books conſiſt of divine hymns and precepts of morality. We have likewiſe a regular ſeries of hiſtory, from the days of Artaxerxes to the preſent time, which we hold in great eſteem; but do not venerate it as we do the others, becauſe it is not authenticated and made ſacred by a continuation of the deſcent of the prophets. With reſpect to the other writings, we pay as much regard to their contents, as if we had been eye-witneſſes of the circumſtances related, for we know how long they have remained in the world, without any attempt to encreaſe or abridge them, or even to diſguiſe or tranſpoſe them in any manner; and theſe writings we hold to be divine; we diſtinguiſh them by this epithet, and are taught from our earlieſt infancy, to conſider them in that light, and pay a proper obedience to them, and if neceſſary to ſuf-

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fer death in their defence, rather than forego opinions thus facredly impreſſed.

Numbers of our countrymen are at this time captives, ſuffering a variety of torments, ſtruggling with death in its moſt formidable ſhape, and contending in theatres with beaſts, and men ſtill more brutal than they: and all this becauſe they refuſe to abandon the laws of their country, and blaſpheme the God whom their anceſtors worſhipped! Can it be ſaid that the Greeks have ever given an equal proof of their faith and reſolution? Theſe people would refuſe to abide ſuch trials in defence of all they hold moſt dear; but the fact is, that they deem thoſe things which ought to be held facred as mere matter of form: and their beſt hiſtorians are culpable in this particular. They frequently commence the writing of their hiſtories, without any knowledge of the facts to which they allude; without conſulting thoſe who have been on the ſpot, and parties in the actions; or, if they do conſult them, without crediting what they ſay. Very extraordinary hiſtories of our late wars have been publiſhed by thoſe who were never near enough to the ſcene of action to form the ſlighteſt opinion of the matter of fact: but their plan has been to compile a confuſed hiſtory, partly from report, and partly from imagination, and then to aſſume the character of hiſtorians of the firſt credit.

I have acted, however, in a very different manner: for I have related nothing of which I had not either occular demonſtration, or other indubitable authority: for I had ample opportunity of acquainting myſelf with the various tranſactions. I have been as faithful in the report of events as I was accurate in the ſearch after facts. As long as the Jews were able to ſupport themſelves againſt the Romans, I had the honour of a command in Galilee; but it was at length my misfortune to be made captive, and carried to Veſpaſian and Titus. In this ſituation I was kept in chains: but was ſoon permitted to make my obſervations on all that paſſed; and not long afterwards obtained my liberty; when the ſiege of Jeruſalem taking place, I went abroad with Titus from Alexandria.

I was now diligent in my remarks on all that happened. I was well acquainted with all the motions of the army, and was extremely careful to repreſent every circumſtance exactly as it occurred. With regard to the ſituation of the city, I was informed of it by priſoners and deſerters, as they were all under my particular direction and management, by the abſolute command of the emperor. In fact, I took every proper opportunity of making written obſervations; and from thoſe obſervations my hiſtory is compiled.

Having thus laid the foundation of my work, when I returned to Rome I got the aſſiſtance of ſome friends accompliſhed in the Greek language, and proceeded with the hiſtory, in which I have paid ſo ſtrict an adherence to the rules of veracity, that I have no doubt but even Veſpaſian and Titus will give teſtimony to my honour. As ſoon as my book was finiſhed I preſented it to theſe illuſtrious perſons, and after them to ſeveral noble Romans who had been commanders in the war. I ſold other copies to ſeveral of our own people who had a knowledge of the Greek language; particularly to Julius, Archelaus, the accompliſhed Herod, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed king Agrippa. Now all theſe univerſally applaud me, as having diſcharged

the duty of a faithful hiſtorian: whereas they would certainly have expoſed the impoſition, if, either through ignorance or corruption, I had deviated from the truth. Yet many perſons treat me as if I had impoſed upon the world, by declaiming only on trifling or abuſive circumſtances: but theſe calumniators have not reflected, that the man who pretends to relate the whole truth, ſhould either do it on his own knowledge, or the information of thoſe on whom he can depend: and I have taken both theſe methods to render my work compleat.

As I have acted in the character of a prieſt, I have, in the courſe of my profeſſion, extracted my antiquities from the books of the holy ſcripture, and have arranged them in the moſt regular manner. With regard to the hiſtory of the war, I had an active ſhare in many parts of it, and was a ſpectator of other events; ſo that I was not a ſtranger to any thing that happened. How inſolent then is it in my enemies to pretend to doubt the veracity of my recitals? Admitting what they ſay, that they have ſeen the journals of Titus and Veſpaſian, how can this invalidate the truth of my hiſtory, which treats of matters to which the Roman generals muſt be perfect ſtrangers?

It was but proper that I ſhould make this digreſſion, to evince what kind of hiſtorians we ought to expect, if this humour ſhould prevail: but I think I have ſaid ſufficient to ſatisfy any reaſonable man, that, in point of the credit and dignity of hiſtory, the Greeks ought even to yield to the Barbarians.

I muſt now addreſs myſelf to thoſe kind of people who inſiſt that the Jews are mere moderns, and aſſign as a reaſon for this that we are not mentioned by the Grecian hiſtorians. It will become me to quote authorities out of our own books, to expoſe that ill-founded malice by which our enemies are inſtigated.

With regard to the place of our habitation, it is in the midland country; and with reſpect to trade and voyages, they are circumſtances about which we never gave ourſelves any concern. Our cities are far removed from the ſea, our ſoil is fruitful, and the lands are well cultivated. We devote ourſelves much to the ſupport and education of our children, and deem it the moſt important buſineſs of our lives to take care that they are educated in a pious manner, and in ſtrict obedience to the laws of their country. Excluſive of theſe circumſtance, we have a mode of living peculiar to ourſelves, from which alone we are well aſſured, that in ancient times, we could not have had any intercourſe with the Greeks, as the Phœnicians, Ægyptians, and other people had, for the promotion of their mutual intereſt, by the advantages reſulting from trade, commerce, and navigation. Our predeceſſors did not follow the example of other nations by making incurſions on their neighbours to encreaſe their territories; though they were by no means deficient in number or courage, to render themſelves formidable, if they had been diſpoſed to acts of this kind.

By the methods above-mentioned the Phœnicians became known to the Greeks, and through theſe, the Ægyptians, and others who traded into Greece. Then the Medes and Perſians, who having obtained the command

of Asia, the latter carried the war into Europe. The Greeks knew the Thracians from their neighbourhood; the Scythians from their corresponding with those who used the Pontus; and thus there could be no want of historians on the coast of the eastern and western seas: but the inner parts of the country were in a manner unknown to them for several ages. This was likewise the case in Europe: for after the Roman power and dignity had been established by successive conquests and triumphs, yet this mighty empire is not at all mentioned by Herodotus, Thucydides, or any of the writers living at that time: and it was a long time before the Greeks obtained a knowledge of its existence.

What opinion shall we form of the writers in general, when Ephorus, one of the most distinguished among them, could commit such an error as that I am about to recite. Having undertaken to give an account of the Gauls and Iberians, he represents the kingdom of Spain, and the whole continent on which it stands, only as a single city: and thus mentions things that were never transacted or thought of there, as the history of the place itself. Thus ignorance arises from an endeavour to reach truth at too great a distance; and in other instances, from an affectation of exceeding the truth.

Can it, therefore, afford any cause of surprize, if people who live as a sort of strangers in the world, and wholly detached from it, and under such regulations as the Jews do, should not afford any subject for the historical pen?

Suppose, now, I should turn the Greeks mode of reasoning against themselves, and deny their antiquity because our books do not mention it? Would not this be deemed absurd? And would not the Greeks appeal to their neighbours in justification of their claim? If this would be right in them, it cannot be less so with me. The principal witnesses I shall use are the Ægyptians and Phœnicians. No exceptions can be taken to their evidence, for the Ægyptians are well known to be our determined enemies; nor are the Phœnicians, particularly those of Tyre, less so. The Chaldæans, however, form a different opinion of us. We were formerly in subjection to them; and on the score of affinity, as well as on account of our country, they mention us in the most respectful manner in their writings.

When I have vindicated my countrymen from the assertions of the Greeks, and obviated all their calumnies, I will take notice what the Greek historians themselves say of us, to prevent all farther objections. I will begin with the Ægyptians, who are by no means friends of the Jews. Manetho, by birth an Ægyptian, and an adept in the Greek language, as appears by a Greek history, respecting the Jewish religion, which he extracted from the scriptures: this Manetho, in many parts of his work, attacks Herodotus, for giving false representations of the Ægyptians, through want of being acquainted with their customs. I give the following genuine extract from the second part of his history.

" During the reign of one of our kings, named Timæus, we were reduced " beyond all description, under the heavy weight of the divine displeasure. " At this period a rough and robust people flocked in on us from the east, " and making a violent inroad into the province, there encamped, and took " it by force; after which, without any farther effort, every thing yielded

to

" to them: they put our princes in chains; demoliſhed our temples, re-
" duced our cities to aſhes, and oppreſſed the inhabitants in a high degree:
" ſome of whom they cut to pieces, and ſent others into ſlavery, with their
" wives and children. This being done, they inveſted Salatis, one of their
" own people, with the rank and title of king.

" Salatis having advanced to Memphis, brought the inhabitants of the
" upper and lower provinces into ſubjection, ſtationed garriſons in the tena-
" ble places and was particularly careful in fortifying the eaſtern part of the
" country, to prevent the incurſions of the Aſſyrians, of whoſe ſtrength he
" had reaſon to be apprehenſive. In the country of the Saites was a city
" named Avaris to the eaſtward of the river Bubaſtis, which finding conve-
" nient for his purpoſe, he repaired and improved, and fortified it with
" ſtrong walls and other works, defending it by a body of two hundred and
" forty thouſand men. He choſe the ſeaſon of harveſt in which to execute
" this deſign, that he might have plenty of proviſions, be enabled to pay
" his men, and ſecure himſelf from all attacks, by his admirable diſcipline
" and management.

" When Salatis had governed near nineteen years, he died, and was ſuc-
" ceeded by Bæon, who reigned forty-four years. To him ſucceeded
" Apachnas, who reigned thirty-ſix years and four months, and was fol-
" lowed by Apochis, whoſe dominion held ſixty years and one month:
" then came Janias, who reigned fifty years and one month; and finally
" Aſſis, who held the ſceptre forty-nine years and two months. Theſe were
" our firſt ſix kings, who were conſtantly at war to deſtroy the Ægyptians.
" Theſe perſons were denominated *Hycſos*, which implies *Royal Shepherds*;
" for *Hyc*, in the ſacred tongue, ſignifies *King*, and *Sos*, in its common ac-
" ceptation, means *Shepherd*, and thus the word is compounded. It has
" been aſſerted that theſe people were Arabians. Agreeable to ſome copies,
" the meaning of *Hyc* is *Shepherd-captive*; for, in the Ægyptian, *Hyc* and *Hac*,
" with an aſpiration, ſignify captive: and this I judge to be the true de-
" finition, as it is moſt correſpondent with the hiſtory of ancient times."

The ſame writer aſſures us, that " When theſe kings, or ſhepherds, and
" their ſucceſſors, had held the government of Ægypt for five hundred and
" eleven years, the king of Thebes, being joined by ſuch of the Ægyptians
" as had not yet been brought into ſubjection, made war on the ſhepherds,
" and routed them, under the command of their king Aliſfragmuthoſis:
" that the majority of them being driven from Ægypt, the reſt took re-
" fuge in a place named Avaris, containing ten thouſand acres, which
" they encloſed with a ſtrong wall; and thus ſecured to themſelves the
" neceſſaries of life. Themoſis, the ſon of Aliſfragmuthoſis, beſieged this
" place with four hundred and eighty thouſand men; but as it was found
" impoſſible to reduce it by aſſault, a capitulation took place; by which
" they were to abandon it, and to be ſafely conducted out of Ægypt, to
" ſuch place as they ſhould chuſe. On theſe conditions two hundred and
" forty thouſand of them, with all their effects, left the country, and took
" the way of the wilderneſs into Syria: but as Aſia was then under the
" command of the Aſſyrians, in fear of theſe people, they retreated to a
country

" country now known by the name of Judæa, where they built the city of " Jeruſalem, which was large enough to contain this immenſe number of " people."

Manetho, in another part of his Ægyptian hiſtory, informs us that, " From books of great authority he diſcovers that theſe people had been " known by the name of captive-ſhepherds." Now our forefathers having followed the profeſſion of grazing cattle, took the name of ſhepherds from that employment. There was likewiſe ſome pretention for giving them the denomination of captives, for by that name our anceſtor Joſeph was introduced to the king of Ægypt, when permiſſion was granted him to ſend for his brethren: but of this I ſhall ſpeak more particularly in another place. For the preſent, it may ſuffice to refer to the teſtimonies of the Ægyptians themſelves, and again to conſult Manetho on this ſubject, quoting his own words reſpecting the period of which we now treat.

He ſays that, " After the departure of the ſhepherds from Ægypt to the " building of Jeruſalem, king Themomis reigned twenty-five years and four " months, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Chebron, who reigned thirteen " years: then came Amenophis, who reigned twenty years and ſeven " months: next, his ſiſter Ameſſes, who ruled twenty-one years and nine " months; Mephres, her ſon, twelve years and nine months; Mephramu- " thoſis, his ſon, twenty-five years and ten months; Themoſis, his ſon, nine " years and eight months; Amenophis, his ſon, thirty years and ten " months; Orus, his ſon, thirty-ſix years and five months; Acencheres, " his daughter, twelve years and one month; her brother, Rahotis, nine " years; Acencheres, his ſon, twelve years and five months; and Acen- " cheres, the ſon of the former of that name, twelve years and three months; " Armais, his ſon, four years and one month; Armeſis, his ſon, one year " and four months; Armeſſes Miamun, ſon to the latter, ſixty-ſix years and " two months; and, finally, Amenophis, nineteen years and ſix months. " A conſiderable force by land and ſea having been raiſed by Sethoſis, he " appointed his brother Armais lieutenant-general of Ægypt, and commiſ- " ſioned him to act in all reſpects as a ſovereign, except the circumſtance " of wearing the crown: but he commanded him not to oppreſs the queen " or her family, and to leave the royal concubines unmoleſted.

" This being done, Sethoſis advanced to Cyprus and Phœnicia, and then, " onwards, to the Medes and Aſſyrians, conqueſt ſtill attending his pro- " greſs, ſince ſome were abſolutely ſubdued, and others ſubmitted through " fear. Animated by his ſucceſs, he proceeded in the moſt rapid manner " wherever he came, laying waſte the whole country as he paſſed. During " theſe tranſactions, his brother Armais violated every obligation, and " acted expreſly contrary to the injunctions he had received. He drove " away the queen, offered inſult to the royal concubines, and, being inſti- " gated by a number of treacherous creatures, who pretended to be his " friends, he took poſſeſſion of the crown, and had recourſe to arms, in op- " poſition to his brother. The high-prieſt of the Ægyptians gave frequent " notice of theſe tranſactions to Sethoſis, and, on receiving his advice, he " retreated by the way of Peluſium, and re-aſſumed his government. Se-

" thoſis

" thofis having likewife the name of Ægyptus, the country was called " Ægypt, from that circumftance: and his brother Armais, had alfo the " name of Danaus."

This is the relation given by Manetho; whence it is evident beyond all contradiction, that our anceftors, who were known by the appellation of fhepherds, had quitted Ægypt three hundred and ninety-three years before Danaus departed to Argos, though the antiquity of that prince is fo much infifted on by the Greeks. Hence it may be feen, that Manetho, from the Ægyptian writings, adduces two capital circumftances in favour of the Jews: the firft is, that our anceftors came into Ægypt from fome other country: the other, that they left the country near a thoufand years previous to the fiege of Troy. Manetho has added a variety of other reports, not from the memorials of Egypt: but, as he himfelf confeffes, from accounts whofe authors are not known. I fhall take a proper opportunity of expofing the fallacy of thefe recitals, fully proving that they have no foundation in fact. Let us now enquire what account has been given by the Phœnicians. The Tyrians preferved many records of great antiquity, and this was done in fo careful a manner, that nothing efcaped their recital which was worthy their recording. Among other important matters refpecting our people, they mention the temple erected by king Solomon at Jerufalem, one hundred and forty three years and eight months before Carthage was built by their anceftors: and they alfo defcribe the model on which this temple was built.

" So great was the friendfhip and regard that Hiram king of Tyre had for " David, that on account of the father he had the greater eftcem for his fon " Solomon; and, as a proof of his affection, he prefented him with a hun- " dred and twenty talents of gold toward the expence of adorning the build- " ing; and fupplied him with the fineft wood from mount Lebanon, for the " wainfcot and roof. Solomon fhewed his gratitude by making fumptuous " prefents in return, and, among other acknowledgements gave him Zabu- " lon in Naphthali." The chief inducement, however, to the friendfhip between thefe illuftrious perfons, was a mutual love of knowledge. They fent problems and difficult queftions, each to be refolved by the other: and Solomon was found the moft expert in thefe refolutions. Among the Tyrians there are yet extant feveral copies of letters that paffed between them; and to confirm what I fay refpecting Hiram, I quote the words of Dius, a Phœnician hiftorian of the moft undoubted credit.

" Abibal was fucceeded in his government by his fon Hiram. This prince " repaired and improved feveral cities in the eaftern diftrict of his domi- " nions; enlarged Tyre, adorned it by many valuable gifts, and by means " of a bank, joined it to the temple of Olympian Jupiter, which was fituated " on an ifland. This being done, he repaired to mount Lebanon, and cut " down wood for building temples. It is alfo faid that Solomon king of " Jerufalem, and Hiram fent difficult queftions to each other to be refolved; " on the condition that a penalty fhould be incurred by him that failed; which " happening to be the cafe with Hiram, he paid the forfeiture: but afterwards, " Abdemonus, a Tyrian, explained the intricate queftion, and propofed

" others for Solomon to interpret, on the condition of paying a certain sum " to Hiram on his failure."

Thus much with regard to what Dius says on this subject. I now proceed to Menander, a writer of Ephesus, who collected a number of memoirs of the lives and actions of Grecian and Barbarian princes; and to give the fuller authenticity to his work, he hath given records of the places of which he speaks. Having mentioned the several kings of Tyre down to Hiram, he proceeds in the following manner.

" Abibal being dead, he was succeeded in the regal dignity by his son " Hiram, who wore the crown no less than thirty four years. This prince " joined Eurichorus to the city of Tyre, by means of a large mount which " he caused to be thrown up; and in the temple of Jupiter in that place, " dedicated a pillar of gold to the honour of that god. He then proceeded " to a forest, on a mountain named Lebanon, where he cut down a large " quantity of cedar to make roofs for temples, of which he pulled down " many old, and built others in their stead. One of these he dedicated to " Hercules, in the month Peritius, and another to Astartes, at the time that " he turned his arms against the Tyrians on account of their refusing to pay " their taxes: but he returned as soon as he had conquered them.

" At this time there was in the service of Hiram a young man named " Abdemonus, who lived in the palace, and was employed in resolving diffi- " cult questions sent by Solomon. The following is a computation from " the time of Hiram to the building of Carthage.

" Hiram was succeeded by his son Belcazar, who died in the seventh year " of his reign, and the forty-third of his age; after him came his son Abda- " startus, who reigned near nine years; but when he was in the twentieth " year of his age he was murdered by the four sons of his nurse, of whom the " eldest reigned in his stead twelve years; and next to him was Astartus, the " son of Delæastartus, who likewise reigned twelve years, and lived sixty six. " This prince was succeeded by his brother Aserymus, who reigned nine " years, and, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, was murdered by Phelles his " brother. Phelles assumed the government when he was fifty years old, " and having reigned eight months, was killed by Ithobalus, a priest of the " goddess Astarta, who reigned thirty three years, and died at the age of " sixty-eight. He was succeeded by his son Badezor, who reigned nine years, " and lived forty-five. After Badezor came his son Matagenus, who reign- " ed nine years, and died at the age of two and thirty. Pygmalion succeeded " this prince, and governed forty years out of a life of fifty-six. Carthage in " Africa was built by his sister, Dido, in the seventh year of his reign. Thus, " from the time of Hiram to the building of Carthage, we compute one " hundred and fifty five years and eight months. So that admitting the tem- " ple of Jerusalem to have been erected in the twelfth year of the reign of " king Hiram, it will appear that from the time of the building of the " temple to the building of Carthage, there was a space of one hundred and " forty three years and eight months."

Now I should wish to ask if any thing can be more full evidence on our side of the question than this testimony of the Phœnicians. Certain it is that our ancestors

anceſtors muſt firſt have arrived in Judæa before they built a temple there; and that they could not make this erection till they had conquered the country by force of arms; which, in my hiſtory of the Jews, I have evidently made appear from the ſacred writings.

It will now be proper to obſerve what correſpondence there is between the Chaldæans and the other writers reſpecting our hiſtory. I ſhall begin with Beroſus, who was a Chaldæan by deſcent, and is a writer of the firſt credit with all admirers of literature, on account of the learned tracts he has publiſhed in the Greek language, reſpecting the ſcience of aſtronomy, and the Chaldæan philoſophy.

Beroſus, as is cuſtomary with the old hiſtorians, mentions the deſtruction of mankind by the deluge, as recorded by Moſes: recites ſeveral particulars of the ark, and of its reſting on the mountains of Armenia. He then deſcribes the genealogies of the ſons of Noah, and records their names and ages, continuing his hiſtory regularly from Noah to Nabulaſſar, king of Babylon and Chaldæa, and recites an account of the actions of this king. He then relates his ſending his ſon Nebuchodonoſor into Ægypt and Judæa with a large army, where he attacked the rebels then in arms, and having ſubdued them, he ſet fire to the temple at Jeruſalem, taking with him as priſoners into Babylon the whole body of the Jews. From this time the city of Jeruſalem remained deſolate ſeventy years, till the time of Cyrus, king of Perſia. Beroſus likewiſe recounts, that Ægypt, Syria, Phœnicia, and Arabia were poſſeſſed by the Babylonians, and that none of the predeceſſors of Nebuchodonoſor were equal to him in dignity. But it will be proper to quote Beroſus in his own language.

He ſays that "Nabulaſſar the father, being informed that his deputy in "Ægypt, Cœle Syria, and Phœnicia, had taken arms, and being himſelf "too old to undergo the toil of war, diſpatched his ſon Nebuchodonoſor "(then in the prime of life) to reduce him. He attacked the rebel with a "large army, put him to flight, and recovered all the revolted pro-"vinces.

"Nabulaſſar had now reigned nine and twenty years, when he fell ſick "and died at Babylon. The ſon was ſoon informed of the death of his "father, on which he adjuſted his concerns in Ægypt and the other pro-"vinces, and deputing perſons in whom he could truſt to take care of the "captive Jews, Phœnicians, and Syrians, and bring them to Babylon with "the army and baggage; he ſet forward on his journey through the deſart, "with a ſmall retinue, on his way to Babylon. When he arrived he found "matters diſpoſed much to his ſatisfaction, the Chaldæans and perſons of "eminence eſpouſing his intereſt, and reſolving to eſtabliſh him on the "throne.

"The priſoners being now on the road to the city, Nebuchodonoſor or-"dered proviſion to be made, and all proper accommodations for them. "He with the utmoſt freedom gave the ſpoils of war to adorn the temple "of Bel and the other deities. He gave orders for building a new town, in "addition to the ancient city; and that the river on which the city was "ſituated might not be turned from its channel, in caſe of a ſiege, a trip-

" ple wall was built up to furround it, partly of brick alone, and partly of " brick and bitumen mixed. Thefe fortifications being made, gates were " erected worthy the magnificence of a temple. The king alfo built a noble " palace near that of his father, but abundantly larger, and more magni- " ficent and coftly. It would be too tedious to defcribe this building; but " it is worthy of remark that it was concluded in fifteen days, though fo " curious a ftructure. Within this building were a number of artificial " rocks refembling mountains, with nurferies for various kinds of plants, " and a fort of hanging garden, which, with a fingular degree of fkill, " was fufpended in the air. This was done to oblige the queen, who being " educated in the free air, among the hills of Media, was highly gratified " by fo delightful a profpect."

Thus far Berofus, refpecting this king. In his Chaldæan antiquities are other circumftances worthy of notice; particularly his cenfure of the Greeks for aferting that Babylon was founded by Semiramis, queen of Affyria. The greater credit is to be given to Berofus, becaufe he fo nearly agrees with the Phœnician records refpecting the king of Babylon, and his conquering all Syria and Phœnicia. The fame thing is obferved by Philoftratus in his fiege of Tyre, and by Megafthenes, who, in his Indian hiftory, afcribes to this king a degree of bravery fuperior to that of Hercules, and fays farther, that the greateft part of Lybia and Iberia was at his command.

With regard to the temple of Jerufalem, Berofus aferts that the Babylonians reduced it to afhes; and that the rebuilding of it was commenced by Cyrus, to whofe dominion all Afia had at that time fubmitted. The following is an extract from the third book of the writings of Berofus.

" Nebuchodonofor fell ill and died juft as he had begun to build the " third wall, and when he had reigned near forty three years. He was fuc- " ceeded by his fon Evil-Merodoch, who became the averfion of the pub- " lic by his lafcivious and oppreffive conduct; and in the fecond year of " his reign, was deftroyed by the treachery of Nirigliffaror, the hufband of " his fifter, who, foon after his death, affumed the regal government, of " which he held poffeffion four years. He was fucceeded by his fon La- " borofardochus, then quite a youth, who at the end of a reign of only " nine months, was deftroyed by thofe who called themfelves his friends, " who difpatched him becaufe his inclinations were thought of a vicious " and dangerous tendency. Immediately after his death the confpirators " affembled, and chofe for their king Nabonidus, by birth a Babylonian, " and of the fame family. This prince compleated the building of the walls " round the river of Babylon.

" When this king had reigned near feventeen years, Cyrus came out of " Perfia with a very great army, ravaged all Afia, and then proceeded to- " wards Babylon. He was met in the field by Nabonidus, who encoun- " tered him; but being routed, himfelf and a few of his followers only, " efcaped to the town of Borfippe. Cyrus advanced to Babylon, which he " expected to become mafter of on forcing the firft wall: but he afterwards " changed his opinion, raifed the fiege, and retired to Borfippe, with an intention

" intention to have attacked that place: but Nabonidus declining the ha-
" zard of defending it, ſubmitted to the mercy of Cyrus, who, on his
" making this ſubmiſſion, baniſhed him from Babylon, and preſented him
" with an eſtate in Caramania, where he dwelt all the reſt of his life in an
" humble and retired ſituation."

Now this account given by Beroſus is perfectly correſpondent with that in our books; which declares that the temple was deſtroyed by Nebuchodonoſor, in the eighteenth year of his reign; that it continued in that ruinous ſtate for ſeventy years; that the foundations of it were again laid in the ſecond year of the reign of Cyrus, and the whole compleated in the ſecond of king Darius.

To the above-mentioned authorities it may be proper to add ſome particulars from the Phœnician hiſtories; for proofs cannot be too numerous, provided the chronology correſponds; and the following is the plain ſtate of facts:

Tyre was beſieged for the ſpace of thirteen years, by Nabuchodonoſor, during the reign of king Ithobal. To him ſucceeded Baal, who reigned ten years; after which it became cuſtomary to choſe judges inſtead of kings; and of theſe Ecnibalus, the ſon of Baſleck, governed two months, and was ſucceeded by Chelbis, the ſon of Abdæus, who governed ten; the high-prieſt Abbar three months; Mytgonis, and Geraſtus Batus, the ſons of Abdelimus, ſix years; and theſe were followed by Balatorus, who governed one year, and then dying, they ſent to Babylon for Merbalus, whoſe reign held four years; and, on his death, he was ſucceeded by his brother Irom, whoſe government continued twenty years; and during his reign it was that Cyrus compleated the conqueſt of the Perſian empire. Now all theſe periods of time added together make fifty-four years and three months. Nabuchodonoſor began the ſiege of Tyre in the ſeventh year of his reign; and Cyrus obtained poſſeſſion of the empire in the fourteenth of the reign of king Irom. So that the accounts given by the Chaldæans and Tyrians reſpecting our temple, are but a confirmation of what our own hiſtorians have written on that ſubject. What I have advanced is certainly ſufficient to authenticate the antiquity of our people, which will be acknowledged by all perſons who are not obſtinately bent againſt conviction.

But as I am arguing with ſuch as conceive all perſons except themſelves to be Barbarians, and deny the truth of every thing that is not advanced on the credit of their own authority, it will be proper to adduce the teſtimony of the Greek authors in our juſtification, thus appealing to our very adverſaries, and compelling them to become witneſſes againſt themſelves, in ſupport of our arguments.

In the firſt place with regard to Pythagoras, the Samian: he was diſtinguiſhed as a philoſopher, and remarkable for his wiſdom and piety. Now Pythagoras was well read in the Jewiſh laws, and in many inſtances a ſtrict obſerver of them; which is evident, not from any writings of his own, but from what others have known and related reſpecting him. Among the reſt, Hermippus, an hiſtorian diſtinguiſhed by his fidelity and regard to truth, in

his firſt book of Pythagoras, relates a ſtory of one Calliphon of Croton, who was the confidential friend of Pythagoras. He ſays that Calliphon dying, Pythagoras was haunted day and night by his ſpirit, inſtructing him with regard to his conduct: among other things directing him not to paſs by where his aſs had ſtumbled; to drink only water from the ſpring; and to ſpeak well of all perſons, thereby copying the example of the Jews and Thracians; and applying the whole advice to his own conduct; which was juſt, for many of the cuſtoms of the Jews are incorporated into the philoſophy of Pythagoras.

During the times of very remote antiquity our people were likewiſe ſo well known in places of eminence, that our rites and cuſtoms are to this day preſerved in many cities, and others have deemed them worthy their imitation. This appears in the book of laws written by Theophraſtus, who mentioning the laws of Tyre againſt ſwearing by ſtrange gods, inſtances the Corban amongſt the forbidden oaths. Now Corban, in hebrew, ſignifies the "Gift of God:" and the corban is peculiar to the Jews.

It is evident that our people were not unknown to Herodotus Halicarnaſſus, who in his ſecond book, where he ſpeaks of the people of Colchos, has the following words: "With regard to circumciſion, I find that, in ancient times, "it was uſed only by the Colchians, the Ægyptians, and the Æthiopians. "The Phœnicians, and the Syrians of Palæſtine acknowledge to have re- "ceived this cuſtom from the Ægyptians: the Syrians living near the rivers "Hermodon and Parthenius, and alſo their neighbours, the Macronians, "are ſaid to have adopted it of later times, from the Colchians. No other "people are circumciſed, and theſe follow the cuſtom of the Ægyptians: but "whether the Ægyptians derive this from the Æthiopians, or the contrary, "I cannot determine." This writer appears to be certain that the Syrians of Palæſtine are circumciſed: now the fact is, that in Palæſtine the Jews only are circumciſed, and as he is poſitive in his aſſertion, what he ſays reſpecting this circumſtance can have reference to no other people.

Chærilus, a poet of great antiquity, giving an account of the various nations that carried arms againſt the Greeks under the command of Xerxes king of Perſia, having mentioned the other parties, ſpeaks finally of the Jews, after the following manner:

Theſe people form'd the rear with grace their own,
Their language Tyrian, and themſelves unknown:
From mountains near to Solymus they came,
Of which a lake immenſe proclaims the fame.
Tann'd horſe-hides form'd the covering of the head,
The hair cut round o'er which theſe hides were ſpread.

It is plain that the poet, who ſpeaks of the mountains of Solyma or Jeruſalem, and of a large lake that is ſituated in its neighbourhood, can refer to no other people than the Jews, who dwell among thoſe mountains, and mean no other lake than that of Aſphaltitis, which is the moſt conſiderable in all Syria. Thus much with reſpect to Chærilus. The Jews were not only known to the Greeks, or intimate with the inferior people among them; but

but were alſo held in great friendſhip and eſteem among their philoſophers, and people of the firſt rank.

In one of the dialogues of Clearchus, a diſciple of Ariſtotle, a man diſtinguiſhed among the ſect, in his firſt book on the ſubject of ſleep, he perſonates his maſter, in a converſation with Hyperochides, reſpecting a Jew with whom he was acquainted. "The taſk would be tedious (ſays he) "to recite the particulars of the hiſtory of the Jews: I ſhall therefore only "give you a ſpecimen of the wiſdom of this particular perſon." To this Hyperochides replied that he could not confer a greater favour; in anſwer to which Ariſtotle ſaid, "I ſhall begin conſiſtently with the rules of art, as "to what regards his original, or profeſſion. He was a Jew by birth, a na- "tive of the lower Syria, of a line of philoſophers whom the Indians di- "ſtinguiſh by the appellation of Calani, but they are called Jews by the "Syrians, from the place of their reſidence, which is the country of Ju- "dæa. Their principal city bears a difficult name, and is called Jeruſa- "lem. The Jew I ſpeak of was eminent for his benevolence to travellers "and ſtrangers, and much in repute for the wiſdom of his diſcourſe, "and the purity of his manners. When I was in Aſia with ſome of my "diſciples, this wonderful man paid us ſeveral viſits, equally to the grati- "fication and improvement of thoſe who could reliſh the happineſs of ſuch "a converſation." This teſtimony in behalf of the Jews is given by Clearchus, though but as a digreſſion from his work: or rather it is the character which Ariſtotle gave to the Jew; beſides which, mention is made of his moderation and temper, and the admirable command that he had over his paſſions. Thoſe who wiſh to know more reſpecting this extraordinary perſon, may learn the particulars by conſulting the original.

Hecatæus, the Abderite, a man diſtinguiſhed by his learning, who was educated with Alexander the great, and afterwards lived with Ptolemy, king of Ægypt, the ſon of Lagus, wrote a piece entirely on the affairs of the Jews, from which I ſhall extract ſuch parts as tend to elucidate my ſubject, taking them in chronological order. Hecatæus mentions a battle which was fought near Gaza, between Ptolemy and Demetrius, and, as Caſtor ſays, in the hundred and ſeventeenth olympiad. His words are, "In this "olympiad Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus, fought a battle not far from "Gaza, with Demetrius, the ſon of Antigonus, otherwiſe named Poli- "orcetes, and defeated him." Now it is well known that Alexander died in the hundred and fourteenth olympiad; from whence it is evident that, in the time of that great emperor, the Jews were a very flouriſhing people.

It is farther obſerved by Hecatæus, that, "After the battle of Gaza, Pto- "lemy ſubdued Syria and the adjacent country; and that his humane and "condeſcending behaviour ſo charmed the people, that great numbers of "them, inſpired by his kindneſs, followed him into Ægypt, among whom "was Hezekias, a high-prieſt of the Jews, and a man of the firſt diſtinction "among his countrymen. He was ſixty-ſix years of age, an eloquent orator, "and one who was perfectly well acquainted with mankind." In another place this writer ſays that, "The prieſts of the Jews who received tenths were

"about

" about fifteen hundred in number, who all lived in common." Again ſpeaking of the above-mentioned Hezekias, he ſays, " We have ſeveral times " waited on and conferred with this eminent man, and his friends, reſpecting " the difference in our opinions, practices and cuſtoms: he conducted us to " his houſe, where he explained to us the government and diſcipline of the " Jews, and he gave us written teſtimony of the truth of what he ſaid."

Hecatæus next mentions the veneration in which we hold our laws, ſuffering with patience every extremity of torment and death, rather than be guilty of violating them. He then proceeds to mention the ſubmiſſiveneſs of the behaviour of the Jews under ill treatment. " How cruelly (ſays he) " have theſe people been treated by their neighbours? How have the Per- " ſian kings and their officers perſecuted them, yet been unable to ſhake " their reſolution! An inſtance occurs in the falling of the temple of Bel, " at Babylon, when Alexander being preſent, and reſolving to repair it, " directed that all the ſoldiers ſhould carry timber and other materials to- " wards finiſhing the ſtructure. The Jews only refuſed to give their aſſiſt- " ance, and were at firſt ſeverely puniſhed; but when the king ſaw that no- " thing would induce them to change their reſolution, he ordered them to " be ſet at liberty, on account of their magnanimity. On their journey " into their own country they levelled to the ground all ſuch temples and " altars as had been erected to the honour of ſtrange gods; for which offence " ſome were pardoned, but others puniſhed by fines and otherwiſe."

This writer ſpeaks much of our perſevering reſolution, and the immenſe numbers of our people, of whom multitudes were made captives, and carried into Babylon, and many others into Ægypt and Phœnicia, when a diſturbance happened in Syria, after the death of Alexander. He mentions the beauty, fertility, and extent of the country of Judæa, which, he ſays, is an excellent ſoil, and eſtimated to contain three millions of acres. With regard to the city of Jeruſalem, its temple, extent, and populouſneſs, he ſpeaks in the following manner:

" Many towns, cities, and fortreſſes, are in poſſeſſion of the Jews; but " they have one city which much exceeds the reſt in ſtrength and ſize. It " is called Jeruſalem, deemed fifty ſtadia in circumference, and to contain " one hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants. In the midſt of the city is " a ſtone incloſure, an hundred cubits round, having two large gates; and " within this incloſure is a ſquare altar, ten cubits in depth, and twenty in " breadth, made of unwrought ſtones, never touched by the tool of any " workman. Adjacent to it is a conſiderable building, having in it a gol- " den altar and candleſtick weighing two talents, and lamps burning day " and night: but it has no plants, groves or images, as is common in other " temples. It is at all times attended by prieſts, who live with the greateſt " regularity, and wholly abſtain from wine."

This writer recounts a ſingular ſtory of a Jew who ſerved under one of the ſucceſſors of Alexander; and it is as follows: " On a journey I made " towards the Red-Sea, one of our guards on horſeback was a Jew named " Moſollam, who was deemed a man of ſingular bravery, and very expert " in the uſe of the bow and arrow. While the company were travelling on-

" wards, a fortune-teller, who pretended to foretel the ſucceſs of the ex-
" pedition, bad them ſtand ſtill, and they obeyed. The Jew demanded why
" they halted; on which the fortune-teller, exhibiting a bird, ſaid, 'If
" that bird remains in its place, you are to do ſo: if it riſes and flies for-
" ward, you are to proceed: but if it flies a contrary way, you muſt re-
" turn.' Without heſitation the Jew ſhot his arrow, and killed the bird.
" The ſoothſayer and his company abuſed the Jew in the moſt outrageous
" manner; on which the latter told them that they were undoubtedly di-
" ſtracted to make ſuch a riot about a bird, which indiſputably knew no-
" thing of their fortune, ſince he was unable to predict his own: for if he
" had been acquainted with future good or evil, he would certainly have
" avoided the ſtroke of the arrow." Thus much with regard to Hecatæus: thoſe who would be farther informed, may conſult his writings.

I now proceed to Agatharchides; who, though not a friend, is, perhaps, no wilful enemy of our people. He ſays, that " Stratonice having aban-
" doned her huſband Demetrius, went from Macedonia into Syria, with an
" intention of being married to king Seleucus; but this marriage not taking
" place, ſhe raiſed an inſurrection in Antioch, while the king was in Ba-
" bylon with his army. On his return, the king took Antioch, and made
" Stratonice priſoner, when ſhe was on the point of departing for Seleu-
" cia, and ſhe loſt her life." Her beſt method would have been to have gone by ſea, but a dream prevented her from ſo doing. Agatharchides, having treated of the ſuperſtition of Stratonice, digreſſes from that ſubject, and ſpeaks of the Jews in the following terms:

" The Jews poſſeſs a city called Jeruſalem, which is deemed impreg-
" nable. It is a cuſtom with theſe people to reſt on the ſeventh day, when
" they neither attend their common buſineſs, till the ground, nor bear arms:
" but ſpend their time from morning till night in their temples, and in
" acts of devotion. Advantage was taken of this cuſtom by Ptolemæus the
" ſon of Lagus, who, on that day, entered the city with an army; and the
" conſequence was, that when the Jews ſhould have defended their lives
" and liberties, they were fooliſhly reſolved not to violate their ſabbath;
" whence they were reduced beneath the yoke of tyranny, and learnt, when
" too late, the folly of their cuſtoms. This is the conſequence of mens
" adhering to ridiculous opinions, without conſidering that the laws of rea-
" ſon ought to controul our actions." In this manner is our conduct cen-
ſured by Agatharchides: but thoſe who ſeriouſly reflect on the affair will determine that we have acted on the beſt principles: for certainly the making every other conſideration yield to a ſenſe of our duty to God, is a proof of the nobleſt magnanimity.

It is true that there are a number of hiſtorians, who were cotemporaries with our people, yet neglect to mention them; not through ignorance but envy, as I ſhall evidently prove. Jerome, who lived in the time of Hecatæus, wrote a book reſpecting the ſucceſſors of Alexander. He was gover-nor of Syria, and a favourite of king Antigonus. Now Hecatæus wrote a volume reſpecting the Jews, yet Jerome does not even mention us, though

he was in a manner our countryman. But writers indulge their own inclinations: some record our famous actions to posterity; while others are found suppressing them, in violation of the truth.

Yet there remains sufficient evidence to justify our claim, among the Ægyptians, Chaldæans, Phœnicians and Greeks: for exclusive of the writers already noticed, we are particularly mentioned by Theophilus, Theodotos, Mnaseas, Aristophanes, Hermogenes, Euemerus, Conon, Zopyrion, and possibly many others. Now the majority of these writers must have been ignorant with regard to the first ages of the world, as they had not the sacred scriptures for their direction. As to Demetrius Phalereus, Philon the elder, and Eupolemus, their censures are to be forgiven, as they had not the proper means of information.

It yet remains for me to speak to a particular article, which is to invalidate that scandal which hath been cast on us, and expose the authors of it by their own testimony, since what they say against us hath equal weight against themselves: but the partiality and malice of prejudiced writers is well known to those acquainted with history. Some indulge their ill-will against whole nations, and the manners of the people; as the Athenians were treated by Theopompus, the Lacedemonians by Polycrates, and the Thebans by the author of Tripoliticus. These people, and others, have been likewise much censured by Timæus: and it is the custom with such writers to abuse distinguished merit. Some do this through mere envy and ill-will, while others relate extravagant stories with the sole view of acquiring fame; by which proceedings fools deem them wise men, and wise men account them fools. Thus have the Jews been traduced, and truth itself hath been sacrificed for the sake of gratifying the Ægyptians.

Now the Ægyptians being our professed enemies, nothing could be better calculated to please them, than a false representation of our ancestors coming into Ægypt, and returning thence: for we were envied and hated by them because we grew so considerable while among them, and were so happy when released from their dominion. Another cause of enmity arose from the variance of religion, for their religion differed from ours as much as the author of nature from the works of his hands: for they made gods of beasts, and paid homage to them indiscriminately. In this doctrine they were educated from their earliest infancy, and rendered incapable of better sentiments by that prepossession. They entertained the utmost aversion to those proselytes who embraced our religion, and became so lost to every liberal opinion, that they scrupled not to contradict themselves, and refute their own records. This I shall prove from the authority of one of their distinguished writers, whose testimony I have already quoted, in support of the antiquity of the Jews.

Manetho, in the commencement of his Ægyptian history, solemnly declares that he will extract it carefully from the scriptures, and introduces his discourse with a story respecting "The ancestors of the Jews leading an "army into Ægypt, and reducing the country: but that being soon after-"wards driven out of that country, they settled in a province known by "the name of Judæa, where they erected a city called Jerusalem, and built "a temple."

Antiquity

Antiquity is his guide thus far: but afterwards reciting idle tales and traditions, his ſtory becomes wholly incredible. He repreſents the Jews as a mob of Ægyptian lepers, and other diſeaſed perſons, driven from the country on account of uncleanneſs. He preſumes they had a king, to whom he gives the name of Amenophis: but is ſo conſcious of the impoſition, that he preſumes not to aſcertain the time when he reigned, as was his cuſtom in other caſes; for he would have been betrayed by the want of connexion: He adds ſeveral romantic tales to his hiſtory, but is much miſtaken in his chronology, aſſerting that it was now five hundred and eighteen years ſince the ſhepherds left Ægypt on their way to Jeruſalem; whereas they quitted it during the reign of Themoſis. Now the government continued in regular ſucceſſion, during three hundred and ninety-three years, from Themoſis to the two brothers, Sethon and Hermæus. He ſays that, "Sethon took the name of Ægyptus, and Hermæus that of Danaus: that "Sethon ſupplanted him, and held the government fifty-nine years, and "was ſucceeded by his ſon Rhampſes, who reigned ſixty-ſix years." After having acknowledged the departure of our anceſtors from Ægypt many years before, he adds Amenophis to the catalogue of kings, and pretends that he was a prince devoted to the ſtudy of divine things, as Orus, one of his predeceſſors, had been; and then he ſays that, "He wiſhed to ſee the gods; on "which a prieſt, likewiſe named Amenophis, told him he ſhould be gra-"tified in his deſire, provided the kingdom was cleared of all lepers and "other unclean perſons. Now Amenophis, the prieſt, had ſuch a reputation "for ſanctity, that the king, delighted with the promiſe, collected eighty "thouſand diſeaſed perſons, and ſent them to work in the quarries to the "eaſt of the Nile, with many Ægyptians who were deſtined to that "labour; and among the reſt were learned men and prieſts afflicted with "leproſy."

Manetho proceeds thus: "This divine man was ſtruck with remorſe for "what he had done, dreaded the vengeance of heaven on himſelf, and the "king, for giving and taking ſuch advice; and found by revelation, that "divine juſtice, in retribution of their ſufferings, had decreed them the "government of Ægypt for thirteen years." The prieſt was afraid to mention this to the king, but wrote down the circumſtance, and then deſtroyed himſelf, which greatly alarmed the king. Our author then proceeds as follows:

"Petitions were delivered to the king in favour of theſe wretched people, "who requeſted to retire to Avaris, formerly called Typhon, and inhabited "by the ſhepherds, where they might live in ſafety. The king complied; "and as ſoon as they were ſettled they reſolved to rebel, and united under "Oſarſiph, a prieſt of Heliopolis, whoſe commands they ſwore to obey; on "condition of not being obliged to worſhip the Ægyptian gods; that they "ſhould marry with their own people, and eat ſuch meats as they deemed "holy. This compact againſt the Ægyptian intereſt being made, their "leader directed that the city ſhould be walled and fortified, and war levied "againſt Amenophis: he likewiſe joined with other prieſts, who ſent meſ-"ſengers to thoſe ſhepherds at Jeruſalem who had been driven from Ægypt

" Ægypt by king Themosis. The ambassadors were directed to invite them " to join the confederacy against Ægypt; and to offer them admission into " Avaris, the residence of their forefathers, where their wants would be " supplied, and they might at any time rise and conquer Ægypt. The pro- " posal was accepted; and they immediately marched to Avaris, to the num- " ber of two hundred thousand men.

" This invasion alarmed Amenophis, who knew not what to think of the " prophetical paper left by the priest. He instantly assembled a council of " his princes and people, sent away all those beasts which the Ægyptians " held sacred, and directed their priests to secrete their idols. His son " Sethon, otherwise named Romasses, a child of five years old, he entrusted " to the care of a faithful friend, and then marched to attack the enemy, " at the head of an army of three hundred thousand men: but recollecting " himself, and being smitten in conscience, he retreated without coming to " battle, and went to Memphis, where the whole body took shipping, and " went to Æthiopia, with Apis, and their other gods. They were gene- " rously received by the king and people of Æthiopia, who allowed them " habitations and provisions during the thirteen years of their banishment: " and also permitted a guard on the frontier for the protection of the person " of the king.

" In the interim greater ravages were made in Ægypt by the Jews from " Jerusalem than by those who had invited them. Every wicked and inhu- " man act was familiar to them, and it was a misfortune even to behold their " impiety. They burnt and rifled towns and villages; committed sacrilege; " broke in pieces the images of the gods; tore limb from limb the conse- " crated creatures adored by the Ægyptians; compelled even the priests " and prophets themselves to destroy them; and then stripped them naked " and dismissed them."

Our author likewise says, " Osarsiph, a priest of Heliopolis, was the " founder of that polity: he was so named from Osiris, a god there wor- " shipped. When he changed his religion he took the name of Moses." Manetho proceeds to say, that " Amenophis and his son Rhampses after- " wards marched from Æthiopia with two large armies, attacked the shep- " herds and the lepers, whom they pursued to the borders of Syria, making " great slaughter among them." I shall make it appear that this account is trivial and ridiculous in the highest degree.

Manetho confesses that our ancestors were not originally of Ægypt, but that going thither from other parts, they reduced the country, and then left it. With regard to our afterwards mixing with the Ægyptian lepers, and Moses, who conducted us from Ægypt, being one of them, I shall prove, from his own words, that Moses lived some ages before; which will destroy the credit of this fiction.

He says that " King Amenophis wished to see the gods." I would ask what gods? since the ox, goat, crocodile and baboon, which are the gods worshipped by the Ægyptians, may be seen at any time: but the celestial Gods are wholly invisible. What induced the king to wish for this sight? Why another king had seen them. He might as well have been informed what,

they were; but no; we are told that the prophet, who was a wife and good man, and one in whom the king trufted, encouraged his curiofity, by promifing him an impoffibility, as in the end it appeared to be. Let me again afk how it happens that the Gods are invifible becaufe men are lepers or cripples? It is for crimes, not for bodily defects, that they are offended with us. Who will credit the circumftance of fo many thoufand diffeafed perfons being collected at fuch fhort notice? How happened it that the king condemned them to the quarries, inftead of clearing the kingdom of them, according to the prophet's directions? The hiftorian fays the prophet deftroyed himfelf, in fear of the divine wrath, and left the fate of Ægypt in writing for the king. How happened it that he did not foreſee his own deſtruction as well as that of others? Why did he not perfuade the king from indulging his idle curiofity, or why concern himfelf for a calamity that was to happen after his deceafe; or was the dreaded misfortune worfe than death? But I have not yet remarked on the moft ridiculous part of the ftory.

Manetho fays that the king was concerned at what had happened: but how ftrange was his conduct! Inftead of clearing the country from the infected, he, on their firft petition, permitted them to dwell in Avaris, the habitation of their anceftors, where they chofe the high-prieft of Heliopolis for their governor; fwore allegiance to him; vowed to eat only meats deemed holy by themfelves; to worfhip only their own gods, and to marry only among their own people. They fortified Avaris, took arms againft the king, and fent to Jeruſalem for the aſſiſtance of thoſe who, by joining them, might reduce Ægypt to their fubjection. Two hundred thoufand men came on this invitation: but Amenophis, king of Ægypt, fmitten in conſcience, flies into Æthiopia, taking with him Apis and his other gods. The Jews afterwards fire the Ægyptian towns, commit ſacrilege on the temples, and are guilty of every kind of outrage.

Our author fays that, "The prieft who aſſumed the government was "born in Hierapolis, called Oſarſiph, from the god Oſiris, and then took "the name of Moſes." He fays alſo, that, "Thirteen years after Amenophis had deſerted Ægypt, he returned from Æthiopia, and attacked the "ſhepherds and lepers, whom he purſued to the borders of Syria with "great ſlaughter."

Here Manetho has been extremely unſkilful in the ſtructure of his narrative: for though the lepers might think their firſt ſentence to work in the quarries ſevere; yet, when they were allowed a commodious place of reſidence, one would imagine they might have been content: or, admitting their enmity to the king to be implacable, why did they not rather attempt perſonal injury to him, than cauſe a commotion in which their kindred would be ſufferers? But the conteſt was with men, not with gods; and they would not act contrary to the laws in which they were educated. Our thanks therefore are due to Manetho, for informing us that the leaders of this oppoſition were not thoſe from Jeruſalem, but the Ægyptians, particularly the prieſts, who bound them by oath to act as they did. Can any thing be more abſurd than to ſay, that when none of the friends of the le-

pers would engage with them in the rebellion, they were compelled to send invalids to Jeruſalem for aid? What reaſon of friendſhip or intereſt could induce them to come? For there was an utter diſſimilarity in their lives and conduct. Yet Manetho ſays "They came on the firſt invitation, in the hope of "taking poſſeſſion of Ægypt;" as if the ſituation of that country could be unknown to thoſe who had been driven out of it. If they had been reduced to the extremity of ſtarving, they might have ran ſuch a riſk; but it is not to be ſuppoſed that people ſituated in a finer country would take ſuch a ſtep in favour of enemies, and thoſe too, ſo diſeaſed that not one of them would have been admitted into a private family. Extravagancies like theſe none but madmen could commit. Who could have foreſeen that the king would fly at the head of three hundred thouſand men? for Manetho ſays that with this number he encountered the rebels. He likewiſe ſays that the army from Jeruſalem ſeized the corn and proviſions of the Ægyptians, and thus reduced them to the moſt abject diſtreſs. What better fate could be expected from a profeſſed enemy, when the Ægyptians had acted in the ſame way, and bound themſelves by an oath to continue their depredations?

How then ſhall we account for Manetho's ſtory of the enemy being routed by Amenophis, and his purſuing them with ſlaughter to the confines of Syria? Is Ægypt ſo expoſed on every ſide? And would not the conductors of the war, knowing Amenophis was on his march, have ſecured the paſſes from Æthiopia, and collected an army to oppoſe him? But Manetho ſays, "he purſued them to the borders of Syria, making great ſlaughter among "them." Abſurd indeed! to purſue an enemy, with an army, through a deſart that was almoſt impaſſable. But I have extracted from Manetho ſufficient to prove that we were not derived from the Ægyptians, nor otherwiſe related to them. With regard to the leprous among them it may be preſumed that many of them died in the quarries, more fell in the war, and multitudes in this laſt battle and flight. What Manetho has aſſerted reſpecting Moſes ſhall be the ſubject of my next enquiry.

It is agreed by the Ægyptians that Moſes was a man of approved wiſdom and uprightneſs; and they will aſſert any thing, however falſe, to inſinuate that he was their countryman, and one of thoſe prieſts of Heliopolis, who with others was driven out on account of the leproſy. Now the chronology informs us that Moſes lived five hundred and eighteen years before this event, and conducted our anceſtors from Ægypt to the country wherewe now dwell. Full proof of his not having been a leper ariſes from his own ordinations: viz. That lepers ſhould not be admitted into the towns or villages, but dwell in ſeperate habitations: that thoſe ſhould be deemed unclean who touched a leper, or lived under the ſame roof with him: that perſons applying to be cured of that diſeaſe, ſhould be purified, waſh themſelves with fountain water, ſhave off all their hair, and offer particular ſacrifices, previous to their being received into the holy city. Now if Moſes had been himſelf a leper, he would not have been thus ſtrict with others ſo afflicted.

Nor was the ſtrictneſs of our people only in the caſe of lepers. A perſon who had a maim, or other bodily defect, could not officiate as a prieſt, and was deprived of his office on ſuch diſcovery being made. Will any one ſuppoſe

poſe that if Moſes had been a leper he would have made laws ſo injurious and diſgraceful to himſelf? With regard to the change of the name from Oſarſiph to Moſes, there is not the leaſt correſpondence between them. *Moy*, in the Ægyptian language, means water, and *Moyſes* ſignifies, "preſerved out of "the water." It is plain that while Manetho adhered to the records of antiquity, ſome reliance is to be placed on his aſſertions: but the abſurdity of his ſtory is evident the moment he has recourſe to fiction.

I now proceed to Chæremon, likewiſe an Ægyptian hiſtorian, who is of the ſame opinion with Manetho, reſpecting the ſuppoſed Amenophis and his ſon Rhampſes. This writer ſays, "That the goddeſs Iſis appeared in a "viſion to Amenophis, whom ſhe rebuked for permiting her temple to be "deſtroyed by the war. A prieſt named Phritiphantes hinted to the king, "that he ſhould not be again viſited by apparitions, in the night, if he "would cauſe Ægypt to be cleared of all infected perſons. Hereupon "the invalids, to the number of two hundred and fifty thouſand, were col-"lected, and baniſhed, under the command of Moſes and Joſeph, two righ-"teous men of the number. Piſithes was the Ægyptian name of Moſes, "and Peteſeph that of Joſeph. At Peluſium they found three hundred "and eighty thouſand men, whom Amenophis had refuſed to carry into "Ægypt. Both parties combined in an expedition againſt the Ægyptians; "on which Amenophis retreated to Æthiopia, leaving a pregnant wife, who "concealed herſelf in caves, till ſhe was delivered of a ſon, whom ſhe called "Meſſenes; who on coming to years of maturity, drove two hundred thou-"ſand Jews into Syria, and brought from Æthiopia his father Amenophis."

To refute Manetho and Chæremon, it is only neceſſary to oppoſe their teſtimonies to each other. The former ſays the lepers were baniſhed in conſequence of the curioſity of Amenophis to ſee the gods: the latter imputes it to the viſion of Iſis. Manetho, ſays the prieſt Amenophis, adviſed the ſending away of the ſick: Chæremon make Phritiphantes the author of this advice. One ſays, the number of the diſeaſed was eighty thouſand; the other, two hundred and fifty thouſand. Manetho conveys the lepers to the quarries, and thence to Avaris, whence they ſend to Jeruſalem for aſſiſtance, and commence the war. On the contrary, Chæremon ſupplies them with three hundred and eighty thouſand men whom Amenophis had left at Jeruſalem; and invading Egypt with theſe, Amenophis flies to Ethiopia; but he ſays not a word of whence this vaſt army came, whether they were Ægyptians or Strangers, or why originally received by Amenophis. He tells us that Moſes and Joſeph were expelled at the ſame time; though the latter died four ages before the time of the former. According to Manetho, Rhampſes was in the war with his father Amenophis, and an exile with him in Ethiopia. Chæremon tells us he was born in a cave, after his father's death, grew to manhood, and drove two hundred thouſand Jews into Syria. How ridiculous this ſtory! He ſays not who the three hundred and eighty thouſand were; or whether the eighty thouſand deſerted to Rhampſes, or fell in battle: but the moſt extraordinary circumſtance is, that he does not tell us who it is he means by Jews; whether the three hundred and eighty thouſand at Peluſium, or the two hundred and fifty thouſand lepers. But it is

idle to attempt the confutation of thoſe whoſe narrations deſtroy their own credibility.

Proceed we now to Lyſimachus, whoſe falſehoods are more extravagant than any of the preceeding. He records that " When Bocchoris reigned " over Ægypt, the Jews preſſed into the temples to ſolicit alms, being co- " vered with ſcabs, leprous, and foul with variety of diſorders, of which " great numbers of them died; whereupon a famine enſued. Thus diſ- " treſſed, Bocchoris ſent to conſult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, on the oc- " caſion of the famine; and the anſwer received was, that the temples muſt " be purified by ſending into the deſart the unclean and impious perſons, " and that thoſe who were ulcerated and leprous ſhould be drowned, for the " ſun itſelf abhorred ſo obnoxious a ſight: and that theſe injunctions being " complied with, the fruits of the earth ſhould re-appear, according to their " natural order. Hereupon Bocchoris ſummoned his prieſts and ſoothſayers, " and agreeable to their advice, ordered the ſick to be collected and deli- " vered to the ſoldiers: thoſe who were ſcorbutic or leprous to be wrapped " in lead, and thrown into the ſea; and the others conveyed to the wilder- " neſs, and there left to ſtarve. The night advancing, theſe unhappy crea- " tures deliberated how to act. They made fires, and appointed centinels; " and on the next night kept a faſt, to entreat pardon of the Gods. On the " following morning, one Moſes recommended it to them to decamp, and " proceed onwards, till they could be better accommodated: but enjoined " them to do no good on their journey; not even ſo much as to give good " advice if it was aſked; and to deſtroy all the temples and altars they met " with. This advice being approved, the company proceeded through the " wilderneſs, and after encountering great hardſhips, came at length to a " country well inhabited and cultivated. They behaved in a moſt cruel " manner to the inhabitants, whoſe temples they ravaged and burnt; and " finally arrived at a place now named Judæa, where they built a city, and " called it Hieroſyla, the meaning of which is " the ſpoil of holy things:" " but afterwards acquiring power and reputation, they changed the name to " Hieroſolyma; and from the name of the city took their own."

Lyſimachus thus gives us a king unknown to Manetho and Chæremon. He ſays nothing of the dream or Ægyptian prophet, but makes his king aſk advice of the oracle reſpecting the lepers, and other diſeaſed perſons. He affirms that the Jews preſſed into the temples. By the Jews does he mean the lepers? for he would ſeem to inſinuate that the Jews only were afflicted with that diſorder. Why does he not ſay whether he meant natives or ſtrangers? If Ægyptians, he is wrong in giving them the name of Jews: if they were ſtrangers, why does he not ſay from what country? If ſo many were drowned, and the others driven into the deſart, how happens it that ſuch numbers of them yet remain? By what means did they paſs the wilderneſs, become poſſeſſed of the country, build a city, and conſtruct the moſt magnificent temple in the univerſe?

It is extraordinary that he ſhould mention only the name of our law-giver, without ſaying any thing of his perſon, family, or country. It is ſtrange that, during the journey, Moſes ſhould make laws diſgraceful to the Gods and

and men. If these exiles were Ægyptians, it is not credible they would at once reject the laws of their country. If strangers, they had certainly some peculiar customs to which they would have adhered. They might have had some plausible pretext for confederating in a solemn league against those who expelled them: but it is ridiculous in the highest degree, to suppose that a number of friendless and unhappy people should combine as declared enemies to all the rest of mankind. The conceit of the name, its allusion to the city, and the subsequent change of it, give an absurd uniformity to the whole story. The author hints that the name of the city was disgraceful to the inhabitants; yet it afterwards became an honour to them; but this malicious writer seems to have imagined that Hierosolyma bore the same meaning in Hebrew that it does in Greek. But it were idle to lose more time in refuting a tale which so palpably contradicts itself: besides, it is time that I finish this book, and proceed to the next; in which I propose to validate all my assertions.

END of the FIRST BOOK.

A

DEFENCE OF THE JEWISH ANTIQUITIES,

IN ANSWER TO APION.

BOOK II.

I PRESUME that I have already proved the antiquity of our nation, on the teſtimony of ſeveral Phœnician, Chaldæan, and Ægyptian hiſtorians, and ſome of the Greek writers: and this being done in my reflections on Manetho, Chæremon and others, I proceed now, (moſt honoured Epaphroditus) to anſwer thoſe who have attacked me perſonally, and particularly Apion, the grammarian; though, in truth, ſuch a writer is ſcarcely worthy of regard. His narrations are in the higheſt degree vulgar and fabulous: his writings are dull and obſcure: he appears to be ignorant of his ſubject, but is calumnious in every thing that he advances: in fact, there is a mixture in his writings, which prove that the author is illiberal, boiſterous, and troubleſome in the extreme. On reflection, however, that fools abound in the world more than men of ſenſe, and are gratified with folly rather than with good ſenſe and ſound reaſon: conſidering likewiſe that the majority liſten more eagerly to the abuſe than the applauſe of their neighbours, I am tempted to take up the pen of criticiſm, to chaſtiſe this arrogant man for his inſolence in preſuming to judge in this affair: and I am encouraged to proceed, by the conſideration that the world is gene-

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rally gratified by seeing the mischief arising from calumny revert on the head of the calumniators.

Apion's mode of writing is so obscure, and there is such confusion and contradiction in his narrations, that it is difficult to determine what he aims at. Sometimes he mistakes the account of our ancestors leaving Ægypt, as hath been done by others, whom I have already refuted: at another time he attacks the Jews of Alexandria; and then the rites and ceremonies of our temple and worship become the objects of his censure.

With regard to our ancestors being originally derived from Ægypt, and after that being expelled the same country, on account of any infectious disease, or any other similar reason whatever, I presume I have already said enough to clear us of every suspicion of the kind. I shall now, therefore, only take notice of what Apion hath added to these circumstances, particularly in his Ægyptian history, book the third. He says, "Moses was a native of Heliopolis, as I have been informed by the most ancient people resident in that country within my remembrance. In ancient times the inhabitants held their religious assemblies in the open air, till Moses, who was an adept in the worship of his country, prevailed on the people to assemble in houses in the city, directing them always to pray with their faces towards the sun. With regard to the buildings, they were open at the top, and consisted of pillars erected on the figures of basons, with engravings thereon, and the shadow, falling on the basons, moved as the sun moved."

These are the romantic opinions of this author: but I had rather leave the refutation of him to the writings of Moses, than undertake the task. Moses relates nothing of prescribing such form as above-mentioned at the first erecting the tabernacle; nor doth he direct posterity to use it. Nor was Solomon, (the founder of the temple at Jerusalem) acquainted with any such building as is mentioned by Apion.

He tells us that old men informed him, that Moses was a native of Heliopolis. Hence it should seem, that being too young to know the fact, he enquired of his cotemporaries, who appear to have been well acquainted with him. How absurd and ridiculous! Apion could not discover the country of Homer or Pythagoras, though they lived comparatively in modern times. How happens it then that he is so clear with regard to Moses, who flourished ages before them; and this merely on the information of the old men?

The historians I have mentioned equally disagree respecting the time when Moses conducted the lepers, lame, and blind, from Ægypt. Manetho asserts that it was in the reign of Themosis, three hundred and ninety years before Danaus was banished to Argos. Lysimachus says it was in the reign of Boccoris, which was seven hundred years before Molon; and others calculate as their fancies suggest: but Apion, who pretends to the utmost exactness, fixes the time to the first year of the seventh olympiad, in which year he asserts that Carthage was built. By this mention of Carthage, he seems to expect to authenticate his computation: but if he had reflected a moment, he would have seen that he was giving evidence against himself; particularly

particularly if he had attended to the Phœnician records; for that hiſtory makes it plain that Hiram lived full an hundred and fifty years before the building of Carthage, as hath been already proved from the Phœnician annals. Hiram had a ſingular attachment to Solomon, and contributed great numbers of materials towards building the temple at Jeruſalem. The fact is, that it was not till ſix hundred and twelve years after the Jews left Ægypt, that Solomon laid the foundations of the temple.

With regard to the number of exiles, Apion concurs with Lyſimachus in the erroneous account of one hundred and ten thouſand: but his account of the origin of the word Sabbath is amazingly ridiculous. He ſays, "The Jews having been ſix days on their journey, were compelled to reſt "on the ſeventh, being ſeized with ulcers and inflammations in the groin. "When they had arrived in the country they now call Judæa, they named "their reſting-day the Sabbath, from the Ægyptian word *Sabbatoſis*, which "ſignifies, 'The diſeaſe of the groin." How ſtrange is it that any man could write ſuch an aggregation of nonſenſe, and attempt to impoſe it on the world as authentic hiſtory! He repreſents one hundred and ten thouſand men, all afflicted with the ſame diſeaſe! If theſe were lame and blind, as he aſſerts in another place, how was it poſſible for ſuch a diſtempered multitude to proſecute their journey through the deſert, even for a ſingle day? How improbable is it, I repeat, that ſuch an immenſe number of men ſhould be at once ſtruck with the ſame diſorder? The common courſe of nature could never occaſion this; and to ſay that it aroſe from chance would be an unpardonable error.

How ſtrange is Apion's idea of one hundred and ten thouſand diſeaſed perſons travelling to Judæa in ſix days only! And what a ſtory does he recount of Moſes going to the top of Mount Sinai, betwixt Ægypt and Arabia, remaining there forty days, and delivering the law to the Jews on his deſcent! Two queſtions naturally ariſe here. How was it poſſible for ſuch an immenſe multitude to traverſe ſuch an enormous deſert in ſix days? And how could they ſubſiſt forty, in a place where neither bread nor water was to be obtained?

His obſervations reſpecting the ſenſe of the word Sabbath, are trifling in the higheſt degree. There is no affinity between the meaning of the words *Sabbo* and *Sabbatum:* the former, according to his explanation, ſignifies the Ægyptian diſeaſe; by the latter we underſtand the day that the Jews devote to reſt. This may be conſidered as the fabulous appendix which Apion has given to the hiſtory of Moſes, and the account of the Jews departure from Ægypt, contrary to all hiſtorical truth. But it is not wonderful that a man ſhould traduce others, who contradicts himſelf. His birth-place was Oaſis in Ægypt; but this he diſclaims, to be deemed an Alexandrian; which proves that he had no veneration for the Ægyptians; and, indeed, by that name he diſtinguiſhes all thoſe whom he wiſhes to calumniate: and for this reaſon, among others, he ſeeks to diſguiſe his extraction. Thoſe who are not aſhamed of the honour of their country, are anxious to aſſert their claim to it, and zealous in the ſupport of their rights and privileges. With regard to the Jews, the Ægyptians ſometimes claim kindred with us, and

then boaſt of the affinity; and in inſtances where themſelves are reproached, they ſeem fond that we ſhould bear our part in the ſcandal. Apion, however, gives vent to all his malice againſt us, as if he fought to pleaſe the Alexandrians for granting him the freedom of their city. He knew what an enmity there was at that time between the Alexandrians, and the Jews of that place; and though his pretenſion was to traduce only one kind of Jews, yet his rancour extends to the whole people of that denomination.

Let me aſk what crime he charges, with ſo much acrimony, on the Alexandrian Jews? He ſays, that when the Jews came from Syria, they took up their habitations on the coaſt, within reach of the tide, but not near a port where a veſſel could ride. Is he not cenſurable for ſcandalizing ſo diſtinguiſhed a city, a city which he boaſted (though not with truth) to have been the place of his birth? For that diſtrict is a dependency on Alexandria, and allowed to be a convenient ſituation. If the Jews forcibly took poſſeſſion of it, and then held that poſſeſſion, they are to be applauded for the act.

But the truth is that the Jews were put in poſſeſſion of this place by Alexander the great, who allowed them privileges equal to the Macedonians. What would Apion ſay, if inſtead of being eſtabliſhed in this royal city, they were permitted a reſidence at Necropolis; and if their tribes are called Macedonians to this day? It is a doubt whether Apion ever read the epiſtles of Alexander, Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus, and his ſucceſſors, kings of Ægypt; with the inſcriptions engraven on the pillar at Alexandria, by Cæſar's order to commemorate the privileges he granted to the Jews. If he had read them, he muſt have been a bad man to falſify his own knowledge; if not, he has at once betrayed his malice and his ignorance.

He is not leſs miſtaken in the aſtoniſhment he expreſſes at the Jews taking the name of Alexandrians. It is common for colonies to take their names from the places of their firſt foundation, of which we have many inſtances. The Jews of Antioch bear the name of Antiochians, king Seleucus having made their anceſtors free of that city. The Jews of Epheſus are denominated Epheſians: and Ionians is the name given to thoſe of Ionia: and they are entitled to thoſe names by ancient grants. Favours of this kind Rome hath granted to whole nations and provinces, as well as to individuals. How elſe happened it that the name of Romans was given to the ancient Iberians, Tuſcans, and Sabines? Apion is unwilling to allow this benefit to other people, and yet calls himſelf an Alexandrian. By his rule, no man born in Ægypt ſhould aſſume the name of an Alexandrian; for the Ægyptians are, of all people, refuſed this liberty by the Romans. But our malicious writer, incapable of juſtifying his own claim to this privilege, traduces thoſe who have an honeſt title to it.

Alexander accepted the aſſiſtance of the Jews in the building of this city; not that he wanted hands; but that he was willing to ſhew the reliance he placed in their truth and honour. Hecatæus ſays, that Alexander had ſuch regard for the loyalty and modeſty of the Jews, that he gave them the province of Samaria, free of taxes, excluſive of other gratifications.

Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus, ſucceeded Alexander, and was not leſs pleaſed with the Alexandrian Jews, to whoſe care he committed all the fortreſſes in Ægypt; and fixed colonies of theſe people in Cyrene, and other cities of Lybia, for his greater ſecurity.

This Ptolemy was ſucceeded by Ptolemy Philadelphus, who releaſed all the Jewiſh priſoners in the country, remitted their taxes and other debts; and was ſo zealouſly inclined to be inſtructed in our laws and cuſtoms, and in the holy ſcriptures, that he begged for interpreters to explain theſe matters to him. That no time might be loſt in ſuch a work, it was committed to the care of Demetrius Phalereus, who was diſtinguiſhed for his knowledge and probity, and to Andræas, and Ariſtæas, two captains of the king's guards. Now it is unreaſonable to think that this veneration for the cuſtoms and laws of the Jews could ſubſiſt without a proportionable reſpect for their predeceſſors. But Apion muſt be unacquainted with this part of hiſtory, if he did not know that all the Macedonian kings favoured the Jews.

Ptolemy, named likewiſe Euergetes, having ſubdued Syria, did not worſhip the Ægyptian gods, in acknowledgement of his victory; but ſacrificed after the Jewiſh manner; and returned thanks to God in the temple of Jeruſalem.

The whole weight of the government was committed, by Ptolemy Philometer, and the queen Cleopatra, to two Jews, named Onias and Doſitheus. Apion ſeeks to cenſure their conduct; whereas his thanks were due to them for preſerving Alexandria, of which he pretended to be a citizen: for when a rebellion prevailed in Ægypt, and the place was nearly loſt, all was adjuſted by the conduct of theſe Jews. Apion ſays that ſoon after this, the place was entered by Onias, with a ſmall army; Thermus, the Roman ambaſſador, being preſent: but he ſays no more of this affair; though the action was undoubtedly a very brave one.

Ptolemy Philometer was ſucceeded by his ſon Ptolemy Phiſcon, who marched from Cyrene, to drive Cleopatra, and the king's ſons, from Ægypt, and aſſume the government. Hereupon Onias made war on Phiſcon, in favour of Cleopatra, to defend the rights of royalty at all events: but never happened a more ſingular inſtance of the Divine power and juſtice than on this occaſion: for Ptolemy being ready to engage in battle with Onias, he gave orders that the Jews of Alexandria, of both ſexes, and all ages, ſhould be ſtripped, bound, and thrown to the elephants, that they might be trampled to death; the beaſts having been previouſly intoxicated, to inflame their rage: but, moſt unexpectedly, the elephants touched not the Jews, but deſtroyed numbers of the beſt friends of Ptolemy, to whom, at this moment, appeared a horrid figure, commanding him to ceaſe perſecuting the Jews. Ptolemy's favourite miſtreſs likewiſe ſupplicated him to the ſame purpoſe; on which he was not only prevailed upon to comply, but repented of all the cruelties which he had either perpetrated or intended. This fact is ſo well known, that an annual feſtival in memory of their eſcape, is to this day kept by the Jews of Alexandria, yet ſuch is the antipathy of Apion to every thing generous, that he cenſures the Jews for engaging in this war againſt

againſt Phiſcon, whereas he ought to have extolled that ſenſe of juſtice which inſpired them.

The laſt Cleopatra, who reigned in Alexandria is celebrated by Apion, on account of her ingratitude to the Jews, inſtead of his reproaching her lewd life and conduct; her infidelity to the beſt of huſbands; her treachery to the Romans, and her imperial benefactors; her cauſing her innocent ſiſter Arſinoe to be put to death in the temple; the perfidious murder of her brother; the rifling the temples of the gods, and the ſepulchres of her anceſtors; and her rebelling againſt the adopted ſon and ſucceſſor of the firſt Cæſar, from whoſe bounty ſhe had received her kingdom. Nor is this all: Cleopatra's charms and faſcinations rendered Anthony a traitor to his friends and country: ſhe dethroned ſome princes, and made others the inſtruments to propagate her vices.

It will be now proper to remark on the meanneſs of ſpirit evinced by this Cleopatra, who, at the naval battle of Actium, deſerted even her beloved Anthony, (the father of many of her children) whom ſhe compelled to forfeit his honour, quit his forces, and follow her. What conduct could be more worthy of cenſure. When Cæſar took Alexandria, ſhe was ſo enraged that ſhe prided herſelf on her barbarities; and thought if ſhe could have killed all the Jews with her own hands, ſhe ſhould have been recompenced for the loſs of the city. If, as Apion reports, corn was refuſed to the Jews, during the time of famine, by Cleopatra, this writer could have no reaſon to aſſign this as a diſgrace to us. But the evil deeds of Cleopatra have been rewarded.

The Jews in their juſtification, may appeal to the emperor himſelf, to the teſtimonials of Auguſtus Cæſar, and the public decrees of the ſenate of Rome; which will furniſh united teſtimony of the firm faith and allegiance they have always borne to the empire, and particularly in the Ægyptian war.

Theſe are the authorities that Apion ſhould have conſulted, if he meant to have done juſtice to the Jews. He ought to have taken the opinion of Alexander, the Ptolemies, and all the moſt diſtinguiſhed Roman emperors, as well as of the ſenate. It was owing to a ſeaſon of ſcarcity, and not to any fault of the Jews, that Germanicus could not ſupply all the Alexandrians with corn. The affection of the emperors towards the Alexandrian Jews was never doubted: wheat was granted to them in common with their neighbours: they had ample credit at all times, having the command of the river, and other paſſes of conſequence: in fact, they were truſted more than other people, in ſtations and affairs of importance.

Apion aſks, if the Jews are citizens of Alexandria, why they do not embrace the ſame religion; and worſhip the ſame gods as their fellow-citizens? To anſwer his queſtion by a ſimilar one, how happens it that the Ægyptians differ in opinion reſpecting the mode of worſhip? Shall we therefore determine that they are not Ægyptians? Shall we doubt their being men, becauſe in an unnatural manner they breed up beaſts, and then worſhip them? The Jews, on the contrary, live in harmony. Now if the Ægyptians are divided in ſentiment, ought they to wonder that the Alexanderian Jews, who came from

from another country, ſhould adhere to their old laws, though totally diſſimilar from theirs?

Apion imputes all the factions in the ſtate to the diviſions reſpecting matters of religion between the Alexandrian Jews, and the old inhabitants. If this were true of the Alexandrian Jews, why not of all the Jews in other places: ſince wherever we are diſperſed, there is an uniformity in our conduct? Thoſe who attend to the nature of theſe commotions, will find that they were excited by perſons of Apion's diſpoſition: ſince, while the Greeks and Macedonians reſided in this city, the Jews exerciſed their religion unmoleſted, and the people in general lived in harmony: whereas, on the increaſe of the Ægyptians, the times grew more tumultuous. The Jews, in all variations, remained the ſame; while the others, leſs conſonant than the Macedonians, leſs prudent than the Greeks, made all the diſturbance; being previouſly irritated by the averſion they had to the Jews, and inſtigated by the ill example of the Ægyptians. Theſe people, I ſay, were the authors of our confuſion; and we are blamed for the crime of the very perſons who accuſe us. We are likewiſe treated by Apion as ſtrangers, though undoubtedly inveſted with all the rights of freemen; while our adverſaries pretend to be citizens, without the ſhadow of a title to ſupport their claim. Hiſtory does not inform us that the princes of ancient times, or the later emperors, granted freedom to the Ægyptians: whereas Alexander the great was the firſt who beſtowed that favour on us, and his grants have been extended by future monarchs: and ſince their time the Romans have continued and confirmed them.

The Jews are likewiſe cenſured by Apion for not erecting ſtatues in honour of the emperors; as if they could not have noticed this circumſtance without his interpoſition. Inſtead of reflecting on us, he ought rather to have extolled the Romans, for permitting their ſubjects to enjoy their own religion, without demanding of them ſuch honours as they could not diſcharge conſiſtent with the rights of conſcience. The value of obligation is enhanced by the unſolicited freedom with which it is granted. It may be ſaid that it is common, among the Greeks and other people, to hold in high eſtimation the pictures or images of their parents, children, ſervants, and even ſtrangers: and ſhall not an equal degree of reſpect be paid to their ſovereigns? To this I reply, that the caſe with us is different, having reſpect to our venerable lawgiver, who hath poſitively enjoined us not to uſe images of the likeneſs of any thing, animate or inanimate. This he could not have done with a view to derogate from the dignity of the Roman empire; but ſingly to forbid the bodily repreſentation of a God inviſible and incomprehenſible. But we are not forbid a veneration for good men, next to the Deity. We pray for the emperors and people of Rome; and at the public expence, offer daily ſacrifices for their proſperity: but this we do not for any other people.

I thought proper to ſay thus much reſpecting the extravagancies of Apion concerning Alexandria. I am aſtoniſhed at the preſumption of Poſidonius and Appolonius Molon, who furniſhed materials for the work, and charge our people with worſhipping gods different from thoſe of other people. I

forbear to remark on the ridiculous ſtories propagated on this ſubject, which even tend to ridicule our temple. A wilful falſity on any occaſion is an atrocious crime; but this crime is aggravated when it tends to ſcandalize a temple, univerſally celebrated for the regularity of the devotion therein ſolemnized.

Apion ſays that, "In this place was the head of an aſs, wrought in gold, "of immenſe value, which was worſhipped by the Jews, and was a deity "correſponding with their religion; it was lodged in the treaſury, and "when that place was rifled, it was found, and carried off by Antiochus "Epiphanes." If this ſtory were true, it comes with an ill grace from an Ægyptian; for an aſs is no more diſgraceful than a goat, or weazle, or other beaſts worſhipped by the Ægyptians: but it is ſtrange that any man could affect to believe ſo ridiculous a ſtory. The Jews have ever governed themſelves by the ſame laws and cuſtoms: and though Jeruſalem and its temple have fallen into the hands of enemies, as Theos, Pompey, Craſſus, and Titus Cæſar, yet nothing was ever ſaid of this aſs's head before, or of any thing extraordinary, but evidences of real piety.

Antiochus, in his plunder of the temple, acted not as an open enemy, but as a faithleſs friend and traitor, who, being in want of money, ſupplied himſelf by robbery. There are, however, a number of hiſtorians who do juſtice to our cauſe; as Polybius, Strabo, Nicolaus, Timagenes, Caſtor, and Apollodorus, who agree that Antiochus, urged by his neceſſities, violated his faith with the Jews, and plundered their temple of a vaſt quantity of gold and ſilver. Now Apion would have conſidered theſe circumſtances, if he had not been as ſtupid as an aſs, and as impudent as a dog, two of the Ægyptian gods: but we venerate not our aſſes, as thoſe people do their aſps and crocodiles: for they hold that if a perſon is ſtung to death by one, or devoured by the other, he inſtantly takes his reſidence with the gods. We think of aſſes as other men of ſenſe do: we employ them in laborious offices: but if they diſobey us, or tread down our corn, we puniſh them with ſtripes.

Apion's tales are ſo ill contrived and unconnected, that he could never yet find credit enough to prejudice us; but there is one malicious ſtory, which he borrowed from the Greeks, more ſtrange than all the reſt. It will be proper here to remark, that they are ſtrangers to piety and holy things, who are ignorant that it is much leſs criminal to profane a temple by walking through it, than to propagate ſcandals of religious men, and calumniate thoſe who ſerve at the altar: but it was made a point rather to palliate the crimes of a perfidious prince, by imputing his conduct to neceſſity, than to do juſtice to the temple and people of the Jews.

Apion's ſtory is that, "When Antiochus entered the temple, he ſaw a man "in bed, and before him a table, ſpread with the rareſt produce of the land "and ſea. The man threw himſelf at his feet in ſurprize, thinking he was a "good angel come to deliver him, and beſought his aid in a poſture of de-"vout worſhip. The king ordered him to ſay who he was, how he came thither, "and his buſineſs, and what was the meaning of that elegant proviſion for

" him : on which the man, with many tears, ſpoke as follows :— I am a
" native of Greece, and being wandering through this country in ſearch of
" ſubſiſtence, I was ſuddenly ſeized by ſtrangers, who conveyed me hither,
" and confined me, with orders that no one ſhould viſit me. At firſt I was
" not diſpleaſed with the elegance of my entertainment; but on reflection I
" grew uneaſy; and prevailed on ſome of my keepers to aſſign the cauſe of
" ſuch treatment; and their anſwer was, that on a certain day, annually, it
" was the cuſtom of the Jews to ſeize on a Grecian ſtranger, whom they fed
" luxuriouſly for one compleat year, and then took him into the woods,
" and ſacrificed him, agreeable to their own forms: that each took a taſte
" of his blood, and ſwore utter enmity to the Greeks, living and dying; and
" then threw the mangled carcaſe into a ditch." This man ſaid farther to
Antiochus, " My time wants but few days of being expired: deliver me
" then from the barbarity of the Jews, by the veneration you hold for the
" gods worſhipped by the Grecians."

Thus ſhameleſs was the invention of this tragical ſtory; but it does not in the leaſt acquit Antiochus of the ſacrilege, as thoſe who contrived it would wiſh to inſinuate: for Antiochus did not enter the temple on account of the Greek, but found him there unexpectedly. His conduct was founded in wickedneſs, and is not juſtifiable on any principle whatever. Our laws differ more from thoſe of the Ægyptians, and other countries, than from the Greeks: but there is no country through which people of all religions do not paſs at times. It ſeems ſtrange, then, that this ridiculous barbarity ſhould be exerciſed on the Greeks alone: nor is it poſſible that all the Jews could aſſiſt in the ſolemnization of ſuch a ſacrifice: even according to Apion's account, their numbers were too great to have each taſted of the miſerable wretch. We are not told the name of this unfortunate Greek; nor did Antiochus ſend him back with honour into his own country; which would have became his character as a pious prince, and the father of his people, and excited the indignation of the public againſt the cruelty of the Jews.

But arguments are loſt on fools: ocular demonſtration can alone convince them. Every man who has ſeen our temple, can witneſs to the rigid rules by which it was kept pure and undefiled. It was divided into four parts, to each of which a guard was appointed. All perſons, even ſtrangers, were admitted freely into the firſt diviſion, except women under certain circumſtances: into the ſecond were admitted Jews and their wives, who were purified: into the third male Jews who were purified: into the fourth the prieſts only, in the habits of their office: and the high-prieſt, in his pontifical habit, could alone enter the holy ſanctuary. So ſtrict were the forms, that it was only at certain hours that the prieſts could be admitted.

When the temple was firſt opened in the morning, the officiating prieſts attended and entered, and again attended when it was ſhut at noon. Agreeable to the law, there was in the temple an altar, table, cenſor, and candleſtick; and it was unlawful to carry in any other veſſel. There was no feaſting, or other ſecret tranſaction; but all in full view of the congregation, and in ſuch order, that though there were four tribes of prieſts, each conſiſting of above five thouſand perſons, they took their turns on appointed days,

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some quitting the service when others commenced; and meeting in the temple about noon, they delivered up their trusts, some giving up the keys, and others the vessels; but nothing of food or liquor was brought into the temple; the offering on our altar any thing, except sacrifices, being unlawful. Wherefore, then, has Apion wrote at random, regardless of truth, which is scandalous in an historian? While he publishes his invective surmises against us, he suppresses those facts which he knows to be in our favour. With regard to his Grecian prisoner, and his sumptuous entertainment, and what he says respecting the people making the temple a common thoroughfare, where priests only dare appear, the whole is a malicious invention to deceive those who decline a proper search after the truth.

Apion follows one idle tale with another, to render the Jews contemptible. He tells the following story as from the Grecians: "The Jews and Idumæans being engaged in an obstinate war, a man named Zabidus went over "to the Jews from a city of Idumæa, where Apollo, the god of the Dorians "was worshipped, and promised to put the god into their possession, if the "Jews could be all assembled in a body at the temple. Hereupon Zadibus "provided a wooden machine, into which he conveyed himself, having "fixed on it three rows of lights, which, at a distance, appeared like a "comet on the ground. While the Jews, in silence and at distance, were "gazing on this spectacle, Zabidus got into the temple, seized the golden "head of the ass, and carried it to Dora." This tale is not less ridiculous than impudent. Apion mentions several places that are not to be found. He is a stranger to the situation of Idumæa, which has no such city as Dora. In Phœnicia, near mount Carmel, four days journey from Judæa, is such a place; but not the Dora meant by Apion.

We cannot blame him for charging us with worshiping strange gods, if our ancestors could believe that Apollo would come to him, and that he looked like a comet on the ground: but it is strange that the Jews should not know a lamp or a torch; nor less so that Zabidus should walk off with the ass's head, uninterrupted by so many thousand people, and unquestioned by guards, in town or country, in time of war.

I have said too much of this idle tale; yet cannot help wondering how Zabidus should get and keep possession of the ass's head: for the gates of the temple were sixty cubits high, twenty broad, plated almost with massive gold; two hundred men to shut them daily, and the crime of leaving them open not to be forgiven. It may be questioned if Zabidus restored the head to its former place, or presented it to Apion, that it might be laid in the temple for Antiochus to find it, and lay the foundation of another ridiculous fiction.

What Apion says of the oath is equally false; *viz.* that the Jews swear by their maker, never to do good to strangers, particularly not to the Greeks. If this writer had said "Not to the Ægyptians," he would have been more consistent, especially if our ancestors were driven from Ægypt for their misfortunes, not their crimes. The situation of the Jews and Greeks was so distant that it was not probable any hatred could subsist between them: on the contrary several Greeks embraced the Jewish religion, in which some of

them perſiſted, though others returned to their old faith. With regard to the oath, it reſulted ſolely from the imagination of Apion.

His next contrivance is excellent. He argues againſt the juſtneſs of our laws, our mode of worſhip, and the truth of our religion; that we are reduced to a ſtate of ſervitude and oppreſſion; that our city, formerly free and powerful, is now under ſubjection to the Romans. I would aſk what people are able to contend with the Roman power: who but Apion would argue as if dominion were entailed? Government and ſubjection are alternate. The Ægyptians alone pretend to be free from obedience to the governors of Europe and Aſia; and this is founded on the gratitude of the ſtrange gods, who fled to their country for ſanctuary, and aſſumed the ſhape of beaſts. How ridiculous this, from a people who have been always ſlaves at home or abroad. The Ægyptians have frequently ſubmitted to the Perſians, who have razed their cities, plundered their temples, deſtroyed their idol gods, and ridiculed their religion. I would not write in Apion's manner, reproaching people for their misfortunes. The Lacedæmonians were always brave, and the Athenians diſtinguiſhed by their piety; yet neither valour nor religion could protect them from the viciſſitudes of war. Cræſus, one of the beſt of kings, was deplorably miſerable: the tower of Athens, the temples of Epheſus and Delphi, and many other diſtinguiſhed places have been laid in aſhes: but the crime of deeds like theſe reſts with thoſe who commit, not with thoſe who ſuffer them: but Apion has diſcovered a new mode of crimination, without recollecting how far Ægypt might be concerned: but he was at this time ſo vain of Seſoſtris being king of Ægypt, that he ſcarcely knew what he wrote. If the Jews were diſpoſed to vanity, they might boaſt of their kings, David and Solomon, and recite the hiſtory of princes and nations ſubdued by their valour. But let us adhere to our ſubject. The Ægyptians were originally ſlaves to the Perſians, and other princes of Aſia, and then to the Macedonians. At this time the Jews lived in freedom, and commanded the adjacent cities, during one hundred and twenty years; even to the time of Pompey the great. At length, when the Romans had ſubdued the ſeveral kings they contended with, they treated our anceſtors as friends and allies, in conſideration of their fidelity and courage: but Apion pretends to be unacquainted with theſe circumſtances, otherwiſe ſo well known.

This writer inſinuates that we are an obſcure and ignorant people. "The "Jews (ſays he) have no men among them diſtinguiſhed by arts, ſciences, "or the wiſdom requiſite for political government; like Socrates, Zeno, "Cleanthes, and others." Apion even mentions himſelf as a man of eminence, and congratulates Alexandria on poſſeſſing ſo reſpectable a citizen. But Apion's character is ſo notorious for his impure life, that Alexandria is by no means to be envied the having ſo illuſtrious a freeman. With regard to the conteſt between the two nations, which poſſeſſes moſt men of learning, the reader may be ſatisfied by conſulting our antiquities. Reſpecting the ſcandal yet unanſwered, we refer to Apion's writings, which actually accuſe the other Ægyptians and himſelf.

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He pretends to be greatly offended at our cuſtomary ſacrifice of beaſts, and our abſtaining from eating ſwine's fleſh; and perfectly ridicules our ceremony of circumciſion. With regard to killing beaſts, it is practiſed by the world in general, as well as by us. Reſpecting our ſacrifices, he unavoidably diſcovers himſelf to be an Ægyptian; for a Greek or Macedonian would not have objected to this circumſtance, as they offer whole hecatombs to their gods: nor in this is there any danger of deſtroying the ſpecies, as Apion affects to dread: on the contrary, was the Ægyptian cuſtom general, men would leſs abound than wild beaſts, for theſe are the gods worſhipped by that people.

Were Apion aſked which of the Ægyptians he thought the wiſeſt and beſt men, he would, doubtleſs, reply, the prieſts, who are charged, by tradition from their ancient kings, to worſhip the gods, and apply to the ſtudy of wiſdom. Now theſe prieſts are circumciſed, abſtain from ſwine's fleſh, and join not in ſacrifice with the other Ægyptians. So that Apion, inſtead of gratifying the Ægyptians by abuſing us, has rather defamed them by an indirect charge of practiſing the ceremonies he cenſures in the Jews. Herodotus ſays, that they alſo adviſe and encourage circumciſion: and it appears to me, that Apion was juſtly puniſhed for his virulence againſt the laws of his country. Being adviſed to be circumciſed, the wound putrified, and he died in torments not to be deſcribed. May this be a warning to thoſe who, like Apion, forego the duties of a good life, and employ their abilities in abuſing others. Thus ended the life of Apion; and I ſhall now draw this book to a concluſion.

But ſince Apollonius Molon, Lyſimachus, and other writers, have, with the utmoſt folly, reflected on our great law-giver Moſes, whom they repreſent as an impoſtor and magician, and deſcribe his laws as of pernicious tendency, it may not be improper to give ſome particular account of our converſation and government; and I hope to make it evident that the laws framed by Moſes excel all others, in their tendency to advance the general good of mankind, by the promotion of piety, juſtice, charity, induſtry, and all the other virtues, even thoſe which lead to the contempt of death: never, I repeat it, were laws ſo framed, if they were rightly conſidered. I mean not to write a panegyric on our forefathers, but to aſſert the truth, in defiance of the arts of detraction.

Apollonius does not, like Apion, abuſe us in a regular diſcourſe; but ſeeks every occaſion to miſrepreſent us: at one time he aſſerts that we are atheiſts, and obnoxious to God and man: then he repreſents us as cowards; and the next charge againſt us is, that we are preſumptuous, fool-hardy, and more ignorant than the moſt illiterate barbarians; for the Jews, he ſays, never were the authors of any inventions for the benefit of mankind. Now theſe malicious aſſertions are at once confuted, by a retroſpect to the laws by which we are governed, and the regularity with which we conform our lives to thoſe laws. If, then we are compelled, by way of juſtifying ourſelves, to develope the faults of other political inſtitutions, thoſe who have provoked us to make the diſagreeable compariſon, muſt reſt content with the odium which the defence of ourſelves makes neceſſary.

In this caſe two principal things are to be conſidered. In the firſt place, whether our laws are valuable in themſelves; and in the ſecond, whether we ſtrictly obſerve them. If the former be denied, we can eaſily prove the fact by quotations from our laws; and the ſecond point is ſo obvious, that it will not admit of a doubt. But let us conſider this matter farther. It is indiſputable that thoſe who, through their benevolence, firſt framed our laws for the promotion of good order, are worthier characters than thoſe who live in defiance of all order; though they boaſt of their antiquity, and are ambitious of teaching others how to act, rather than imitate the good actions of others. This will be allowed: and it is the duty of the law-giver to enact ſuch laws as by their own excellence prove their tendency to promote the public welfare: on the contrary, it is the duty of the people to adhere to ſuch laws, in defiance of all danger and diſcouragement.

In point of antiquity our law-giver has an indiſputed precedence to all others: for Lycurgus, Solon, Zaleucus of Locris, and the other diſtinguiſhed Greeks ſo boaſted of, are mere moderns in reſpect to Moſes. In ancient times the name of law was unheard of, and even Homer wanted a word by which to expreſs it. In thoſe times the people were not governed by any written law, but by the ſole command of kings, who iſſued their orders as exigencies required. Even his enemies grant the precedence to our law-giver, who gave wonderful proofs of his abilities in council and government. He firſt compoſed a body of laws admirably calculated for the government of life; and then prevailed on the people to accept, and declare they would pay obedience to them. But the actions of this man are the beſt teſt of his merit.

When many thouſands of our anceſtors marched out of Ægypt, to the land which God had allotted them, through a ſandy deſert deſtitute of water, and were frequently attacked by enemies, againſt whom they were obliged to defend themſelves and families, our great law-giver was their guide through every difficulty; acting at once as a general, a counſellor, and protector. His modeſty was ſo ſingular, that though the whole multitude were abſolutely at his command, he never made the leaſt unreaſonable uſe of the power that was veſted in him; and in inſtances where others would have tyrannized, or acted licentiouſly, Moſes made a point of walking in the fear of God, and by his example, encouraged others in acts of piety and moral honeſty, as moſt conducive to their welfare: and he alſo improved every occurrence to their advantage.

In all things Moſes followed the commands of God, aſſured that he was then acting right; and he laboured to promote the ſame conduct in others. Nothing is ſo effectual a check to irregular actions, as the conſideration that we are perpetually obſerved by an all-ſeeing God. Our law-giver was by no means a magician, as he hath been repreſented: but rather reſembled the character of Minos, and others who are ſaid to have been among the Greeks. Some aſcribe the origin of the Greek laws to Jupiter, others to Apollo, or the Delphian oracle. Whether the authors of theſe accounts credited them is doubtful: but the excellence of theſe laws will be beſt judged of by a compariſon; to which we now proceed.

Different nations have their different laws and modes of government. Single perſons have the management of ſome governments; the people of others: but our law-giver avoided both theſe extremes, and formed what he denominates a divine common-wealth, of which God is the head, who is to be worſhipped as the diſpenſer of all good, and the fountain of all authority. To him we have recourſe in all diſtreſs; he hears our prayers, and knows our inmoſt thoughts. Moſes delivers the doctrine of one God, uncreated, eternal, unchangeable, infinitely glorious, and incomprehenſible, but through his works. This does not ill correſpond with what the more celebrated of the Grecian philoſophers have revealed by the mere light of nature: for they are almoſt unanimous in opinion as to the majeſty and excellence of the Deity. Pythagoras, Anexagoras, Plato, and the Stoics, are nearly of the ſame ſentiment on this ſubject; but the people in general being ſuperſtitiouſly prepoſſeſſed againſt theſe opinions, the philoſophers could not uſe their own freedom in promulgating them. Our law-giver is diſtinguiſhed by making his precepts the rule of his conduct, which has confirmed the preſent age, and will eſtabliſh poſterity in belief of the truths he delivered. He made it his general rule, that the public good ſhould be the end of all the laws he inſtituted. He conſtantly inculcated that the worſhip of God was only one part of the duty of a good man; and that the other parts conſiſted in fortitude, juſtice, and univerſal benevolence. Thus his precepts tended to the advancement of piety, and the glory of God; circumſtances to which he paid a rigid attention.

Reſpecting religion and moral conduct he aſſociated theory with practice, in which other law-givers are generally deficient. The inhabitants of Lacedæmon and Crete were inſtructed in morals, though not regularly: whereas, the Athenians, and moſt other Greeks, had laws adapted for all occaſions, to which they frequently paid too little obedience. Our law-giver attended to the cultivation of our morals, while he gave written laws to operate on all emergencies. He gives us directions what food to eat, and what to abſtain from, and with whom we are to feed; and commands that all perſons, indiſcriminately ſhall follow the ſame rule. He regulates our labour and reſt, ſo that every one may know his duty: we conſider the law as the command of a maſter, and know that wilful offenders againſt it are puniſhed. If we tranſgreſſed our laws we ſhould be inexcuſable: for we not only hear them read once or twice; but are ſtrictly commanded to abſtain from all other buſineſs, and aſſemble weekly, in full congregation, to hear the law read, and learn it by heart; which was never enjoined by other law-givers. People in general, ſo far from conforming to the laws of their country, are even unacquainted with them; and having committed an offence, frequently enquire what law they have broken. This is even the caſe among perſons of diſtinction, who confeſs their ignorance, by aſking advice of council: but our people know the laws as readily as their own names; being taught them from their earlieſt infancy. Thus being certain of detection and puniſhment, they are the more cautious of offending.

From this it ariſes that we are ſo unanimous in ſentiment. We entertain the ſame ideas of God; our worſhip, our lives and manners are the ſame.

Thus

Thus we differ from every other people; who entertain various opinions of the ſame God. This is not only the caſe with the vulgar, who talk at random, but even with the philoſophers, ſome of whom deny the divinity of God, and others his providence, by the inſinuation of the equality of all men who ſhould poſſeſs all things in common. On the contrary, we ſay that all things are directed by God, and that our whole lives ſhould be devoted to his ſervice: and even our wives and children are of the ſame ſentiment.

I would now advert to that reflection, that we are void of induſtry or genius in arts or letters; whereas men of ſpirit refine on the cuſtom of their anceſtors. We make it a point of conſcience to adhere in all things to the eſtabliſhments of ancient times, thinking their antiquity a mark of their virtue, and that neither time nor arguments will deſtroy them. Thoſe who believe the divine authority of our laws, will think themſelves bound to hold them ſacred. Who ſhall preſume to remove the foundations laid by God, or attempt to amend them by an intermixture of the laws of other governments? Can any conſtitution be ſo firm, as that of which the King of kings hath been the author? Our prieſts are qualified for their reſpective ſervices, and are all ſubject to the power of the high-prieſt. Our law-giver did not promote them to gratify their ambition, or advance their intereſt, but becauſe they had given proof of their piety, wiſdom, and temperance; and the care of religion and God's worſhip is committed to them. They are judges in perſonal diſputes, and have power to puniſh the aggreſſor. What form of government can be more venerable than ours? How can we honour the Deity more than by devoting our lives to his ſervice, under the direction of his prieſts? The ſolemn dignity of our devotion makes every day appear a feſtival. Other people are fatigued by the celebration of their ſacrifices but for a few days; yet we are ſtill happy in the performance of our duties, though ſo many ages have elapſed ſince their firſt inſtitution.

One of the moſt acknowledged precepts of our religion is, that God is all in all; ſelf-ſufficient, happy, perfect; the beginning, midſt, and end of all things; that all his works are glorious; that his power and greatneſs are equally obvious and incomprehenſible; that man can neither expreſs or conceive any thing to reſemble the divine Majeſty. We hold him to be incomprehenſibly excellent in all his attributes, and that, being a ſpirit, he is inviſible. But we are permitted to contemplate him in his works; as in the light, the heavens, earth, ſun, moon, rivers, ſea, animals, plants, &c. All theſe were created by God, without labour, and without aſſiſtance. They are the effect of his will, and the creatures of his word: which powerful word gave birth to all things, and pronounced them good. We ſeek to adore this almighty God by the practice of virtue.

It appears to us, that as there is but one God and one world, there ſhould be but one temple; for the Deity delights in order and unanimity. Daily devotions are offered in this temple by the prieſts; the chief of whom performs the ſacrifices, orders due obedience to the laws, hears cauſes, and puniſhes the violators of the law. We hold that appealing from the judgment of God is not more criminal than diſputing the authority of the prieſt.

When

When we eat the flesh of sacrifices we are careful not to indulge in gluttony; considering that God is the friend of sobriety and temperance, and the enemy of all profusion. The first prayer the priest offers is for the general welfare of mankind: then each man, as a part of the whole, prays for himself; for we are convinced that mutual charity and affection is highly agreeable to God. In our prayers we are forbid to ask for wealth and honour, and the blessings of this life; since these are indifferently bestowed on people in common: but our prayer is for grace rightly to use what we possess.

Certain forms are prescribed us respecting the purification of women, and in other cases: this the law ordains, as pleasing to God, and we consider God himself as the essence of the law. Marriage must be celebrated by consent of parents, without fraud or force, purely for the procreation of children, without regard to fortune, or the gratification of appetite. Death is the punishment of the mere attempt to gratify unnatural passions.

Our law ordains that a woman be in all things subject to her husband; not that the man is thereby permitted to use her ill, but that proper decorum may be maintained. The woman who lies with another man than her husband is to suffer death; and the same punishment is due to the man who injures a betrothed virgin, or seduces a married woman, or the mother of children. The law is equally severe on women who destroy or conceal their children at the birth: as the practice tends to depopulate the world, and we hold that the soul suffers with the body. After connection with a woman, a man is deemed unclean, and a woman after such connection with her husband, is to wash herself, for which purifying water is constantly at hand: for we believe, that in this case, the communication between soul and body is very intimate.

Our law disapproves of feasting at the birth of children, since it is intended to educate them in sobriety, and lest such conduct might lead to intemperance. Children are to be educated in the knowledge of law and history, to inspire them with courage to imitate great examples, and to give them a perfect sense of their duty.

Care is taken to moderate the expence of funeral ceremonies and monuments: but the domestics of the deceased are empowered to perform the office with decency. People in general are permitted to lament over the dead; but the family being deemed unclean, are to remain at a distance; and after the funeral the house is to be purified. In cases of wilful murder or chance-medley, the law punishes according to the degree of the crime.

Next to our duty to God, we are commanded to reverence our parents, and the disobedient are to be stoned to death. Young people are to pay respect to the elder. There must be no concealments among friends, but the fullest confidence; and if a friendship is dissolved, we must not reveal former secrets. Death is the punishment of a judge who receives a bribe. All men are forbidden to invade the property of their neighbours, or lend their money on usury. Thus much for our transactions with each other.

It may now be proper to consider our behaviour respecting strangers; and to shew that our law-giver hath carefully sought to advance the public weal, by keeping us obedient to our laws, and extending their benefit to all who

chuſe to embrace them: for we freely receive people of all nations who will agree with us in the common principles of life and behaviour. Thoſe, indeed, who come to us without intention of joining with us, are not permitted to attend our ſolemnities: but we are commanded to do them good offices; to ſupply them with food, fire, and water; to give them good advice, and decently to bury their dead. Theſe we conſider as duties of mere humanity.

Our law-giver likewiſe directs moderation to be obſerved towards our enemies; and enjoins us to be charitable to priſoners; particularly women. He would not permit ſtripping the bodies of thoſe who fell in battle. So great was his zeal for the encouragement of benevolence, that he recommended the practice of it towards the irrational creation, allowing no other power over them than for abſolute uſe. We are commanded to ſpare domeſtic animals; and with regard to others, not to deſtroy the dam and young together. We are likewiſe to forbear deſtroying beaſts of labour.

Such were the conſtitutions of our law-giver, to promote the cauſe of humanity, and ſeverely to puniſh tranſgreſſors. In many caſes death follows the crime, as in adultery, rape, and unnatural practices, in which both parties are doomed to ſuffer: and the puniſhment extends to bond and free, and to all ranks of life. Our weights and meaſures are regulated by law, which forbids frauds in our dealings, or that we appropriate another man's goods to our uſe. Perſons thus offending are more ſeverely puniſhed by our laws than by others.

Thoſe who blaſpheme their God, or revile their parents, are doomed to inſtant death. Our people expect not, for their obedience to theſe laws, the rewards of gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, or worldly honours; but the ſilent approbation of a good conſcience, and the perfect hope of endleſs happineſs; of which our law-giver has aſſured us, and which God has promiſed to thoſe who obey his laws: and in this confidence they conſider death itſelf only as a paſſage from this world to a better.

I ſhould have ſcrupled urging thus much, if the facts had not been as clear as the ſun, as appears by the hiſtory of our anceſtors, who bore the moſt exquiſite torments without murmur, rather than ſpeak a word to the diſcredit of their profeſſion. But let us ſuppoſe that the Jews had been a people never heard of, and that there were no witneſſes of the veneration they had conſtantly maintained for their laws. What idea would the Grecians form, if any one ſhould recite to them a ſtory of a ſtrange people in an unknown land, who had ſo ſtrictly adhered to the laws and religion of their anceſtors, through ſuch a long ſucceſſion of ages: would not a people ſo unſettled in themſelves be aſtoniſhed at the recital.

How much are modern writers, who treat of government, ridiculed for their ſuppoſed impracticable ſchemes? Not to mention other philoſophers who have written on this ſubject; there is Plato, the moſt eminent of the Greeks, a philoſopher, and a man diſtinguiſhed by his wiſdom and piety. Now this Plato is ridiculed on a public theatre, by ignorant buffoons, for what they call his abſurd notions of government: yet his writings, on a careful peruſal, will be found conſiſtent with the laws of nature and reaſon.

Plato

Plato himself says, "It is unsafe for a wise man to deliver his opinion re-"specting God, lest he should be ridiculed by the vulgar." The Greeks say that Plato writes too vainly and licentiously; but they allow Lycurgus to be a perfect law-giver, from a reverence to the duration of his laws. Now if it be acknowledged that the laws are better for their antiquity, how can the Lacedemonians contend with us, whose claim is above two thousand years standing? I may add, that the Lacedemonians paid a strict veneration to their laws no longer than while themselves remained in a state of freedom; but they deserted their laws as soon as themselves were abandoned by fortune.

On the contrary, our people never quitted the customs of our ancestors, during all their troubles in Asia, when they were reduced to the utmost extremities: nor did they ever consult their ease in the preservation of their laws: a slight comparison will show that the Lacedemonians had no such hard duty as the Jews. They were not reduced to the necessity of labouring hard; but lived in the city at their ease, having the conveniencies of life provided for them. Their chief duty consisted in an occasional attack on a public enemy. Even in this service they failed: they often deserted, in great numbers, to the enemy, laying down their arms, and violating their duty. This cannot be asserted of the Jews. I cannot recollect more than two or three of our people who have deserted their cause in the fear of death: I mean not the death of a soldier in the field of battle, but a death of deliberate cruelty and torment. To this distress many of our people have been exposed; not, as I firmly believe, through malice, but to try their heroism, and to see if they were men who would rather submit to be torn in pieces, than violate their laws by word or action.

Nor is there any thing so extraordinary in this resolution of the Jews: for our common mode of living would appear hard to other people: I mean our laborious fatigues, penurious fare, days of fasting, inferior cloathing, coarse lodging, and other circumstances. How would the Lacedemonians behave in their military life, if restricted from certain meats, and other indulgencies? Our people, on the contrary, glory in their constancy and resolution, and in a strict obedience to their laws: wherefore those like Lysimachus and Molon, and others who wrote to corrupt the morals of youth, may proceed to traduce us as they please.

We rather chuse to obey our own laws than abuse those of others. Our law-giver was so cautious that he would not permit any insult to be offered to the gods of other nations, holding even the name of the deity in the highest reverence. Yet it would be improper for us to remain indifferent where it is so necessary to silence our adversaries, and where, in fact, the work is already done to our hands. All the wise men among the Greeks exclaim against their poets and law-givers for infusing the idea of such a number of gods into the minds of the vulgar, and extending this number at pleasure, and deriving their origin agreeable to fancy, from any age or country: they go farther: they even assign them stations, like other creatures; they have subterranean, and sea-gods; and feign that the eldest is kept in chains in hell. Jupiter is the name of their principal celestial god.

They

They call him Father, but make him think and act as a tyrant, and pretend that his wife, his brother, and the daughter of his brain, conſpire to deſtroy him, as he had deſtroyed his father. All wiſe men have deſpiſed theſe fabulous deities, and held them in the contempt they deſerved. Some of theſe gods are repreſented as children, others in youth and vigour, and ſome as reverend figures with long beards. They have likewiſe deities preſiding over particular arts, as that of the weaver, ſmith, and others; and protectors of pilgrims, champions, archers, and harpers. They make the gods quarrel with each other, and eſpouſe the cauſe of mortals; in theſe quarrels they are wounded, and languiſh under their calamities. Theſe pretended gods and goddeſſes proceed even to illicit amours with men and women. Even Jupiter, the father and prince of their gods, after debauching of mortal women, is unable to protect either them or his offſpring, but laments their deſtruction, in being obliged to ſubmit to irreſiſtable fate.

What a picture is this of lewd and impious debauchery, and its probable conſequences! Open adulteries in heaven, committed by the gods, and boaſted off even ſo far as to envy the proſtitutes. If Jupiter, the principal of all the deities, could not reſiſt the charms of a laſcivious female, what is to be expected from the unbridled paſſions of the ſubordinate deities? What opinion are we to form of gods converted to ſhepherds and maſons, and confined priſoners in hell? What ſhall we ſay to gods in liveries, acting as ſervants? Muſt not every man of common ſenſe abhor and deteſt thoſe who could invent, propagate or credit ſuch blaſphemous tales? Theſe people ſometimes make gods of their paſſions, as their frights and fears, and then worſhip them in theſe imaginary characters: ſo that what is moſt diſagreeable among men becomes paſſable in the character of a god. Yet all this is inſufficient to prevent people ſacrificing to ſome of theſe monſters that are leſs obnoxious than the reſt: but they deem their gods the authors of good and evil, and, of courſe, their friends or enemies, as circumſtances vary. On this conſideration they treat their deities as they would men of dangerous diſpoſitions; they pay them obedience in the fear of being injured by them.

It is ſtrange that mankind ſhould thus labour under ſuch egregious miſtakes regarding the Deity. We can impute it only to the ignorance of the law-givers reſpecting the Divine Nature, or their neglect in communicating to the world the ideas they formed of theſe things, as matters which they thought of very little importance. Thus the poets and orators were left to imagine ſuch gods as they pleaſed; and their political inſtitutions were blended with idle tales and amuſements reſpecting ſtrange deities and ridiculous worſhip.

This abuſe has been, in a great degree, encreaſed by painters and ſtatuaries, ſince the Greeks were fond of dreſſing up their gods in imaginary ſhapes and figures, according to the fancy of the artiſt. They had likewiſe abundant matter on which to employ their ſkill. Some of them worked in plaſter, ſome in ſculpture, ſome in colours, and others, (who were more eminent) in gold and ivory: and the laſt production was generally moſt in repute on account of its novelty. As the old gods grew out of faſhion, their places were readily ſupplied by new deities. Thus too it was with reſpect

to their religion; one mode of it succeeded another. The same custom prevailed with regard to their temples: one was no sooner decayed than another was raised from its ruins, agreeable to the prevailing fashion of the times: whereas, in truth, the worship of God ought to be unalterable as the Divine nature.

Apollonius Molon may be reckoned among the number of the superstitious writers: but those of the Greeks who may be justly called philosophers know the truth of what I have recorded, entertain the same ideas of God that we do, and the same contempt for superstitious fables. Plato had his reason for admitting no poets in his commonwealth: he even dismisses Homer, though with all honour as a poet, lest the true religion should be destroyed by the fabulous. Plato, in his commonwealth, resembles Moses, in his orders to his subjects to study the laws, retain them in memory, and not intermix the customs of strangers; but preserve the government pure, and pay a strict regard to positive injunctions. This seems to be forgotten by Molon, when he attacks the Jews for not communicating with persons of a different persuasion; as though they were singular in this; whereas it is the custom with the wisest of the Greeks, and with people in general.

The Lacedemonians refused to admit strangers among them, nor would they permit their citizens to travel to other countries, for fear of the contamination of evil example. It seems severe thus to deny people the rights of society and commerce. Now the Jews are so far from acting thus rigourously, that though they do not intrude into other people's concerns, yet they readily receive all such as chuse to join them, which argues a benevolent turn of mind.

The Athenians, likewise, boast of admitting all strangers: but this seems to be more than Apollonius was acquainted with. So zealous were the Athenians for the honour of their gods, that a single disgraceful word on that subject was a capital offence. Socrates lost his life, not for any atrocious crime, but for making new oaths, which he said a divine spirit had suggested to him. Whether he was in earnest in his assertion is yet a secret; but he was tried, and condemned for it, and died by poison. He was also charged with inspiring the people with false ideas of the religion and laws of their country.

Anaxagoras, the Clazomenian, suffered death for declaring that the sun, which the Athenians worshipped as a god, was only a red-hot stone. Diagoras, the Melian, having ridiculed their religion, proclamation was made, offering a talent for his head: and the same would have happened respecting Protagoras, but he made his escape. He was charged with being author of a writing expressing his doubts of the Athenian gods. But we need not be surprized at this treatment of men, when women fared no better. A priestess was put to death on a charge of worshipping strange gods: and it was made death to introduce a new religion. It is then evident that the people could have no faith in other gods, as far as the laws could operate to prevent them: and if they had such faith they would have sought the favour of such gods.

Even the Scythians, who are a barbarous and savage people, are yet so cautious of keeping the mysteries of their religion sacred, that they put Anacharsis to death for speaking too respectfully of the Grecian gods: and we are told of several persons who were executed upon a similar account. Now Apollonius was a warm friend of the laws of the Persians, and admired them as well as the Greeks, for their consistency of worship. He not only thought well of, but partly imitated these people, by abusing the wives of other men, and putting out their childrens eyes.

The Jews are so strict in observing their laws, that they cannot be tempted by fear, advantage, power, or any other consideration, to desert their duty. We do not willingly encounter hazards but in support and protection of our lawful rights. We have patiently submitted to all other outrages; but the violation of our laws most sensibly affects us, and has made us in the highest degree daring and obstinate. Why should we envy the laws of other nations, when those who have founded abandon them? How will the Lacedemonians excuse their want of hospitality, and their custom of cohabiting without marriage? The inhabitants of Elis and Thebes are abandoned to unnatural lusts, to such a degree that custom hath almost made them lawful. This vice has likewise prevailed among the Greeks, till it has been attributed to their gods, who are said to have lain with their own sisters, and then compounded for the offence.

How shall we speak of those lawgivers who are more anxious to save than punish offenders: who forgive adultery for a fine, and excuse fornication on marrying the injured virgin? These kind of compositions are great temptations to ignorant people to renounce virtue, and violate the laws: and the resolution is often previously taken to trample upon all that is sacred. Nothing of this kind is imputed to our people: the protection of liberty, property, or even of life, would never tempt us to depart from obligions we held sacred. If the intrinsic excellence of our laws thus engaged us, it must be allowed our affections were well placed, and that the laws answered the proposed end: if the goodness of our laws is denied, those are still more culpable who have better laws, and do not observe them.

Time is the test of excellence, and antiquity the best proof of the goodness of a law. Here then we rest the argument, for the credit of our lawgiver, and his laws respecting the worship of God. No one will deny that Moses was, by several ages, the earliest law-giver; and as our laws are derived from him, so all nations have imitated them in some degree. I admit that the ancient Greeks had, to appearance, seperate laws; but their philosophers had the same ideas of God that we have, and advanced the same doctrines for the conduct of life.

The piety and regular government of the Jews are so well established in the world, that there is scarce any nation, Greek or Barbarian, that has not in some degree followed their example, either in observing our sabbath on the seventh day; in fasts; in the use of lamps; in abstaining from particular food; in the exercise of humanity; in social sentiments; in industry, or in resolution to suffer for the tr th. In all these things they copy from our original.

But

But the moſt extraordinary circumſtance remains unnoticed; which is that this ſingle code of laws ſhould have ſuch an univerſal influence on the minds of men, as to operate without any other authority than its own intrinſic merit, as the univerſe is influenced by the Almighty. Whoever takes a view of his own country or family will ſee the force of this remark.

Now would any one but an enemy adviſe us to change our old laws for new, and thoſe leſs valuable? If not, all reproach ought to ceaſe. In embracing our cauſe we have no enmity to any man; but ſpeak reverently of our prophet, convinced that God ſpeaks to us through him. But ſuppoſe we were not enough acquainted with our laws to eſteem them on their own account; yet the number of eminent perſons who have reverenced them, muſt engage our regard. Of this I have ſpoke more fully in my antiquities; but am impelled to make this obſervation in ſupport of the truth againſt detraction, without wiſhing to calumniate others in order to validate our own credit.

But to conclude, I think I have made good my promiſe; having fully proved the antiquity of our people, and quoted many reſpectable authorities that ſpeak highly of us in their annals. It has been aſſerted, that our anceſtors came originally from Ægypt: this I have diſproved. It has been likewiſe ſaid, that we were expelled Ægypt on account of contagious diſeaſes. I have made it appear that our anceſtors valiantly fought through their enemies to their own country. Some writers have repreſented Moſes as a man of the moſt immoral character, which is contrary to the united teſtimonies of a ſucceſſion of ages to his credit.

It were needleſs to vindicate our laws from abuſe. All perſons of wiſdom and piety who read and underſtand them are convinced. Theſe laws are inimical to vice, extravagance and faction; and tend to promote peace, juſtice, induſtry and benevolence. They forbid war, through ambition or avarice, and diſcountenance returning evil for evil. They recommend courage in the common cauſe: caution people not to be deceived by falſe pretences, and adviſe men to be virtuous rather in actions than in words.

On the whole, I may aſſert that our laws are unequalled; ſince nothing can exceed a ſtrict piety; a juſt obedience to inſtitutions; union in proſperity; friendſhip in adverſity; bravery in war; and an induſtrious application to arts and huſbandry in peace; and laſtly, a conſciouſneſs that wherever we go, or whatever we do, we are ſuper-intended by an omniſcient God, and his governing providence. If our laws had been elſewhere written, or depoſited in other hands before they reached us, we ſhould certainly be under obligation to thoſe who thus preſerved them; but if they never were otherwiſe diſpoſed of, and if we have conſtantly made them the rule of our conduct, (as is indiſputably the caſe) I defy ſuch writers as Apion and Molon, and am happy in this appeal to Epaphroditus, and others to whom the truth of our hiſtory may be conſidered as an object of importance.

The End of the Answer to Apion.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

MARTYRDOM of the MACCABEES;

OR,

A DISCOURSE ON THE POWER OF REASON.

WRITTEN BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

IN this diſcourſe I propoſe to prove that reaſon is the perfection of wiſdom, which will be evident if it ſhall appear that reaſon, refined by ſtudy and religion, can conquer the paſſions: I therefore adviſe my readers to be aſſiduous in the attainment of wiſdom. Reaſon is the foundation of knowledge, and when we ſay a man excels therein, we inſinuate that he poſſeſſes prudence, the firſt and moſt extenſive of the virtues. Reaſon may combat and reſtrain the diſpoſition to gluttony and exceſs, and the indulgence of all thoſe laſcivious appetites which are oppoſed to temperance: it may correct that depravity of our nature, and thoſe baſe inclinations which prevent the

love and practice of juſtice: finally, it may tend to ſubdue the paſſions of fear, grief, anger, and all thoſe impulſes that enervate the mind, and ſtand in contradiction to that ſteadineſs of temper called fortitude, which is diſtinguiſhed as the fourth cardinal virtue.

It may be ſaid that common experience will eaſily confute thoſe who aſcribe to reaſon all that power for which I argue; ſince if it had this dominion over the paſſions, its power would not be leſs over ignorance and forgetfulneſs, which is far from being the caſe. To this I anſwer that this is an idle objection, founded in a miſtake of the queſtion: for when I ſay that the paſſions are ſubjectible to reaſon, I am to be underſtood of ſuch natural defects as are in oppoſition to fortitude, temperance, and juſtice; all which are diſtinct in their nature, and appertain to the ſenſitive ſoul; but do not belong to the rational ſoul, nor are defects peculiar to itſelf. Thoſe who make the objection, miſtake alſo the nature of this ſovereignty; for it is not intended to inſinuate that reaſon deſtroys the affections which it governs, (which would be the caſe if it ruled over ignorance, and forgetfulneſs) but that it does not tamely yield to theſe affections, nor permit itſelf to be conquered by their power.

By many arguments it might be proved that it is in the power of reaſon to controul the paſſions: but I would rather abide by the inconteſtible evidence of matter of fact; and appeal to the examples of perſons who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by offering up their lives a ſacrifice to truth and virtue; among whom the moſt eminent are our countryman Eleazar, and the ſeven brethren martyred with their mother. The undoubted command of reaſon over the paſſions is rendered indubitable, by theſe perſons bearing the moſt extreme tortures, and ſubmitting to death without repining. Wherefore I will endeavour to give the praiſe due to the conſtancy of thoſe gallant men, and that illuſtrious woman; and join in paying that tribute of honour which future ages will acknowledge due to their ſteady virtue. Their conduct has excited the admiration not only of thoſe who were unbiaſſed witneſſes of their ſufferings, or thoſe who have read an account of them; but of their enemies and tormentors, who were amazed at that patience and reſolution, to which their own barbarity gave exerciſe. By this fortitude they became an expiatory ſacrifice for their country, the rage of a tyrant was ſubdued, and their nation relieved from oppreſſion.

I propoſe to purſue the following method: firſt to ſpeak of the queſtion in debate, and then quote the inſtance I refer to; aſcribing, as I ought, all glory to that God whoſe wiſdom hath given us ſo indiſputable an evidence of his truth, in the conduct of the perſons whoſe virtues are the ſubject of the preſent eſſay.

Whether the paſſions can be controuled and governed by reaſon, is the queſtion now to be reſolved: and to determine this we muſt define what is meant by reaſon, and what by paſſion; what variety of paſſions there are; and whether all, or only ſome kinds of paſſions are ſubject to the power of reaſon. I underſtand by reaſon the faculties of the mind, improved and directed by reflection, and concluding to adhere to a life of wiſdom. I mean by wiſdom

dom a knowledge of affairs divine and human, with their ſeveral foundations; which we learn by the diſcipline and inſtruction of the laws, whereby we are taught reverently to embrace truths reſpecting God; and to conſider thoſe reſpecting man as beneficial to the community. Wiſdom is ſubdivided into four principal virtues; prudence, juſtice, fortitude, temperance. Of theſe, prudence is held to be the chief; and the dominion that reaſon holds over the paſſions is principally owing to this virtue.

The paſſions are comprehended in the general ſenſations of pleaſure and pain; each of which has its full influence on the ſoul; and it is again attended by other affections, which ſhew themſelves according to the diverſities of time, or other circumſtances. In regard to pleaſure, deſire goes before, and joy follows it; and with reſpect to pain, it is preceded by fear, and followed by ſorrow. Though anger cannot be included in this definition, as it is a paſſion compounded of pleaſure and pain, as will be evident to thoſe who mark its operations on themſelves. In pleaſure, which is the moſt various and complicated of all the paſſions, there appears to be included a fruitful malignity, various in its form and effects, which vitiates the mind, when it produces arrogance, envy, and ſtrife; and affects the body when it ends in a ſordid greedineſs; for pleaſure and pain ariſe from the ſoul and body, as branches from a common ſtock; and theſe branches reſpectively produce ſhoots and ſuckers, which may be denominated the inferior affections. Now it is the buſineſs of reaſon, like a ſkilful vine-dreſſer, to alter, tranſplant, correct, and prune all theſe, that the vicious habits may be tranſformed into thoſe of a generous nature. Reaſon enables us to promote virtue, by reſtraining thoſe paſſions which lead to vice. This will be evident by conſidering what weight reaſon hath in a caſe where temperance hath been obſtructed. Temperance conſiſts in a command of irregular deſires, which may be effected by reaſon. Some of our deſires are more peculiar to the ſoul, others to the body; and reaſon appears to have the dominion over them both. I conceive that when our appetites ſtrongly tempt us to taſte various fiſh and fowl, and other delicacies which are forbidden by our law, and we refrain from ſo doing, becauſe we would not violate our duty; it is a convincing proof of the power that reaſon has over the paſſions; which can thus ſubject theſe inferior deſires, and prevent the craving appetite for thoſe things which have been forbidden by the Divine command.

This, however, I conſider as nothing in compariſon to thoſe raging deſires of the ſoul which are inſpired by luſt and beauty; yet Joſeph has acquired immortal honour, by the abſolute ſubduing of theſe, when he was invited to the gratification of them, and prompted by all the heat of youth to the indulgence. But certainly reaſon can, and ought to do, more than aſſuage the moſt violent paſſions towards the other ſex: ſince it is evident that our inclinations themſelves are under its command: otherwiſe there would be an abſurdity in the injunction which forbids us to "Covet our "neighbour's wife, or any thing elſe that is his."

It is evident then, that when the law commands us not to deſire at all, it implies the poſſibility of reaſon conquering all our deſires. This is the caſe, not

not only with reſpect to thoſe things that oppoſe the virtue of temperance, but likewiſe that of juſtice. How otherwiſe could the gluttonous, the greedy, the ſordid and ſelfiſh man be reformed? As matters now ſtand, if a man conducts himſelf according to the rules of our law, though his diſpoſition be ever ſo covetous, he is compelled to lend to the poor without intereſt, and to forgive the debt in the year of jubilee; and he is conſtrained not to reap the fruits of his field or vineyard in the ſabbatical year, though he be ever ſo frugal.

I could produce many other inſtances tending to prove that our paſſions are governed by reaſon. In ſome inſtances the law controuls our natural affections: it forbids us to betray the cauſe of truth and virtue for the ſake of our parents; commands us to puniſh our wives when they tranſgreſs; to make examples of our children when they are guilty of faults, and to reprove the vices of our friends. This truth will be more evident by conſidering, that reaſon, under the guidance of the law, deſtroys our hatred to our enemies; for it forbids our cutting down their fruit-trees, enjoins us to reſtore what they have loſt, and to help even their beaſts when lying under their burdens.

Reaſon rules over even the violent paſſions of ambition, vain-glory, and envy: the conſiderate mind ſubdues and expels theſe paſſions; as it does likewiſe that of anger, though leſs controulable than all others. This is evident in the caſe of Jacob, our ſagacious progenitor, who reprobated the conduct of his ſons Simeon and Levi, for deſtroying the whole race of the Sichemites, in the following words, "Curſed be their anger, for it was fierce, "and their wrath, for it was cruel;" which words plainly intimate that his anger was ſuperſeded by reaſon.

When man was firſt created by God, he was furniſhed with powers of reflection and free will; and in his nature were implanted various paſſions and inclinations, over which the ſoul was apointed to rule ſupreme, and govern the ſenſual appetites. This being done, God gave our law to man, as a guide to conduct himſelf by the rules of temperance, juſtice, and virtue.

It is ſtrange that it ſhould be ſaid that reaſon is inſufficient to govern the paſſions, becauſe it cannot be aſſerted that forgetfulneſs and ignorance are under its dominion. I have obſerved the abſurdity of this exception; ſince it appears that the power of reaſon is not over the intellectual, but the ſenſitive faculties of the ſoul. Nor do I pretend that its power over theſe is ſuch as to exterminate, but only to regulate our deſires. It is impoſſible for any man to root out the paſſion of anger; but reaſon will ſupply him with ſuch remedies againſt it, as may prevent his being a ſlave to its violence. It is not to be thought that reaſon ſhould annihilate all evil inclinations; but it will aſſiſt us in the conflict, and enable us to conquer our paſſions. The buſineſs of reaſon is not to change, but to aſſiſt nature: to act in her aid, not to her deſtruction.

It may be proper to illuſtrate this matter in the example of David. We are told that after engaging the army of the Philiſtines a whole day, and making great ſlaughter among them, he retired in the evening, much fatigued, to his tent, where he was ſurrounded by his troops. The company refreſhed themſelves

themſelves from the adjacent ſprings; but the king, though exceedingly thirſty, could not be ſatisfied but by water fetched from the garriſon of the enemy. Some of his principal attendants, eagerly bent to gratify his wiſhes, betook themſelves to arms, and taking a pitcher, broke through the trenches of the enemy, paſſed their guards, found the well of Bethlehem, and thence brought the water which the king wiſhed to taſte: but he, though almoſt periſhing with thirſt, now recollected what a crime it would be to indulge his inclination by drinking what his ſervants had hazarded their lives for; conſidering that he ſhould, in effect, drink their blood: wherefore he reſtrained his inclination by his reaſon, and poured out the water as an oblation to God.

Thus it appears, that a mind attempered by reaſon, may reſiſt the moſt violent paſſions, reſtrain the moſt impetuous deſires, and enable the body to bear the moſt excruciating pains, by a ſteady adherence to the laws of virtue. It is now incumbent on me to ratify my argument, by proofs, drawn from practice, of the ſuperior power of reaſon. Of this our anceſtors have given pregnant inſtances. When by the regularity of their lives, and their ſtrict adherence to the law, they had obtained the favour of foreign princes, and particularly of Seleucus Nicanor, king of Aſia, who allotted them part of his public revenues to pay the expence of their ſacrifices, and expreſſed his approbation of their conſtitution: in this favourable conjuncture, I ſay, it happened that ſome of them, by the artifices of wicked men, were reduced to ſevere trials; as will hereafter appear.

Onias being appointed to execute the office of high-prieſt for life, one Simon quarrelled with him; and having, to the great prejudice of our people, endeavoured to calumniate the character of this good man, whom he was unable to leſſen in the eſteem of his countrymen, he fled to a foreign court, with a view to betray his country. He made application to Apollonius, then governor of Syria and Phœnicia, telling him, that through his great zeal for the king his maſter, he was come to communicate to him a circumſtance which might be of the utmoſt advantage to his ſovereign; which was, that ſeveral millions of money were concealed in the treaſury at Jeruſalem, not for the uſe of the temple, or deſtined for public ſervice, but ſecreted by private men, and therefore of right the property of Seleucus. This tale being heard by Apollonius, he commended the zeal of the informant, and acquainted Seleucus with the affair: in conſequence of which he obtained a commiſſion to march into our country with a powerful army, and brought with him the traitor Simon.

Apollonius declared that he came on this expedition by order of the king, who had directed him to ſeize on all the money depoſited in the treaſury for the uſe of private men. This circumſtance cauſed a general alarm, and the people complained of it as the higheſt act of injuſtice to lay violent hands on that property which, for its greater ſecurity, had been lodged in the temple; and exerted themſelves to prevent his making a forcible ſeizure. Apollonius, however, advanced to the temple by force, where numbers of prieſts, women, and children, were proſtrating themſelves, humbly entreating Almighty God to preſerve his temple from contempt and profanation.

Apollonius, however, perſiſted in his deſign; and when he had entered the place with a number of armed men, and was on the point of ſeizing the treaſure, ſeveral angels from Heaven appeared, riding on horſes, and dreſſed in bright armour, which aſtoniſhed the aſſailants: Apollonius, in particular, fell to the ground in the court of the Gentiles, and lifting his hands to Heaven, beſought the Jews with tears, that they would intercede for him, that he might not be deſtroyed by the miniſtring angels. Onias, the high-prieſt, compaſſionating his caſe, and alſo fearing that the king Seleucus might attribute the death of Apollonius to the treachery of men, complied with his petition, and prayed for him. Thus Apollonius being ſaved, as by miracle, returned to the king, and gave a circumſtantial account of all that had happened.

Seleucus being dead, was ſucceeded by his ſon Antiochus, a prince of a haughty and cruel temper. Antiochus diſcharged Onias from the office of high-prieſt, which he gave to his brother Jaſon, on conſideration of receiving an annual tribute of three thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty talents: the king, therefore, directed that he ſhould preſide in civil, as well as in eccleſiaſtical affairs. This miniſter greatly oppreſſed our people; and ſeduced them to variety of wickedneſs, by the introduction of foreign cuſtoms contrary to their law. He inſtituted Grecian games in our principal city, and detached the prieſts from the ſervice of the temple. The vengeance of Heaven was the evident conſequence of this impiety, by Antiochus waging war againſt them; for during an expedition againſt Ptolemy, king of Ægypt, he was told that ſome of the people of Jeruſalem had triumphed on the report of his death; on which he marched thither, made dreadful ſlaughter among them, and publiſhed an edict, decreeing death to thoſe who adhered to the law of Moſes, and continued the cuſtoms of their country. This decree did not produce the deſired effect. Threats and puniſhments were equally deſpiſed: the women were thrown headlong from the walls of the city, for circumciſing their children; yet they ſtill continued the practice, though they knew the inevitable conſequence. The king perceiving that his decrees were deſpiſed, attended perſonally, and compelled them to eat food prohibited by the law, and in his preſence to abjure the Jewiſh religion.

About this period it happened that the tyrant Antiochus, being ſeated in ſtate, attended by his counſellors and governors, and protected by an armed guard, commanded many Jews who were brought before him to eat ſwine's fleſh, and meats offered to idols; and thoſe who refuſed were inſtantly tortured, and killed in his preſence. Many had undergone this inhuman treatment, when a reverend old man, named Eleazar, was brought before the king. This man was an eminent citizen, by profeſſion a lawyer, of the family of the prieſts, and much eſteemed by many of the friends of Antiochus, on account of his age and character. When Antiochus beheld him, he addreſſed him to the following effect. "I adviſe thee, reverend old man, be-
"fore I proceed to extremities, to ſave thy life by conſenting to eat the fleſh
"of ſwine. I reſpect thy age and grey hairs, and am aſtoniſhed that thou
"ſhouldeſt perſevere in the Jewiſh ſuperſtition, after a length of years that
"might have taught thee more wiſdom. It is ſtrange to me that men ſhould

" be so unjust to themselves, and so ungrateful to nature, as to deny them-
" selves the enjoyment of those innocent gratifications which her bounty has
" provided. For what reason shouldest thou refrain from the taste of the
" flesh of swine, which is the most delicate of all food, and seems to have
" been bestowed upon us by Heaven, in the fullness of its bounty? This
" conduct in others might seem to carry its excuse with it; but in a man of
" thy discernment, it is the height of folly to draw down a certain judg-
" ment on thy own head, by despising my authority, through an idle religi-
" ous prejudice. Let me then persuade thee to open thine eyes, awake from
" thy dream, and free thyself from a bondage which arises from a ridiculous
" singularity of opinion. Shall I hope that this expostulation may urge
" thee to have a proper regard to thyself, by accepting that kindness which
" I offer in compassion to thy age? I think it ought: for though thy reason
" may not be convinced of the absurdity of the opinion thou hast enter-
" tained, yet thou mightest allow, that if there be a divine Being which re-
" quires the observance of thy religion, that Being has goodness sufficient to
" pardon the breach of his laws, when the offence does not arise from an act
" of the will, but is the effect of absolute and irresistible compulsion."

The king having ended his speech, Eleazar entreated permission to make a reply; which being granted, he spoke to the following purpose, in the presence of the whole assembly. " It is proper that your majesty should be
" informed, that we who are firmly persuaded that the law given us by God
" should be in all things strictly obeyed, have no conception that any force or
" necessity can operate so strongly as to allow us to dispense with any part of
" this law. You have hinted that our law is not divine: admitting that to
" be the fact, Sir, yet it ought to be fully binding on us, in all cases what-
" soever, while we think it so. Your majesty will not therefore suppose
" that if we should be base enough to defile ourselves by eating unclean
" meats, the crime would be deemed either trifling or pardonable. Whe-
" ther the instance in which a man offends be greater or less, the insolence
" of the culprit is the same, and equal the indignity that is offered to the
" law. The guilt is the same, whatever the fact be. You have insinuated,
" Sir, that our religion is beneath the notice of philosophers, and men of
" reason; but permit me to say that it is the perfection of all philosophy;
" since it instructs us in the arts of temperance, and directs us to conquer
" our passionate desire for sublunary pleasures. It enjoins us to the practice
" of fortitude, and recommends the chearful submission to pain. It pre-
" scribes rules of rigid justice, and commands us to worship only that Al-
" mighty Being, to whom alone reverence can be due. Wherefore we must
" not presume to eat unclean and prohibited food; for we are convinced that
" God, the author of nature, paid a proper attention to it; and that the in
" stitution of this law, so far from being a grievance, was an act of benevo
" lence; that forbidden things are prejudicial to our souls, and those only on
" which we are permitted to feed are useful to us. It is therefore the highest
" cruelty to compel us to a violation of our law, and to eat those things
" which are forbidden because they are of a noxious quality. But, Sir, you
" shall never thus triumph over me. I scorn the idea of violating the solemn
" oaths

" oaths and sacred engagements, by which our forefathers have bound them-
" selves and their descendants to the observance of this law. I will not sub-
" mit, though you command my eyes to be plucked out, and my body burnt.
" Age hath not yet so impaired my intellectual or corporeal faculties, but
" that my reason is still vigorous on the call of duty and religion. If you
" are offended with this reply, prepare your instruments of torture, and en-
" crease the heat of your furnace: but, old as I am, I will never violate the
" laws of God and my country to save my life. I will not desert the law in
" which I have been instructed; I will never abjure that temperance, the
" best of virtues, which teaches us to conquer our appetites: I will not dis-
" grace my philosophy, nor bring a stain on the order of priesthood, and the
" study of the law. I will maintain my soul unspotted as those of my fore-
" fathers, and remain undaunted to death, under all the torments you can
" inflict."

Eleazar having made this magnanimous reply to the speech of the tyrant, the soldiers dragged him to the place of execution. Having stripped off his cloaths, they bound him, and whipped him till the skin parted from his flesh; an officer on each side him, crying, " Obey the king's orders." Eleazer seemed perfectly unmoved by their severity, and stood with his eyes elevated towards Heaven, till his flesh was torn from his bones, and the blood streamed to the ground. At length, unable to bear his pangs, he dropped down: but though his body was thus reduced, he appeared to possess his mind in full perfection. On this, one of the soldiers stamped on his belly, to oblige him to rise: but he bore all his sufferings with such an unexampled courage, that even those who inflicted them were astonished at such extraordinary magnanimity of soul in so old and infirm a body.

Wherefore, some of his tormentors, though servants of the king, pitying his age, and recollecting their former acquaintance with him, addressed him as follows: " Why, Eleazar, wilt thou submit to endure such variety of tor-
" ment without any cause? Consent that we put before thee clean and lawful
" meat, when thou mayest pretend to eat swine's flesh, agreeable to the king's
" order, and thus save thy life without violating the law." To this, Eleazar replied: " Let it not be said that we, who are children of Abraham, can be
" have in so artful and pusillanimous a manner as only to pretend to do an
" unbecoming action. It would be strange conduct in me, who have hither-
" to obeyed the laws of truth, and preserved an unspotted character, to set
" an evil example to others, by denying my principles in my old age; to
" drag out the remainder of life at the expence of dissimulation, and become
" an object of the public contempt for my pusillanimity." His tormentors observing his resolution, and finding that their offered mercy had no effect on him, conducted him to the fire, on which they threw him, cruelly tormenting him, and poured scalding liquor upon his nostrils as he burnt. When his flesh was almost seperated from his bones, he lifted his eyes towards Heaven, and said, " O God, thou art witness to the torments I suffer, and that I prefer
" death by fire, in obedience to thy law, rather than a continuance of life by
" the transgression of it. Have mercy, therefore, O God, on thy people,

" and

" and let my death expiate their crimes. Accept my life for theirs, " and let my blood operate as a purifying ſacrifice." The good man died at the concluſion of this prayer.

Surely this example will render it clear that reaſon, improved by religion, can conquer the paſſions; for this ſingular teſtimony in behalf of truth and virtue ought to be aſcribed to the paſſions, if they were ſuperior to reaſon: but ſince the inſtance above-mentioned makes it evident, that in the conteſt between reaſon and the paſſions the latter were ſubdued, we muſt acknowledge that reaſon is the ruling principle in all men. After ſuch a proof of pleaſures reſiſted, and pains endured, it would argue the utmoſt obſtinacy to pretend the contrary; ſince to the indulgence of pleaſure, and the avoiding of pain we are naturally prompted by our paſſions.

In the caſe of Eleazar, we may compare conſcience and a ſenſe of duty to a ſhip toſſed in a ſea of paſſion, reaſon, the pilot, ſteering; while the man, through the ſtorm of threats and ill treatment, is almoſt ſunk by the ſwelling waves of racks and fire; but ſtill maintains his poſt, nor parts from the rudder till he has brought his veſſel into the harbour of immortality. No beſieged city ever ſo ſtood out againſt the attacks of an enemy, as this venerable man defended himſelf by the force of reaſon in the cauſe of religion. His mind reſembled a promontory riſing in the waters, againſt which the waves of paſſion broke in vain.

Hail holy prieſt, who didſt refuſe to defile thy mouth and ſtomach, ever deſtined to receive hallowed ſacrifices, by eating meats offered to falſe gods! Hail preacher of the law, and maſter of that philoſophy taught us by the word of God! Hail thou pattern for thoſe who would vindicate the law by the ſacrifice of their blood! Hail holy Father, who haſt dignified our conſtitution by convincing the world of the efficacy of that philoſophy which deſcends from Heaven! Hail wonderful old age and righteous zeal, more ſtrong than torture, and hotter than fire! Hail firſt of conquerors, who haſt triumphed over thy paſſions, as our father Aaron ran among the people, armed with a cenſer, and conquered the deſtroying angel, who conſumed our forefathers by fire! Thus Eleazar, a deſcendant of that Aaron, conquered, through the rectitude of his mind, the flames that devoured his body: and though weakened by age and infirmities, gave proof even of youthful courage. Hail venerable age and grey hairs! Hail uprightneſs of life, atteſted by ſo glorious a death!

Surely the power of reaſon over the paſſions is fully proved in this inſtance of a man, weakened by age, enduring ſuch trials with ſo great reſolution: but leſt it ſhould be ſaid that the paſſions and love of life are abated with the ſtrength, I will now produce examples of young men, who, animated by the ſame principles, have undergone ſtill more exeruciating torments. The tyrant having in vain exerted his rage on the poor old man, ordered other Hebrew captives to be brought before him, declaring he would releaſe them if they agreed to eat forbidden meats; but if they refuſed he would torment them more ſeverely than he had done Eleazar.

In conſequence of this order, an ancient woman and her ſeven ſons were brought before him. The youths were ſo diſtinguiſhed by the comelineſs of their perſons, and engaging behaviour, that he could not but be ſtruck with

them. Having ſurveyed them with pleaſure, he bid them approach his throne, and thus addreſſed them: "I acknowledge myſelf, young men, to "be prepoſſeſſed by your appearance; I eſteem your family, which is bleſt "with ſo many brothers, and have friendly intentions reſpecting you. I "therefore adviſe you not to let your zeal carry you to ſuch abſurd lengths as "did that of the old bigot whom you ſaw expire in torture. I will aſſure "you of my friendſhip if you comply with my wiſhes. I can equally reward "thoſe who obey, and puniſh thoſe who diſoblige me: rely on it then, that "you ſhall be promoted to places of truſt and honour, if you will renounce "the cuſtoms of your country, and live after the Greek faſhion; rejecting "the idle diſtinction of meats, and freely gratifying thoſe appetites in which "youth muſt delight, though denied by your own ſuperſtitious practices. "Reflect that if you reject my offers, I ſhall be compelled to puniſh you by "a death as ſevere as regal vengeance can ſuggeſt. Have mercy then, on "yourſelves, while I, a ſtranger and enemy, offer you mercy. Deſtroy not "that youth and comeline's which I would preſerve: but you muſt periſh, "except you preſerve yourſelves. Reflect, then, nor reſolve too haſtily, "when I tell you that torment, and fire, and death will be the conſequence "of your diſobedience."

This being ſaid, he called for the inſtruments of torture: and the ſoldiers having produced wheels, pullies, ſcrews, iron gauntlets, caldrons, frying-pans, bellows, combuſtibles, &c. the tyrant, hoping they would be terrified by this dreadful apparatus, ſpoke as follows: "Be wiſe in time, O youths, "and dread the vengeance of an enraged king. It will be no longer criminal "in you to comply: nor need you doubt but that the God you worſhip will "conſider and allow for the peculiarity of your ſituation." But neither could they be allured by promiſes, nor terrified by the inſtruments of vengeance. So far from being impreſſed by fear, their reſolution encreaſed, and the ſtrength of their reaſon triumphed over the tyrant's cruelty. If only one of them had been cowardly, or unreaſonably fond of life, he would have repreſented to them the folly of rejecting the king's advice, and preferring a cruel death to profit and promotion: he would have adviſed them to abandon the point of honour, and ſave themſelves from deſtruction: to have pitied their old mother, and not brought her to the grave by their diſobedience: he would have pleaded the juſtice of the king's obſervation, that God could not be offended, and ſaid that the law would not cenſure an involuntary act: in a word, he would have recommended a life of caſe and pleaſure, in preference to a violent and tormenting death.

But the courageous young men, unſubdued by all the terrible apparatus before them, gave full proof that their paſſions were under the controul of reaſon; and ſo far from complying with the wiſh of the tyrant, addreſſed him to the following purport: "Wherefore, O king, this delay? If your view "be to obtain our final reſolution, know that we are already determined to "meet death in any ſhape, rather than violate the laws of our anceſtors: for "excluſive of the reſpect due to their example, a regard to the commands of "Moſes requires this obedience. Therefore tempt us not to give up our "principles, nor affect to pity thoſe you hate. The idea of death is leſs irk-

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" ſome than ſuch an inſulting compaſſion as offers to preſerve our lives " at the expence of our honour. You ſeem to imagine that we may be ter- " rified by the idea of death and torture, notwithſtanding the late experi- " ment on the good old man might convince you how fruitleſs ſuch practices " muſt be on the ſervants of the true God. If the ancient men among us can " bear ſuch pains undauntedly, ſhall the patient perſeverance of youth be " leſs conſpicuous? We ſhall copy his example, as we have profited by his " inſtructions. Therefore try if it be in your power to deſtroy our ſouls, " while we ſuffer in the cauſe of religion. But this is impoſſible: your bar- " barity cannot hurt us: the effect of the pains you inflict will be the rewards " due to our ſteady patience and virtue: but the conſequence to you will be " dreadful: by murdering ſo many unoffending perſons you will become li- " able to eternal torments in return for the temporal you may inflict."

The tyrant, incenſed by this anſwer, reſolved on the puniſhment of their diſobedience, and inſtantly commanded the executioners to bring the eldeſt to the torture. This they did, faſtening his hands, ſtripping him, and fixing his arms ſo as to receive the ſcourge. Finding that the ſtripes had no effect, he was extended on the wheel, and his bones being all either broken or diſlocated, he ſpoke as follows: " Monſter of iniquity! Enemy of God " and truth! Thou treateſt me not thus barbarouſly on account of murder, " or any criminal breach of law, but merely becauſe I have obeyed my God, " and obſerved his commands." On this, the ſoldiers perſuaded him to eat the king's meat, that he might be releaſed from his torments: but he anſwered, " You are miſtaken if you think the wheel has conquered my reſo- " lution: your moſt tormenting engines cannot diſlodge my mind, or ſtrangle " my reaſon. Cut my body in pieces, and burn my fleſh till my limbs ſe- " parate: but the utmoſt exceſs of your tortures ſhall convince you that it is " the glory of the Hebrews to remain undaunted when ſuffering in ſupport " of the rights of conſcience." Fire was now put under him, the pullies ſtretched, and his body turned to the flames, ſo that the wheels and ſpokes of the engine were covered with blood, and fleſh was torn from his body: the fire was quenched by his bowels dripping on it; and at length nothing was left but his ſkeleton. During theſe torments he uttered no complaints, but, like a true ſon of Abraham, ſuſtained the torments as if they only encreaſed his courage. He addreſſed his brethren, ſaying, " Follow my ex- " ample; deſert me not in this trial; nor deny that relationſhip in ſoul which " is nearer than that of conſanguinity. It is a glorious warfare to embark in " defence of religion. Doubt not the kind providence of that heavenly Fa- " ther whom we worſhip, who will reward us and all our nation, and puniſh " this bloody tyrant to a degree equal to his own pride and cruelty." Having thus ſaid, the holy youth expired.

The ſpectators were wondering at this proof of courage, when the ſecond brother was brought forward by the guards, who fixed him to the pulley, drew on the iron gauntlets with ſharp nails, and aſked him if he would accept the terms of mercy. His anſwer being reſolute as that of his brother, they fixed the gauntlets to his neck, tore the fleſh from his muſcles to the chin, and flayed the ſkin from his face and head. In this torment he exclaimed,

claimed, " Death is welcome in any ſhape, when we ſuffer in the cauſe of " religion. Bruti ſh tyrant! Knoweſt thou not that thou puniſheſt thyſelf " more than me? Thy indignation, in ſeeing thy deſigns defeated by my " conſtancy in a good cauſe, torments thee more than my pains do me. A " conſcious innocence, and a retroſpect of a virtuous life, are my ſupport; " while thy guilty mind is racked with the moſt terrible apprehenſions. " Thy conſcience tells thee that I ſpeak truth, and that the vengeance of " an incenſed Deity will follow thy crimes."

This brother being dead, the third was brought forward, when ſeveral perſons earneſtly preſſed him to eat the king's meat, and preſerve his life: but he eagerly replied, " You appear to be ſtrangers to the relation I hold " to thoſe who have died before me. We were children of the ſame parents, " educated by the ſame maſters, and have conſtantly acted on the ſame prin- " ciples: is it then to be ſuppoſed, that in this laſt act of my life I will re- " nounce my alliance to thoſe who have never yet been obliged to bluſh at " owning me for their brother?" This ſpeech, delivered in a determined manner, inſpiring the executioners with rage, they inſtantly put his hands and feet into the ſcrews, and violently disjointed all his fingers and toes; and ſtill extended the engine till they forced from their ſockets the bones of his arms, legs, and ſhoulders. As he ſurvived all theſe diſtortions, they ſtripped him of his ſkin from the ends of his fingers to the crown of his head. When his body was thus mangled, they dragged him to the wheel, where being yet farther extended by ſcrews, he ſaw his own fleſh drop in pieces, and his bowels and blood guſh out. When near expiring he exclaimed, " O moſt barbarous of tyrants! This we ſuffer in teſtimony of the " religion and law of a God who is ready to reward us; whereas, in puniſh- " ment of this thy cruelty, thou ſhalt ſuffer torments ſtill more inſup- " portable."

This brother having ſuffered as became the diginty of his family, the fourth was brought forward to execution; but firſt adviſed to recollect himſelf, and profit by the example of his brethren: but he replied, " No degree " of heat in your fires can make me ſhrink, after the preceeding inſtances " of martyrdom. I will not diſgrace my affinity. Try me, tyrant, and " prove by torture, if I am of the ſame family, and animated by the ſame " ſpirit, as thoſe whom thy impious rage has torn limb from limb, with a " malignity more than ſavage." Antiochus, enraged at this ſpeech, gave orders to cut out his tongue inſtantly; on which the youth farther exclaimed, " How ridiculous is this cruelty! 'Tis in vain to take away the organ of " ſpeech from one who truſts in that God who ſees the heart, and knows the " ſentiments of thoſe that are ſilent. Here is my tongue ready for your in- " ſtruments; but remember when you have cut it out, you cannot extin- " guiſh my reaſon, nor make my mind dumb. O that I could die by inches, " that every part of my body might glorify God, by being ſeperately ſacri- " ficed to his honour! But for thee, O tyrant, guilt and vengeance will " purſue and puniſh thee, who cutteſt out tongues, employed in declaring " the praiſes of the God who formed them."

Exceſſive torment having finiſhed the life of this brother, the fifth advanced chearfully of his own accord, ſaying, " To convince thee, tyrant, how " little I am impreſſed by thy torments, ſee, I readily preſent myſelf without " waiting thy orders, anxious to give proof of my virtue without loſs of time. " The ſooner I am diſpatched, the ſooner will my happineſs and thy guilt " be compleat, and by adding one to the number thou haſt murdered, I " ſhall help to make thee ripe for vengeance. Say, devourer of thy ſpecies, " what could induce thee thus to deſtroy us? Is it criminal to ſerve the " great Creator, and govern ourſelves by laws which he has preſcribed? This " conduct ought to entitle men to reward inſtead of torture." Thus ſaying, the ſoldiers bound him to the pullies, ſcrewed in his knees, and put on iron footlocks: the ſcrews being drawn, his loins were diſlocated, he bent round the wheel like a ſnake, and his bones were ſoon broken. Tortured with pain, and almoſt ſtrangled, he cried out, " Thou conferreſt favours on " us againſt thy will; the more ſevere our torments, the nobler proof we " give of our patience, and religious perſeverance."

He had no ſooner expired than the tyrant aſked the ſixth brother if he would accept the terms of deliverance. " Though younger in years, (ſaid " he) I am equal in courage. Our birth and education being the ſame, our " death ought to be ſimilar, ſince we are all embarked in the ſame cauſe, if, " then, thou haſt determined that I undergo the ſame trials, I will take care " to die ſupported by a good conſcience." He was then faſtened to the wheel, his bones broken, and fire placed under him; and the ſoldiers forced red hot ſpears into his back and ſides, till his bowels were conſumed. In the interim he exclaimed, " Glorious conflict, which my bre- " thren have ſuſtained for religion, and been conquerors; as muſt always be " the caſe with minds rooted in virtue. I will accompany my brothers in " death, and add to the number of thy torments, thou barbarous wretch, " thou foe to the adherents to the true religion. Six of us have now fruſtrated " thy malice, by refuſing to comply with thy infernal propoſals. Thy fires " appear cool, thy racks eaſy, and thy guards are the promoters of our law, " inſtead of executioners, ſince, unable to ſuppreſs our religion, they aſſiſt " us in giving teſtimony to its truth."

This man was now thrown into a boiling caldron, when the ſeventh brother appeared, at whoſe ſight the tyrant ſeemed to relent, and calling to him, ſaid, " Thou ſeeſt the fatal end of thy brothers, owing to their own " obſtinacy; for theſe tortures are the mere conſequence of their diſobe- " dience; and a ſimilar fate inſtantly awaits thee, if thou doſt not profit by " their example: but to encourage a different conduct, I now offer thee my " friendſhip, and will raiſe thee to places of truſt and diſtinction in my king- " dom." The tyrant likewiſe addreſſed himſelf to the mother as condoling her misfortunes, and entreating her to ſave her only remaining child: but ſhe, ſpeaking to her ſon in the Hebrew language, (as will hereafter be mentioned) he ſuddenly cried, " Unbind me, that I may ſpeak to the king, and " thoſe who ſurround him." This being done with great pleaſure, he ran haſtily to the ſide of the caldrons, and exclaimed, " O tyrant deſtitute of

" religion, and monſter of villainy! Thou haſt received a kingdom, and " various worldly bleſſings from God, and yet murdereſt the friends of ſuch " a benefactor. Are the rack and torture the return thou makeſt to God, in " the perſons of thoſe who worſhip him? Be aſſured that juſtice will purſue " and find thee; and is now preparing torments and fire for thee, not like " thine, which ſoon end our pains; but inexhauſtible, and fiercely burning " for a long ſucceſſion of ages. Wretch and brute that thou art, to have " no ſympathy for the pains inflicted by thyſelf on creatures of the ſame " nature, and feelings! Can a creature of like form delight in mangling, " torturing, and burning his fellow mortals? Yet ſuch thou appeareſt, " though thy diſpoſition, as thy fate, be ſo various from ours. We who " die to glut thy malice have diſcharged our duty, and ſhall be happy " with God: while thou, who haſt murdered ſo many glorious champions " for the truth, ſhalt howl in eternal deſpair, and curſe the guilty tranſac- " tions of this day, when too late to remedy the evil. So horrid, ſo dread- " ful, is thy caſe; ſo glorious and happy that of my brethren, which nei- " ther fear nor promiſes ſhall tempt me to decline: for I think the time " tedious till I participate of their ſufferings here, and aſpire to their future " bliſs." Thus ſaying, he threw himſelf into the caldrons, and almoſt in- ſtantly expired.

Will any doubt remain if reaſon, under the guidance of religion, can ſub- due the paſſions, when we behold ſeven brethren deſpiſing and overcoming the torments of death, from a perfect agreement in the ſame principles? Is it not evident that if theſe men had been influenced by their paſſions, they would have eaten unclean meats, and ſubmitted to any terms to have enjoyed eaſe and ſafety? This was far from being the caſe; their paſſions were quelled by reaſon, they ſhine triumphant, and receive the applauſe of their God. In the whole of this proceeding we ſee the dignity of the mind, and how little pain and paſſion are able to controul it. It would be unjuſt to deny theſe martyrs the applauſe due to the magnanimity of their conduct, in bring- ing their paſſions under the ſubjection of reaſon, ſo that they could not be conquered even by fire and torment. As the force of the waves is broke by the fortifications on the ſea-ſhore, ſo as to render the harbour commodious, ſo were the ſtorms and innundations of paſſions broken by this ſevenfold forti- fication of reaſon.

How great, how intereſting was the ſight of ſuch a company, encouraging each other to perſevere, their joint voices making an harmonious concert! Thus did they animate each other: " Remember, brothers, we are engaged " in the ſame cauſe: let us die like brethren, in defence of our God, and " his law. The three brave Aſſyrian youths defied the furnace of the king of " Babylon: let us imitate their glorious example."

When religion and conſcience are at ſtake, it becomes us to deſpiſe fear, and act with reſolution. One of the brethren ſaid, " Courage, brother!" A ſecond cried, " Perſevere;" A third exclaimed, " Remember your anceſ- " tors, Abraham, who conſented to ſacrifice his ſon; and Iſaac, who chear- " fully ſubmitted to become that ſacrifice." Then they mutually ſupported each other, ſaying, " Let us gladly conſecrate our ſouls to God: the lives

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" which he has lent us, reſtore, and yield up our bodies in defence of his " holy law. Wherefore ſhould we fear thoſe who only deſtroy the body? " Our fear ſhould be rather for the everlaſting loſs of our ſouls, which can- " not happen to thoſe who ſtrictly adhere to the truth. Therefore let us " arm ourſelves with fortitude; ſo, in death, ſhall we be gladly received by " Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob; and our conſtancy will be applauded by all " our pious anceſtors."

As they were ſeperately led to execution, thoſe who remained encouraged the preceding, ſaying, " Remember, brother, how thou ſhouldeſt be- " have; diſgrace not thoſe who have preceded, or thoſe who are to follow " thee." Encouragement like this muſt have been very animating: the relationſhip of brother muſt have had its influence. The reader will conceive the power of that affection placed by Providence in the hearts of thoſe who derive themſelves from the ſame father, are born of the ſame mother; ſuck the ſame breaſt, are brought up at one table, taught by the ſame maſters, and educated in the ſame religion. Such was the affection and endearments between theſe brothers, and, of courſe, the encouragement and advice they gave each other, could not fail of having its proper weight: for they were educated in the ſame faith, and taught to practiſe the ſame virtues; and their mutual virtue muſt have been encreaſed by their mutual eſteem; for natural eſteem is always improved by an union in goodneſs, and a mutual zeal for God's ſervice; ſo that the more religious each of theſe was, the more he would love each of his brethren, and become more worthy of their love. In this inſtance we may obſerve how paſſion was conquered by reaſon; for though the tender regard they entertained for each other was heightened by every conſideration of birth, affinity, education, acquaintance, and perſonal merit, yet all theſe conſiderations were outweighed by the ſuperior one of religion; ſo that, in ſo noble a cauſe, the tortures and deaths of ſuch near relations, inſtead of pain, gave ſatisfaction to the ſurvivors, who were pleaſed ſpectators of the tragedy.

Animated by exhortation, they were induced to deſpiſe pain, and ſubdue fraternal affection. Thus were their minds more ennobled than birth could make them. Not one of theſe youths gave ſign of fear, or ſhrunk at the approach of death, in all its terrors, but advanced to meet the racks and fire, as men who were running the race of mortality, and impatient which ſhould firſt reach the goal. As our hands, feet, and other members, move according to the direction of the ſoul, ſo theſe heroic youths moved towards death, as if actuated by one common ſoul. Divine conſtellation of conſenting brothers! As the world, created in ſeven days, conveys an idea of the perfect majeſty, and goodneſs of God, thus do theſe ſeven martyrs, by their courage and conſtancy, afford us an example that ought to baniſh the fear of death. But, alas! we fall ſhort of their pattern, though we cannot read or hear of the extremity of their ſufferings, without the utmoſt agitation of mind.

What torment can exceed that of fire, which inſtantly pierces and conſumes? Yet theſe valiant champions reſolutely endured the ſevereſt torments. But to encreaſe our wonder, and leſſen that idea of magnanimity which men

think

think their peculiar characteriſtic, let me produce the caſe of a woman, who gave glorious proofs of the ſovereignty of reaſon over the paſſions; one whoſe ſufferings were more ſevere than thoſe of the parties above-mentioned. The variety and extremity of a mother's pains, in viewing the death of her ſeven ſons, is ſcarcely to be comprehended. She muſt have been ſeven times murdered. The natural affections of parents are centered in the welfare of their children. This is evident even among beaſts, who evidence even a tenderneſs for their young, equal to that among men. But why need I mention beaſts, when all nature is full of this paſſion for their offſpring? The bees, though buſy in building their cells, are careful to guard their hives; and when invaded by the drones, protect their young ones by their ſtings, which ſerve them as weapons of defence.

The mother of our heroic youths was ſo true a daughter of Abraham, that even her tenderneſs for her own children could not tempt her to violate her duty. So laudable was her zeal, that when the preſervation and advancement of her ſons was put in competition with religion, ſhe wiſely preferred the latter, obeyed God rather than the king, and wiſhed them heavenly proſperity, rather than temporal. How ſhall I deſcribe that tender paternal paſſion, that fondneſs for the offſpring, that impreſſes on them the ſame features of body, and frequently the ſame diſpoſition of mind? It would be hard to paint the concern they feel for any diſtreſs that attends theſe dearer parts of themſelves: particularly that of mothers, whoſe natural fondneſs makes them ſtill more ſuſceptible of what affects their children, than fathers are. The mother I ſpeak of had ſtill more affection for her children than mothers commonly have: her love was augmented by ſeven painful births: and every freſh pang ſhe ſuffered gave new force to that affection ſhe felt for thoſe for whom ſhe bore thoſe pangs.

Notwithſtanding this, the love of God outweighed all preſent views of her childrens intereſt. She never loved them ſo tenderly as when they were giving this proof of their conſtancy in the truth: they were wiſe, courageous, affectionate, and ſo dutiful as to die in ſupport of the law, in obedience to their mother; while ſhe, diſdaining to let her tenderneſs operate too forcibly, or her reaſon be ſhaken by the torments they bore, exhorted them ſeperately and jointly, to ſhew their zeal for religion by deſpiſing ſufferings and death.

Hail nature, thou common mother! Hail the love of parents! Hail the ſympathetic feelings of maternal love! Behold a miracle: ſeven children ſeperately racked and burnt in their mother's preſence; yet her piety unſubdued by the ſight. She ſaw the fleſh of her children broiling, the joints of their hands, and faces torn off, and trembling on the ground: the ſkins of their hands and feet ſtripped, and thrown at her feet: all this ſhe ſaw unmoved. The agonies ſhe now bore for her children muſt be greater than thoſe of child-birth, and proved her the nobleſt of her ſex. Her expiring firſt-born moved her not: the languiſhing look of the ſecond, and the groans of the third, ſhe appeared not to feel. Not a tear did ſhe drop at the cutting off of hands and heads, nor when the bodies of thoſe dearer parts of herſelf were heaped around her. The laſt accents of her offſpring, amidſt

their dying agonies, were grateful to her ear as the songs of syrens, or the notes of dying swans. Though nature pleaded forcibly, she disdained to yield, and when urged to save them, she gave them up to torment, in full hope of their future happiness. She approved herself a true daughter of Abraham, by possessing his faith and courage. Hail, mother of a family, zealous for religion and law! Great was thy patience and courage, thou envy of thy own sex, and wonder of ours! As the ark of Noah, which contained the surviving world, rode in triumph over the waters of the flood; so thou, when tost on the waves of passion, and driven by the winds of adversity, being sustained by thy zeal for religion, didst bravely outride the storm.

Let me now return to the point I intend to prove. If the aged mother of seven children, through her zeal for the truth, could bear to see them expire in such agony, it follows that well-guided reason has compleat dominion over the passions. It is evident that this is the case with human nature in general, since not only men but even a woman could thus conquer all the common feelings, and defy the most exquisite torture. The lions of Daniel's den were comparatively gentle, and the seven-times-heated furnace of Misliael cool to that torment which must have raged in her breast, when she witnessed the agonies in which her sons expired: yet all her passions were subdued by the superior considerations of reason and religion.

Had this woman possessed the least weakness of temper, it is probable that she would have exclaimed to the following effect: "Unhappy wretch "that I am, so lately blessed with seven sons, but now bereft of them all! "O unprofitable child-bearing! O lost cares of nursing children destined "to fires, racks, and torments! Fruitless are my pains, fruitless my anxi- "ous days and nights, and lost is all the care of their education! Never "more shall I behold my beloved children, never rejoice in their mar- "riage, nor be happy in descendants of the second and third genera- "tion! Yet once was I happy in the number and virtue of my sons: but I "am now a forlorn widow, without one child to comfort my declining "years, or to lay my weary head in the grave."

But so far was this admirable woman from thus complaining, or wishing her children to live, that they would have afflicted her if they had not died with glory. Her firm mind considered that their death was but a passage to immortal life: she therefore entreated them to compleat her joy, by sacrificing their lives to religion. Illustrious mother! who, when she was seized, with her sons, and a witness to the torture and death of Eleazar, engaged heartily in the glorious cause, and encouraged her children in an address, in the Hebrew language, to the following effect: "Behold, my sons, "how glorious this conflict! If you should be called to suffer the same, "behave with chearfulness and courage, considering what an honour will "thereby redound to our people, and the law of your ancestors. It will "be a disgrace to your youth and vigour if you sink under your trials, "when a man almost worn out by age and infirmities hath already borne "such extreme torture, from a sense of duty. Reflect, my dear children, "what life is, and of whom you received it. It was the gift of God, and

" has been continued by his providence; and it is your duty to reſign it at his " pleaſure. Surely you would not decline any pain for him, in obedience " to whom Abraham was ready to ſacrifice his ſon, the promiſed father of " our people; nor did Iſaac decline the fatal ſtroke of the uplifted weapon " of death. The innocent and fearleſs Daniel was caſt into the lions den, " and the three children into a fiery furnace. A ſenſe of duty to God made " them reſolute to ſuffer: and you ſhould be willing to abide equal ſuffer- " ings, ſince you hold the ſame faith. Thoſe who have a genuine ſenſe of " religion will not decline any ſufferings in which the ſacred cauſe ſhall en- " gage them." Thus were theſe ſeven children encouraged by their mo- ther, who ſhewed them how juſt it was to die rather than violate the law of God, particularly when an eternal reſidence with Abraham, Iſaac, and Ja- cob, in the realms of unending bliſs, would be the aſſured conſequence of their perſeverance.

It was related by the ſoldiers, that when they were about to ſeize and execute the mother, ſhe prevented them by throwing herſelf into the fire. Venerable matron, who thus defeated the tyrant's rage, ſtanding like a firm building, ſupported by ſeven pillars! Glorious mother! Whoſe patience was ſuſtained by an unſhaken faith in God, and aſſured hopes of future recompence. Not brighter ſhines the moon in the firmament, encircled by the ſtars, than does ſhe in giving to, and receiving light from, her ſeven ſons, in the preſence of God, in the celeſtial manſions. Her ſons were truly of the faithful race of Abraham. Could one draw a picture of the above ſcene, every circumſtance fairly painted, our paſſions muſt be deeply engaged, and we ſhould be ſtruck with horror at the ſight of the mother and children ex- piring in ſuch torments. Should a monument, as it ought, be erected to their memory and the honour of our nation, ſome ſuch inſcription as the following would be proper: " Interred here lie a venerable prieſt, with an " old mother and her ſeven brave ſons, murdered by a tyrant, who in vain " attempted to deſtroy the conſtitution and laws of the Jews: for theſe " champions reſiſting, committed their cauſe to God, and perſevered, in " deſpight of torments and death, to aſſert the rights of their religion and " country." In fact, the conteſt was divine: patience was put to its full proof, virtue adjudged the prize, and immortal bliſs was the reward of the conquerors.

Eleazar was the firſt who advanced to the bloody trial; the ſons diſdained not the combat, and the mother embraced the conflict. The tyrant was their adverſary, the world the ſpectators, and religion the victor; for in their perſons ſhe crowned her gallant champions. Who could have beheld, who can hear of this glorious enterprize, without paying the tribute of praiſe and aſtoniſhment? The tyrant and his abettors were amazed at that patience which ſupported the ſufferers; and inhuman as they were, reverenced that piety they could not ſubdue.

The obſervation of Moſes is true: " All his ſaints are in thy hand." Theſe men are celebrated with honour, as ſanctified to God. Nor is the advan- tage of their ſufferings confined to themſelves. Their blood, being accepted by God as a propitiation, he was induced to return in mercy to his people, and

and deliver them from the oppreſſions with which they were loaded. For even Antiochus, ſtruck with the reſolution with which theſe men bore their ſufferings, praiſed their courage, and bad an officer declare it as a pattern to his own ſoldiers: nay farther, judging of the whole people by a few, he engaged many of them in his ſervice, employed them in ſieges and battles, and having, through their means, acquired many victories, was convinced that religion is the foundation of courage; and that thoſe who deſpiſe life, and can ſuſtain death from principle, are indiſputably the moſt valiant ſoldiers. Ye of the race of Abraham, who inherit his zeal; ye deſcendants of Iſrael the beloved, pay obedience to this Divine law; conform yourſelves to it in all things; live up to its dictates and diſcipline, ſince ſuch is its efficacy and influence, that all the paſſions yield to its authority.

Nor does this ſubjection of the paſſions refer only to thoſe within our breaſts; but to outward afflictions and bodily pains, as is evident from theſe men ſubmitting themſelves to torture for the ſake of religion. Theſe heroes fought and conquered, ſo as to be admired by men, and rewarded by God. While they vanquiſhed torments and death they vanquiſhed their enemies, who inflicted them, and eſtabliſhed the credit of their law and religion, the contempt of which had provoked the deity to puniſh them by the tyranny of Antiochus: but while this prince exerciſed his vengeance on others, he heaped up vengeance to himſelf: for finding that neither force nor flattery would induce the Jews to adopt foreign cuſtoms, he retreated from Jeruſalem and waged war againſt the Perſians: and ſoon after this he died, a miſerable victim to the vengeance of Heaven.

I will here add ſome farther exhortations from the heroic mother to her ſons. "Reflect (ſaid ſhe) on the conduct of your mother, who long lived "a pure virgin. I wandered not from my father's houſe, nor did the ſerpent "which tempted Eve ſeduce me. In conjugal fidelity to your father I paſſed "the prime of my life. This father died, happy in the general eſteem, "when you had attained the years of maturity. He was bleſſed in his "children; and miſſed the wretchedneſs of ſeeing them torn from him. "During his life great pains were taken in your religious education, to furniſh you with principles proper to ſuſtain this important trial. The law "and prophets were taught you by him, who deſcribed the examples of "their patience and virtue. He told you of Abel, who was murdered by "his brother Cain: of Iſaac intended for a burnt-offering; of Joſeph impriſoned for his chaſtity, and of the zeal of Phineas for the law of God. "The virtue and reward of Ananias, Azarias, Miſhael and Daniel, were recounted by him. He often reminded you of that Providence by which "God protects his people, thus celebrated by Iſaiah; 'When thou paſſeſt "through the waters I will be with thee; and when through the rivers they "ſhall not overflow thee: when thou walkeſt through the fire thou ſhalt not "be burned, neither ſhall the flame kindle upon thee.' While children he "taught you the ſong of David, 'Many are the afflictions of the righteous, "but the Lord delivereth them out of them all:' He inſtructed you in that "maxim of Solomon, which intimates that wiſdom is a tree of life to them "that retain her. He quickened your faith by that of Ezekiel, hinting that

" the dry bones ſhould live; and taught you the ſong of Moſes, who ſpeak-
" ing in the character of God, ſays, 'I kill, and I make alive;' and who,
" pronouncing the law, ſays, 'Through this thing ye ſhall prolong your days
" in the land wither ye go over Jordan to poſſeſs it."

O glorious, rather than melancholy day, when the barbarous Antiochus kindled his flames, and with more than ſavage rage, heated his caldrons and bound to the torture the ſeven children of this daughter of Abraham! When he tore out their tongues, and put out their eyes with the moſt malicious and wanton cruelty! At that time the juſtice of God did, and always will puniſh ſuch barbarities on the authors of them: but theſe pious ſons and their mother were removed to bliſs eternal; admitted to the company of their righteous forefathers, and have received of the God to whom they entruſted them, their ſouls in a pure and immortal ſtate. To that God be everlaſting glory.

END of the MARTYRDOM of the MACCABEES.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

WARS of the JEWS

AGAINST THE

ROMANS.

WRITTEN BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

PREFACE.

THE wars between the Jews and the Romans are indiſputably the moſt conſiderable that have occurred in the preſent age; nor does tradition furniſh us with accounts of any former contentions, civil or national, ſo highly intereſting and important. Theſe wars have employed the pens of many writers; ſome of whom, wholly unacquainted with the real ſtate of facts, have treated the ſubject merely on the evidence of vague report: others have acted rather like orators than hiſtorians; for, diſingenuouſly concealing the moſt palpable truths, they have extolled the conduct of one party, and cenſured that of the other, according to the influence of their reſpective prejudices.

I am the ſon of Matthias, and a prieſt of Jeruſalem; my name is Joſephus, and I am by birth an Hebrew. The motive to my engaging in the following work was to render a common ſervice to the ſubjects of the Roman empire, by ſupplying them with a Greek verſion of the hiſtory of the Jewiſh wars, which, in my mother tongue, I had already communicated to the Parthians, Babylonians, and other barbarous nations. I muſt obſerve, that having firſt acted in a military capacity on behalf on the Jews, I afterwards was in ſome meaſure conſtrained to bear arms in favour of the Romans.

The war commenced at a period when the Roman empire was embroiled in civil diſſentions: the Jews being ſeditious, wealthy and powerful, availed themſelves of this opportunity, and inflamed the tumult to ſo deſperate a degree that they flattered themſelves in the proſpect of being able to accompliſh their purpoſe; and the eaſtern nations were under the moſt terrible apprehenſions of being ſubjugated to the power of the Jews; for thoſe beyond the Euphrates had joined in the confederacy, and the whole were unanimouſly determined to revolt. The Germans were reſtleſs and diſſatisfied; the Gauls, on the borders of Italy, had taken up arms; ſeveral perſons aſpired to obtain the ſovereignty of the empire; the military and many other people were deſirous of a change in government as the means of advancing their fortunes: thus, in ſhort, were public affairs circumſtanced upon the deceaſe of Nero.

After having furniſhed the Parthians, the Babylonians, the remote Arabians, the Jews on the other ſide the Euphrates, and the Adiabeni, with an authentic hiſtory of the commencement, progreſs, and concluſion of the war, I conſidered myſelf as under the obligations of honour and conſcience not to ſuffer the Greeks and Romans, who were not engaged in the contention to remain under the impoſition of partial and fictitious accounts: and to vindicate the moſt important events that have yet occured from miſrepreſentation.

That work cannot deſerve the name of an hiſtory, which is deſtitute both of ſenſe and connection, and which is evidently calculated, by ſuppreſſing the

the real ſtate of facts, to exalt the reputation of the Romans, and calumniate the Jews. To triumph over a vanquiſhed and feeble enemy cannot ſurely be underſtood as an argument of noble or generous ſentiments. To diſavow the fortitude and courage of the Jews, muſt be to deduct from the fame of the Romans, ſince, conſidering their numbers and ſtrength, their conqueſt was not rapid, nor obtained without conſiderable loſs, perſeverance and difficulty.

I mean not extravagantly to applaud the conduct of the Jews, as ſome writers have acted in regard to the Romans: my purpoſe is to ſpeak of each party with the utmoſt impartiality, and to aſſert no more than what I can authenticate: and I ſhall ſeek no other conſolation than tenderly to deplore the ruin of my country, which was the unhappy conſequence of domeſtic tumults: the burning of the holy temple was occaſioned by the tyranny of our rulers, whereby the Romans were compelled to that extremity, contrary to their inclinations; and as a proof of this aſſertion, it is only neceſſary to mention the conduct of Titus Cæſar, by whoſe command that event took place. That generous prince, obſerving the miſerable condition to which we were reduced by inteſtine diviſions, commiſerated our ſufferings, and, with a view to afford the authors of the war the opportunity of reflecting upon their ſituation, and of repenting of their faults, even ſuſpended the deſtruction of the city, which it was in his power to have inſtantly reduced.

If it be urged againſt me that I have tranſgreſſed thoſe limits within which it is the duty of an hiſtorian to confine himſelf, I can only plead an inconſolable affliction in excuſe for my bitterneſs againſt the cruel oppreſſors and ſpoilers of my country.

From the creation of the world to the preſent time; no inſtance has been known ſimilar to that which we have been witneſſes of in the fate of Jeruſalem; for that unhappy city experienced the utmoſt extremes of ſplendor and happineſs, devaſtation and miſery. It was not to the rage of foreign enemies, but chiefly to the violence of our own paſſions that we have fallen a ſacrifice. Theſe afflicting ſentiments appear in my judgment to be reaſonably founded: but I muſt beg ſuch of my readers as in this reſpect may judge me deſerving cenſure, to purſue the chain of my narrative, and pardon thoſe effuſions proceeding from the too ſenſibly affected heart of the author.

I cannot avoid acknowledging that I greatly diſapprove the conduct of ſeveral eloquent men among the Greeks, who, though conſcious that the events of their own days are more intereſting than thoſe of preceeding ages, have indulged a diſgraceful ſupineneſs in neglecting to record the great military operations, and the important revolutions of the war. They have cenſured inferior writers who had treated on the ſubject, but have not been generous enough to acknowledge that the ſervice which their works have rendered to the world makes great compenſation for the deficiency of their talents. Though theſe people ſo liberally cenſure other writers, they employ themſelves in compiling hiſtories of the Medes and Aſſyrians, pretending that their buſineſs is to rectify the errors of ancient writers, to whom they are inferior in point of ſtyle, the knowledge of facts, and the motive for undertaking the work. The ancient hiſtorians of the Medes and Aſſyrians have

aſſerted no more than what was founded in their own knowledge; and they have in no inſtance rendered themſelves liable to reproach by diſguiſing their works with miſrepreſentations and erroneous ſuggeſtions. It is the duty of an hiſtorian to collect authentic materials which are not generally known, and faithfully to tranſmit to future ages a connected chain of the occurrences of his own time. That man cannot be juſtly called a ſkilful and ingenious writer, who employs himſelf in tranſpoſing the order of events recorded by other perſons: but the character of an able writer is due to the man who preſents the world with a genuine and original body of hiſtory. Being a ſtranger, it has coſt me a conſiderable expence, both of money and labour, to produce, for the benefit of the Greeks and Romans, a memorial of occurrences worthy to be recorded. In judicial and controverſial matters, and in other caſes wherein their intereſts are concerned, the Greeks are ſufficiently ready to declare their ſentiments; but in reſpect to hiſtorical ſubjects, which require an exertion of ſkill and an attention to truth, they are entirely ſilent. To record the lives and memorable actions of princes and other eminent men, and, in ſhort, the whole department of hiſtory, is left to the diſcretion of foreigners wholly unqualified for the hiſtorical province. Though the authority of hiſtorical memorials is diſregarded by the Greeks, it is a matter held in very high eſteem and veneration by our people.

It would be unneceſſary and even ſuperfluous in this place to trace the origin of the Jews, relate the cauſe of their departing from Ægypt, particularize the countries through which they wandered during a long ſeries of years, thoſe provinces wherein they eſtabliſhed their reſidence, and the places to which they afterwards removed; for theſe matters have been ſufficiently enlarged upon by ſeveral writers of our nation, whoſe works have been tranſlated with fidelity and candour by the Greeks: my hiſtory will commence where the accounts of theſe writers and our prophets are concluded. In treating on the operations and conduct of the war, to which I was a witneſs, I ſhall be diffuſive and particular; but I ſhall ſpeak in more general and conciſe terms of events which occurred before my time.

I ſhall relate the manner in which, after having ſubdued Jeruſalem, and kept poſſeſſion of it for the ſpace of three years and an half, Antiochus ſirnamed Epiphanes, was compelled to abandon the city by the ſons of Aſmonæus; give the particulars of the contentions between the ſucceſſors of theſe ſons, who ſeverally aſpired to the ſovereign authority; the advantages which the Romans, under the command of Pompey, made of theſe diviſions; and relate the means by which Herod, the ſon of Antipater, with the aſſiſtance of Soſius, the Roman general, deprived the Aſmonæan race of the ſovereign authority.

I ſhall then proceed to an account of the inſurrection which happened after the demiſe of Herod, during the reign of Auguſtus, and at the time when Judæa was under the government of Quintilius Varus: I ſhall alſo advert to the war which took place in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero; the occurrences during the command of Ceſtius, the Roman general; the exploits performed by the Jews when they firſt took up arms, and the fortifications they made; the ſeveral defeats of Ceſtius, and Nero's alarm thereon;

the appointment of Veſpaſian to the command of the Roman forces; the entrance of that general and his eldeſt ſon to Judæa with a formidable army; the victory over a conſiderable body of auxiliaries, and their diſperſion throughout Galilee; the reduction of different towns by ſtorm, and the ſurrender of others; the Roman government, diſcipline, and management of war; the limits of both the Galilees; the boundaries and ſituation of Judæa; the nature and quality of the ſoil; the fountains and lakes; the towns that were ſubdued, and the calamities that the people ſuffered by fire and ſword. Since there are people living to bear teſtimony to my truth, I ſhall write in the full confidence that my aſſertions will obtain the credit they deſerve.

I ſhall then proceed to relate that at a time when the ſituation of the Jews was extremely unfortunate, Veſpaſian, who was haſtening to Jeruſalem, received intelligence of the death of Nero; and that the affairs of the empire cauſed him to alter his deſign, and repair to Jeruſalem: and I ſhall mention the preſages he had of his future exaltation; the alterations which took place in the capital of the empire; and the manner in which Veſpaſian, contrary to his inclination, was proclaimed emperor by the ſoldiery: an account will then be given of a deſperate inſurrection of the Jews when the new emperor went into Ægypt to give the neceſſary orders; the oppreſſion they endured; and the animoſities that ſubſiſted among them; the two inroads made into Judæa by Titus; the raiſing his army; and the ſituation of the place where he arranged his forces in order of battle; the violent commotions that he had been witneſs to in the city; his ſeveral approaches; the magnitude and ſtrength of his works; the thickneſs and extent of the three walls; the fortifications of the city and the temple; the form and dimenſions of the altar; the ſeveral kinds of purification; our religious ceremonies, and ſolemn feſtivals; the functions of the prieſts; the ſacerdotal veſtments; the holy veſſels, and every other kind of utenſil belonging to the temple. The whole ſhall be delivered with the moſt ſcrupulous and inviolable regard to truth.

The next point will be to expoſe the oppreſſion and cruelty which our governors exerciſed upon the people of their own nation; to do juſtice to the generous and honourable character of Titus, who, with a view to preſerve the city and temple, repeatedly urged the Jews to compromiſe the diſſentions that prevailed among them; to relate the variety of afflictions the people endured by war, inſurrections, and famine; the deſtruction of thoſe who deſerted their country, and the torments of thoſe who were made priſoners; the conflagration of the holy temple, and the ſacred treaſure, contrary to the will of Titus; the final deſtruction of the remaining part of the city, and the prodigies preceeding this fatal deſolation; the captivity of our tyrannical rulers; the great number of our people carried into bondage; their reſpective adventures; the purſuit of thoſe who eſcaped the rage of war; the progreſs of Titus through the country for the re-eſtabliſhment of good order, and his return to Italy,

The work is comprized in ſeven books, divided into chapters: and it has been written with no other view than to communicate an authentic account of the wars, and to vindicate truth from miſrepreſentation.

THE

WARS

OF THE

JEWS.

BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Antiochus Epiphanes ſubdues Jeruſalem, perſecutes the Jews, and aboliſhes the worſhip of God. Bacchides, who rivals Antiochus in iniquity, is ſlain by Matthias. Judas obtains poſſeſſion of the temple, and reſtores the rites and ceremonies of religion. The death of Antiochus. Eleazar cruſhed to death by the fall of an elephant. Judas ſlain by the troops of Antiochus, at a place called Adaſa.

A WAR* was maintained between Antiochus Epiphanes and Ptolemy the ſixth, reſpecting the right to the kingdom of Syria; and the principal people among the Jews were divided into factions, ſome eſpouſing the cauſe of one king, and ſome that of the other: but the party favoured by Onias, one of the high-prieſts, proving moſt powerful, he compelled

* *Vide* Antiq. *lib.* 12. *cap.* 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 19.

pelled the ſons of Tobias to abandon the city. They repaired to Antiochus, entreating him to make an incurſion into Judæa, offering to become his guides, and otherwiſe to aſſiſt him to the extent of their power. He had entertained an anxious deſire to engage in this enterprize, and therefore but little perſuaſion was neceſſary to obtain his conſent. He entered Judæa with a formidable army, reduced Jeruſalem by ſtorm, and put to death a vaſt number of perſons who were ſuppoſed to be attached to the intereſt of Ptolemy. He allowed his troops the benefit of the plunder, deſpoiled the holy temple of its dedications and immenſe wealth, and, for the ſpace of three years and an half cauſed the daily ſacrifices and prayers to the Almighty, and every religious ceremony, to be entirely ſuppreſſed. Onias, the high-prieſt, fled to Ptolemy, who granted him permiſſion to erect a temple adjacent to the city of Heliopolis, formed after the model of that at Jeruſalem. Of this temple we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more particularly in the progreſs of the work.

Though Antiochus had obtained poſſeſſion of Jeruſalem, and put great numbers of his enemies to death, his barbarity and ambition were yet unſatisfied: the remembrance of the difficulties he had encountered during the ſiege inſpired him with a moſt implacable rancour towards the Jews, whom he compelled to abandon the laws of their country, and the ceremonies of their religion: he iſſued a prohibition to their circumciſing their children, and decreed that no victims ſhould be ſacrificed upon the altar but hogs, the ſacrifice of which animals is expreſsly forbidden by our law. Theſe outrageous proceedings were held in the utmoſt abhorrence, but thoſe who expreſſed the leaſt diſſatisfaction were immediately put to death. At this period Bacchides held the command of Judæa under Antiochus: he was a man perfectly qualified to execute the mercileſs orders of the tyrant, being naturally of a ferocious, cruel, and unrelenting diſpoſition: the inſolence of this man was ſo great that he conſtantly treated perſons of the moſt diſtinguiſhed rank with the higheſt indignity. In ſhort, every day preſented a repreſentation of the horrors that prevailed at that fatal time when Jeruſalem was vanquiſhed.

The outrageous behaviour of Bacchides became, at length, ſo intolerable that ſome of the injured parties concerted meaſures for revenge. One of the prieſts, named Matthias, who was an inhabitant of Modin, and the ſon of Aſmonæus, being attended by his five ſons and a company of his domeſtics, all armed with poniards, went in ſearch of Bacchides, whom he put to death; immediately after which he retreated to the mountains, in order to avoid the fury of the garriſons eſtabliſhed by Antiochus. Being ſoon joined by great numbers of people, he ventured into the plains, and engaged the enemy, whom he totally vanquiſhed and drove out of Judæa. This ſucceſsful enterprize obtained him ſo high a veneration among the people, that in gratitude for their deliverance, they elected him their general. Upon his death, Matthias bequeathed his authority to Judas, his eldeſt ſon.

Judas, apprehending that Antiochus would endeavour to revenge the injuries he had ſuſtained, collected a powerful army of his countrymen, and contracted a league of amity with the Romans. Antiochus again led his army into

into Judæa, but he was repulsed by Judas, who, determined to pursue the advantage his victory had afforded, immediately assaulted the city garrison, which yet remained entire: he compelled the soldiers to abandon the upper city (otherwise called the *holy-place*), and they took refuge in the lower town. Being now in possession of the temple, Judas purified every part of the building, encompassed it with a wall, provided it with the various kinds of vessels necessary to the solemnities of religion, the other utensils being deemed polluted, and caused another altar to be constructed, on which sacrifices were offered to the Almighty.

When the pious endeavours of Judas had restored the worship of God, Antiochus departed this life. He was succeeded by a son named after him, whose enmity towards the Jews was equal to that of his predecessor. This Antiochus led an army consisting of fifty thousand infantry, neat five thousand cavalry, and eighty elephants, by the way of the mountains into Judæa: he subdued the town of Bethsura: and Judas engaged him in a narrow pass in a place called Beth-zacharias. Before the engagement commenced, Eleazar, the brother of Judas, observing an elephant in the adverse army to be much taller than the rest, gorgeously decorated with golden trappings, and bearing a castle on his back, he concluded that Antiochus must be the rider: he fiercely pressed upon the enemy, and made his way to the elephant, but finding the person whom he had mistaken for Antiochus to be beyond his reach, he stabbed the beast in the belly, and the unwieldy animal immediately fell, and crushed Eleazar to death. This enterprize had no other effect than proving that the generous Israelite had more ambition to obtain honour, than desire to preserve his existence. The elephant was rode by a private man; but had Antiochus been the party, Eleazar could have only obtained the fame of hazarding his life in an attempt of singular intrepidity. Judas considered the unhappy fate of his brother as a prognostic intimating that the enemy would prove victorious. The Jews maintained the battle a long time with remarkable bravery: but, at length, great numbers of them being destroyed, Judas retreated with the remainder into the Toparchy of Gophnis. Antiochus marched to Jerusalem, but on account of a scarcity of provisions, he remained in that city only a few days; previous to his departure he established a garrison for the protection of the place, ordering the rest of his army into Syria, there to take up their winter-quarters.

Judas availing himself of the absence of Antiochus, assembled such of the troops as had escaped in the late encounter, and many other of his countrymen, and at a place called Adasa gave battle to some of the troops of Antiochus; in this action he remarkably signalized himself by skill and resolution: but being oppressed by numbers, he lost his life. John, the brother of Judas, did not survive this event many days, being seduced by the friends of Antiochus into an ambush, where he was destroyed.

CHAP. II.

The treachery of Tryphon towards Jonathan, whom he cruelly puts to death. Simon murdered by the treachery of his ſon-in-law Ptolemy. Meaſures concerted for effecting the deſtruction of John, otherwiſe called Hyrcanus, but they are rendered abortive. Ptolemy exerciſes the moſt horrid cruelty upon the mother and brothers of Hyrcanus, and then puts them to death. Jeruſalem beſieged by Antiochus. Sebaſte deſtroyed, and the inhabitants made captives by Ariſtobulus and Antigonus.

UPON the deceaſe of Judas*, his brother Jonathan ſucceeded to the dignity of the prince of the Jews. He conducted himſelf with great circumſpection and prudence to the people under his government: he confirmed himſelf in his authority, and added ſtrength to his intereſt, by forming an alliance with the Romans, and effecting a reconciliation with the ſon of Antiochus: but the ſtrict propriety of his conduct was not ſufficient to inſure his ſafety. Tryphon, the preceptor of young Antiochus, treacherouſly concerted meaſures for the deſtruction of Jonathan; and upon his arrival at Ptolemais, in order to join Antiochus, he ſeized the opportunity of making him priſoner by ſurprize; after which he marched his forces to attack Judæa: but the tyrant was effectually repulſed by Simon, the brother of Jonathan, which circumſtance ſo highly exaſperated him that he returned and ſacrificed the life of Jonathan to his revenge.

Simon was naturally diſpoſed to activity and reſolution: he ſubdued Gazara†, Joppa, and Jamnia, and laid Accaron‡ in ruins: he then joined Antiochus in oppoſing Tryphon; and previous to his expedition to Media, Antiochus beſieged Dora. So extreme was the avarice and ingratitude of Antiochus, that, notwithſtanding Simon had rendered him a very conſiderable ſervice by aſſiſting in effecting the death of Tryphon, he ſoon after that circumſtance diſpatched an army under the command of Cendebæus, in order to ravage the country of Judæa, and make Simon a priſoner. Though he had arrived to an advanced age, Simon maintained the war with as much ſpirit, reſolution, and vigilance as he could have ſhewn in the prime of life. Having diſpatched his ſons and his beſt troops, he led the reſt of his forces by a different rout: he planted ambuſhes in divers parts of the mountains; and at length he gained a compleat victory. After this event he was appointed to the pontifical dignity. As we have related, Simon delivered his country after it had been for the ſpace of an hundred and ſeventy years ſubject to the Macedonians.

After the moſt eminent ſervice rendered to his country, Simon fell a ſacrifice to the treachery of his ſon-in-law Ptolemy at a public entertainment, who at the ſame time cauſed his wife and two of his ſons to be made priſoners, and diſpatched ruffians with orders to deſtroy John the third, otherwiſe named

* *Vide.* Antiq. *l.* 13. *c.* 1, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

† The true orthography is Gazara, and not Zara.

‡ Ακκάρων, in the Greek. Lat. *Arcem avertit ſubductis præſidiis.*

named Hyrcanus. Upon gaining information of the deſign againſt his life, the young man repaired to Jeruſalem, where he found a conſiderable number of people ſtrongly attached to his intereſt, partly from a veneration to the memory of his deceaſed father, and partly on account of their abhorrence of Ptolemy. Having already received Hyrcanus, the people refuſed to admit Ptolemy into the city, who endeavoured to enter by another port. In conſequence of this repulſe, Ptolemy directed his march to the caſtle of Dagon, beyond Jericho. Hyrcanus being declared the ſucceſſor of his father in the high-prieſthood, offered ſacrifice and performed other ſacerdotal functions, and then marched to beſiege the caſtle where Ptolemy had retreated, and to reſtore his mother and brothers to freedom.

Hyrcanus aſſaulted the place, which he would indiſputably have reduced, but for the natural tenderneſs of his diſpoſition. Perceiving the advantage that Hyrcanus was likely to obtain, Ptolemy cauſed the mother and brothers to be expoſed on the battlements, threatening that they ſhould be caſt down from the walls, unleſs Hyrcanus inſtantly drew off his forces, and to theſe menaces the tyrant added blows. This barbarity excited the rage and indignation of Hyrcanus, but his deſire of vengeance was repreſſed by compaſſion for the ſufferings of his relations. The mother exhorted Hyrcanus to preſerve his reſolution without regarding the torments ſhe endured, or the death with which ſhe was threatened, and urged him to wreak revenge on the cruel tyrant, ſaying that ſhe could reſign her life with pleaſure if ſhe was convinced that juſtice would be executed on the inhuman tyrant. The arguments made uſe of, and the fortitude diſplayed by his mother animated Hyrcanus to continue the ſiege; but obſerving, that as he proſecuted the aſſault, the cruelty to his mother was repeated, his reſolution abated, and his mind was wholly occupied by ſentiments of grief and filial tenderneſs; ſo that the ſiege was protracted till the arrival of the ſabbatical year: every ſeventh year, like every ſeventh day, being pronounced a time of reſt by the Jewiſh laws. Conſcious that the aſſault could be no longer continued, Ptolemy put the mother and brothers to death, and fled for refuge to Philadelphia, which country was under the government of Zeno, otherwiſe named Cotylas.

The deceaſed Simon having vanquiſhed Antiochus, he ſtill entertained an enmity on occaſion of that event, and was determined to ſeek revenge upon the ſon for the injury he had received from his father; he therefore beſieged Hyrcanus in Jeruſalem. In this extremity, Hyrcanus opened the ſepulchre of David (the moſt wealthy king that had been known), and thence took upwards of three thouſand talents*; he paid three hundred talents to Antiochus on condition of his raiſing the ſiege. Hyrcanus was the firſt prince of the Jews who took foreign ſoldiers into pay.

Antiochus having raiſed the ſiege, proceeded with his army towards Media. Upon receiving information that the towns of Syria were in a defenceleſs ſituation, Hyrcanus led his forces into that country, and gained poſſeſſion of Medaba, Samæa†, Sichem, Gazirim, and other places: he alſo conquered

* Our author is cenſured by Jacobus Salianus for giving credit to this circumſtance, which he inſiſts upon to be a fiction of the Rabbins, &c.

† Samega. *Vide.* Antiq. *l.* 73. *c.* 17.

quered the Chuthites, who inhabited a part where a celebrated temple, on the model of that at Jeruſalem, was ſituated; and, in Idumæa, he conquered Dorion*, Mariſſa, and many other towns.

Hyrcanus afterwards went to Samaria, a city which Herod rebuilt, and named Sebaſte, and having environed the place with his troops, appointed his ſons Ariſtobulus and Antigonus to proſecute the ſiege, which they continued till the people were reduced to the extremity of ſubſiſting upon food that was not proper for human creatures. Thus diſtreſſed, the people ſupplicated the aſſiſtance of Antiochus, otherwiſe named Aſpendius†, who readily conſented to their requeſt: but he was entirely ſubdued by the brothers, who purſued him as far as Scythopolis, where he eſcaped their vigilance. Ariſtobulus and Antigonus returned to the ſiege of Samaria, reduced the city to ruins, and made priſoners of the inhabitants. All the undertakings of the brothers ſucceeded to the extent of their warmeſt hopes; and, leſt the ardour of their troops might ſubſide, they marched directly to the other ſide of Scythopolis, where they ſhared between them the lands in the neighbourhood of Mount Carmel.

CHAP. III.

Hyrcanus dies, and the crown devolves to his eldeſt ſon Ariſtobulus, againſt whom a conſpiracy is formed. He impriſons his mother, denies her food in her confinement, and in conſequence ſhe dies. A remarkable prediction of an Eſſene named Judus. Ariſtobulus afflicted with a judicial illneſs, which puts an end to his life. Alexander reſtored to freedom, and proclaimed king. Alexander vanquiſhed by Theodore. Alexander ſubdues Raphia, Gaza, and Anthedon. Account of an inſurrection. The Galaadites and Moabites vanquiſhed, and Amathus deſtroyed by Alexander, who is afterwards defeated by Obadas, king of the Arabians. An engagement between Alexander and Demetrius. Alexander cauſes eight hundred priſoners to be crucified as a ſpectacle for his concubines.

THE proſperity of Hyrcanus and his ſons‡ provoked the envy of the neighbouring princes, and a war enſued; but Hyrcanus proved victorious, and he paſſed the remainder of his life in tranquility and happineſs. After having enjoyed the government thirty-three years, he died, leaving five ſons. He was diſtinguiſhed in a manner almoſt peculiar to himſelf; being at the ſame time prince of the Jews, poſſeſſed of the pontifical dignity, and favoured by the Almighty with the gift of prophecy. He predicted that the government of his two eldeſt ſons would be of ſhort duration. The conduct of Hyrcanus was ſo happily regulated as entirely to eſcape cenſure, and he was univerſally eſteemed a man of probity and virtue.

Ariſtobulus, the eldeſt ſon of Hyrcanus, altered the form of government from a principality to a monarchy. This event took place four hundred and eighty-one years and three months ſubſequent to the time when the Jews were

3 delivered

* Al. Adora.
† Spondius *Ruf.* probably Cizicenus. *Vide* Valliant's Num. Seleucidarum. p. 350.
‡ *Vide* Ant. *l.* 13. *c.* 18, 19, 20, 21, 22.

delivered from captivity in Babylon. So particular a regard did Ariſtobulus entertain towards his brother Antigonus, that he conferred upon him a joint ſhare of the regal dignity: but his other brothers and his mother he caſt into priſon. The mother made ſome pretenſions to the government, urging that Hyrcanus had bequeathed to her the regency, and on this circumſtance was founded the cruelty of Ariſtobulus, which he purſued to the utmoſt extreme, by denying her the neceſſaries of life, in conſequence whereof ſhe died, while under confinement: and to theſe enormous crimes, he added that of putting his favourite brother Antigonus to death, in compliance with the wiſhes of a faction, who had propagated malicious calumnies for the purpoſe of effecting his ruin. Ariſtobulus entertained ſo tender an affection for his brother, that it was ſome time before he would give credit to the ſlanderous inſinuations concerning him. However, during the feaſt of the tabernacles, Ariſtobulus was afflicted with ſickneſs, and at this time Antigonus returned in great martial pomp from the camp at Jeruſalem, and, intending to do honour to his brother, he wore an apparel of unuſual magnificence, and was attended by a number of armed men: thus he proceeded to the temple with a deſign to ſupplicate the Almighty for the reſtoration of his brother's health. His enemies availed themſelves of this opportunity to effect the ruin of Antigonus: they immediately repaired to the king, and repreſented to him, that they were greatly alarmed by the return of Antigonus in all the pomp of royalty; that he was attended by a great concourſe of ſoldiers under arms; and that they could draw no other concluſion from his conduct than that he was diſſatisfied with a part of the government, and determined to poſſeſs himſelf of the whole.

Though the king at firſt rejected every inſinuation in prejudice of his brother, he was at length prevailed upon to give them credit; and determined to provide for his own ſafety, without diſcovering any ſymptoms of jealouſy or ſuſpicion. He then reſided in the caſtle of Baris, which was afterwards named Antonia by Herod. He ordered his guards, therefore, to ſtation themſelves in a dark ſubterraneous paſſage, called Straton's tower, and that if Antigonus ſhould come that way unarmed they ſhould ſuffer him to paſs unmoleſted, but if, on the contrary, he ſhould be provided for defence, that they ſhould put him to death. He then diſpatched a meſſage to his brother, requeſting to ſee him, and deſiring that he would not come armed. But the queen, in conjunction with the other enemies of Antigonus, concerted a moſt horrid ſtratagem for effecting his deſtruction. They prevailed upon the meſſenger to ſay, that the king deſired to ſee his brother equipped in the ſuit of arms of extraordinary and exquiſite workmanſhip which he had brought from Galilee. Antigonus haſtened to comply with his brother's requeſt: but in the paſſage already mentioned, the ſoldiers obſerved him to be accoutred in arms, and therefore, in obedience to the king's commands, they ſeized and put him to death. This circumſtance may be juſtly conſidered as an example to prove that neither natural affection, common juſtice, equity, or the ſtricteſt bonds of friendſhip are always proof againſt artifice and detraction.

It will here be proper to introduce a remarkable occurrence that is related of an Eſſene, named Judas. He was a man highly celebrated for his knowledge of future events; and his predictions had been conſtantly verified with ſo much exactneſs that he had never been accuſed of either wilful deception or caſual error. Upon obſerving Antigonus enter the temple, Judas, addreſſing himſelf to his diſciples, exclaimed, "The Lord protect us! My death would "now be welcome. Why ſhould we deſire longer to live, ſince we have ſurvived "even truth itſelf? I have made a falſe prediction; for Antigonus, whom I "declared ſhould be this day ſlain at Straton's tower, is ſtill living; the place "where the fatal ſcene was to have taken place, is at the diſtance of ſix hun-"dred ſtadia from hence; and we are now in the fourth hour of the day." The venerable man now ſeriouſly ruminated on the circumſtance, and his countenance ſufficiently expreſſed the painful ſtate of his mind: but while he was muſing, intelligence was brought that Antigonus had been ſlain in a ſubterranean paſſage, which, as well as a place of Cæſarea upon the ſea-coaſt, bore the name of Straton's tower. Thus was the prediction verified; the prophet being led into an error by the ſame name being given to two places.

The ſhocking cruelty had been no ſooner perpetrated than the diſeaſe with which Ariſtobulus was afflicted was encreaſed to ſo terrible a degree, by the ſevere upbraidings of his conſcience, that his intrails came out, and he vomited great quantities of blood. The domeſtics who removed the blood, caſt it, by a ſingular providence, upon the exact ſpot where Antigonus had been ſlain, and where the ſtains of his blood were ſtill to be perceived. The ſpectators imagined this to be the effect of deſign, and intended as an oblation to the manes of the deceaſed prince, and ſo loudly expreſſed their ſurprize as to be overheard by the king, who inſtantly enquired as to the cauſe of what he had heard: but as he became anxious to be informed of the matter, the others were more deſirous of ſuppreſſing it. However, by the force of threats and entreaties, he at length prevailed: but his deſire had been no ſooner complied with, than ſhedding abundance of tears and deeply ſighing, he exclaimed, "Could I hope that my iniquities would eſcape the knowledge of "the all-ſeeing God; or that my enormous crimes would not provoke the "Divine vengeance? How long, alas! thou moſt miſerable body, wilt thou "confine my ſoul from rendering juſtice to a mother and a brother, both "cruelly murdered? Inſtead of loſing my blood thus drop by drop, why do "I not yield it up all at once? But I am condemned to be the ſport of for-"tune, and to expire in the moſt exeruciating agonies." Having delivered theſe words he expired, after a reign of only one year.

Upon the deceaſe of Ariſtobulus, the queen, his widow, reſtored the brothers to liberty; and ſhe advanced Alexander, the eldeſt of them, to the regal dignity. He was eſteemed a man of moderation and juſtice: but when he had obtained the poſſeſſion of power, he put to death one of his brothers, who had aſpired to rival him in the ſovereignty. The others he did not attempt to moleſt, as they conſented to live in a private ſtation.

After

After Ptolemy Lathur, king of Ægypt, had ſubdued Aſochis, Alexander gave him battle, and deſtroyed a conſiderable number of his forces; but before the engagement was concluded Ptolemy proved victorious. Cleopatra having compelled her ſon Ptolemy to go into Ægypt, Alexander beſieged and ſubdued Gadara; he alſo took Amathus, by much the moſt conſiderable caſtle beyond the Jordan, wherein Theodore, the ſon of Zeno, had depoſited his moſt valuable treaſure. But Theodore attacked him by ſurprize, recovered the property that had been ſeized, made booty of Alexander's baggage, deſtroyed nearly twenty thouſand Jews in the encounter, and gained a compleat victory. After reinforcing his army, Alexander removed the ſeat of war to the ſea coaſt, and ſubdued Raphia, Gaza, and Anthedon. The latter place was afterwards named Agrippias by Herod.

Where the people are numerous, and public meetings frequent, inſurrections are by no means uncommon. At the time of celebrating a ſolemn feſtival, the Jews revolted againſt Alexander, whoſe crown and perſonal ſafety were thereby put to ſuch imminent hazard, that he judged it expedient to ſtrengthen his power by employing foreign mercenaries: he took Piſidians and Cicilians into his pay; but rejected the Syrians, whom he deemed it unſafe to confide in, knowing that they entertained an implacable enmity againſt the Jews. He marched againſt the inſurgents, upwards of ſix thouſand of whom he put to death: and he afterwards declared war againſt Obodas, king of Arabia, and having vanquiſhed and impoſed tributes upon the Galaadites and Moabites, he returned to the ſiege of Amathus. The fame of Alexander's conqueſts inſpired Theodorus with terror, and he abandoned the place, which Alexander finding in a defenceleſs ſtate, immediately laid in ruins.

The next expedition of Alexander was againſt Obodas, king of the Arabians, who had encamped a part of his army in the province of Gaulon, which afforded the moſt advantageous ſituation for ambuſcades. In this place Alexander was attacked by ſurprize, and being driven into a valley of conſiderable depth, the camels of the enemy cruſhed his people to death in the defiles, and his army was entirely ruined. With infinite difficulty Alexander himſelf eſcaped, and repaired to Jeruſalem; but, on occaſion of his late defeat, he found that his enemies had conceived a ſtill more violent hatred againſt him. Though he was driven to great extremities by frequent inſurrections among his ſubjects, he proved victorious in all encounters, and put more than fifty thouſand Jews to death in the ſpace of ſix years.

Alexander was conſcious that his conqueſts over his own ſubjects muſt neceſſarily weaken his power; and in that conſideration he was extremely unhappy. At length he determined to decline all further endeavours to reſtore his ſubjects to obedience by the force of arms, and to adopt the more gentle mode of argument and perſuaſion. This change of conduct, however, ſerved but to encreaſe the popular enmity: and upon his aſking the people what conduct he could purſue to afford them ſatisfaction; they told him that ſhould he ſacrifice his life to their reſentment, they ſhould ſcarcely be able to pardon him for thoſe actions which had involved them in the greateſt diſtreſs.

The Jews now requeſted the aſſiſtance of Demetrius Eucærus; and this king by intereſted views was induced to join them with his army in the neighbourhood of Sichem. The force of the Jews now conſiſted of three thouſand cavalry, and forty thouſand infantry: and this formidable army Alexander oppoſed with only one thouſand horſe, ſix thouſand mercenary foot, and about ten thouſand Jews who ſtill maintained their allegiance. Demetrius endeavoured to induce Alexander's mercenaries to deſert and join him; and Alexander was equally ſolicitous to gain over the Jews in the army of Demetrius: but neither party was able to prevail; and an engagement enſued, which ended in the defeat of Alexander; but it muſt be acknowledged, that his mercenaries fought with aſtoniſhing bravery. The event of this victory, however, was contrary to the expectations of both the kings; for ſix thouſand of the Jews who had fought againſt Alexander, being now moved to compaſſionate his ſufferings, fled to, and joined their king, in the mountains, whither he had retreated for refuge. This circumſtance proved exceedingly alarming to Demetrius, who apprehending that the reſt of the Jews in his army might follow the example of thoſe who had deſerted, abandoned all thoughts of continuing the war, and drew off his forces. But the reſt of the Jews ſtill continued to proſecute the war againſt Alexander, till great numbers were ſlain, and the reſt driven into Bemezel*, which place Alexander conquered, and then carried them priſoners to Jeruſalem.

We ſhall now proceed to ſhew what exceſs of paſſion people may be hurried into when they ceaſe to make the principles of piety, honour, and virtue the rule of their conduct. Alexander gave an entertainment to his concubines; and on this occaſion he cauſed eight hundred priſoners to be crucified, after the throats of their wives and children had been cut in the preſence of theſe miſerable ſufferers. In the height of the debauch this horrid ſcene was preſented for the diverſion of the women: but ſo ſhocked were the inhabitants of the city at this execrable barbarity, that, on the following night, eight thouſand of them deſerted their country; nor did they return till after the death of Alexander. By ſuch acts of inhumanity, it was that this prince, with the greateſt difficulty, preſerved his dominions in a kind of tranquil ſtate.

CHAP. IV.

Aretas attacks Alexander by ſurprize; and a deſperate engagement enſues, in which Antiochus is ſlain. A league of amity between Aretas and the people of Damaſcus, who declare him king of Cœle-Syria. The wars of Alexander; his death. The queen aſſumes the government. Hyrcanus conſtituted high-prieſt. Account of the Phariſees, and of the unlimited power they exerciſed over Alexandra. After a reign of nine years Alexandra dies, bequeathing the government to Hyrcanus. An engagement between the brothers. Their reconciliation.

THE endeavours of Alexander† were not ſufficient to ſecure the peace of his dominions; for the brother of Demetrius, who was named Antiochus, otherwiſe Dionyſius, and was the laſt of the line of Seleucus, involved him

* In the Antiq. Bethoma. *l.* 13. *c.* 22.

† *Vide* Antiq. *l.* 13. *c.* 23, 24. *l.* 14. *c.* 1.

him in new difficulties. As Antiochus had ſubdued the Arabians, Alexander was apprehenſive leſt he ſhould invade his kingdom alſo; and therefore he formed a deep ditch, and erected a wall of conſiderable height before it, fortified with a number of wooden towers. This retrenchment extended along the mountains near Antipatris to the boundaries of Joppa. But Antiochus burnt the towers, filled up the ditch, and led his army againſt the Arabians: he determined, however, to ſeize a future opportunity of revenging himſelf upon Alexander for having oppoſed his deſigns. Upon the approach of Antiochus, Aretas, king of the Arabians, ſtationed his men in places of ſtrength: and at a time when Antiochus judged himſelf to be in a ſituation perfectly ſecure, the Arabian attacked him by ſurprize with an army of ten thouſand cavalry. The engagement was maintained on both ſides with great obſtinacy till Antiochus was ſlain, when his ſoldiers fled. During the battle and the purſuit, the army of Antiochus was nearly deſtroyed. Some of thoſe who eſcaped the rage of war retreated into Cana, where the greateſt part of them periſhed through want of the neceſſaries of life.

The averſion which the people of Damaſcus entertained againſt Ptolemy, the ſon of Mennæus, induced them to contract an alliance with Aretas; and they declared him king of Cœle-Syria. Aretas invaded Judæa, and vanquiſhed Alexander; but a treaty being concluded between them, he drew off his forces.

Alexander having ſubdued Pella, proceeded to the ſiege of Geraſa, which he conquered, notwithſtanding the place was fortified by a triple circumvallation: and this exploit gave him poſſeſſion of the great treaſure that Theodore had depoſited in the town. He then deſtroyed Gaulon, Seleucia, and a city called Antiochus's Pharanx, beſides the caſtle of Gamara, which was a place of great ſtrength. In this caſtle he made priſoner of the governor, named Demetrius, a man of a depraved and abandoned mind. After having employed three years in various great achievements, Alexander returned in triumph to Jeruſalem, where he was received with the utmoſt demonſtrations of joy. He was now attacked by a quartan ague; and conceiving that buſineſs and exerciſe would tend towards removing his complaint, he engaged in another war; but his conſtitution being much impaired, in the twenty-ſeventh year of his reign he fell a ſacrifice to the laborious taſk he had undertaken, leaving the regency to his wife Alexandra.

Alexander being ſenſible of his wife's moderation and piety, imagined that the people would willingly acknowledge allegiance to her; and in this he was not deceived; for ſhe was perfectly converſant in the rights and cuſtoms of the Jews, and on all occaſions had paid a due obedience to our holy laws: theſe qualities and a great reputation for a ſincere piety, ſecured her from thoſe diſadvantages ſhe would otherwiſe have laboured under on account of her ſex. She bore to Alexander two ſons, named Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus: the former, on account of his ſeniority, ſhe promoted to the pontifical dignity; and as he was of an indolent and yielding diſpoſition, ſhe thought that ſhe might advance him to the throne without danger: but the younger

brother being of an active and enterprizing temper, she deemed it prudent to keep him in a private station

The Pharisees were a sect that highly valued themselves on the reputation of being more pious than other people. The queen was so remarkably rigid in her religious principles as almost to incur the suspicion of bigotry and superstition; and she entertained an high degree of veneration to the Pharisees, on account of the reputed sanctity of their lives. By a plausibility of conduct they so far insinuated themselves into the favour of the queen as to engross all the privileges and powers of government: they promoted and persecuted, imprisoned and restored to freedom, such of the people as they thought proper; they secured to themselves all lucrative commissions, and distinguished employments, leaving the queen to provide for the expences, and encounter the cares and difficulties of government. Alexandra was deeply skilled in the arts of government, and she had abilities equal to the greatest undertakings: she augmented the militia to the full compliment; kept two armies of regular troops, and had a considerable body of foreign auxiliaries in constant pay: by these means she was powerful at home, and formidable to the neighbouring states. But still Alexandra yielded an implicit obedience to the will of the Pharisees.

A man of distinction named Diogenes, who had been the particular friend of the deceased king, the Pharisees caused to be put to death, on an accusation of having been concerned in procuring the death of the eight hundred Jews, who were crucified by the order of Alexander, as we have before mentioned; and they urged the queen to pardon no man who had advised or countenanced that abominably cruel act. Their influence was so great that she complied with their request: and under the pretext of justice they wrought the destruction of every person who was so unfortunate as to incur their displeasure. They carried their tyranny to such excess that many persons of distinguished rank, judging their situation to be extremely dangerous, applied to Aristobulus for protection: he expostulated with his mother, and prevailed in behalf of these persons, and likewise obtained a grant that banishment only should in future be the punishment of those suspected of guilt About this period, Alexandra, upon the pretext that Ptolemy was continually annoying the city of Damascus, sent an army thither, which assaulted and conquered the place, without any occurrence worthy to be recorded. Tigranes, king of Armenia, having besieged Cleopatra in Ptolemais, Alexandra made him frequent and considerable presents, and urged him to comply with terms of accommodation: but upon receiving intelligence that Lucullus had entered Armenia with an army of Romans, he abandoned the siege, and led his forces to protect his own dominions.

Alexandra being soon afterwards attacked by a dangerous illness, Aristobulus, the younger son, attended by a numerous company of his domestics, who were in the vigour of youth, and firmly attached to their leader, and other persons, who espoused his cause, gained possession of the castles, whence he seized the money therein deposited, which enabled him to engage the assistance of a body of mercenary troops; and he then arrogated to himself the regal dignity. Hereupon Hyrcanus complained to his mother, who, to punish

niſh the uſurper, cauſed his wife and ſons to be impriſoned in the caſtle, ſituated on the north ſide of the temple, and formerly called Baris, but during the government of Anthony, named Antonia, as Sebaſte and Agrippias derived their names from Auguſtus and Agrippa. The illneſs with which the queen was afflicted, put a period to her life after ſhe had reigned nine years, and deprived her of the opportunity of protecting Hyrcanus againſt the ambitious views of Ariſtobulus.

The queen bequeathed all her wealth and poſſeſſions to Hyrcanus, and confirmed his right to the ſovereignty. The conteſt was ſtill continued between the brothers; but Ariſtobulus had greatly the advantage, both in point of intereſt and power. They proceeded to an engagement near Jericho, when the greateſt part of the army of Hyrcanus deſerted to Ariſtobulus. With great difficulty Hyrcanus and the remainder of his people eſcaped to Antonia, where they had good hoſtages for their ſecurity in the perſons of the wife and ſons of Ariſtobulus, who, as we have before obſerved, were confined in that place. At length the brothers came to an accommodation, the terms of which were, that Hyrcanus ſhould reſign the regency to Ariſtobulus, who was to allow him the privileges, honours and dignity to which he had a right in virtue of his relationſhip to the king. This agreement was ratified in the temple, in preſence of the people; and the brothers embraced with mutual affection. Ariſtobulus repaired to the palace, and Hyrcanus to the habitation where his brother had reſided.

CHAP. V.

Antipater perſuades Hyrcanus to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of Aretas in recovering his kingdom. Aretas, with an army of fifty thouſand troops, compels Ariſtobulus to retreat into Jeruſalem. Scaurus bribed to raiſe the ſiege. The brothers reſpectively ſupplicate the aſſiſtance of Pompey. The humiliation of Ariſtobulus to Pompey, who makes him priſoner. Jeruſalem beſieged, the temple taken, and twelve thouſand Jews deſtroyed. The moderation of Pompey, who declares Hyrcanus high-prieſt. Alexander, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, eſcapes.

THE enemies of Ariſtobulus* were equally ſurprized and afflicted by his unexpected advancement to the regal dignity; but this event proved the ſource of particular mortification to Antipater, who had long entertained an enmity againſt him. Antipater was a native of Idumæa, and in point of family and wealth he was one of the moſt conſiderable men of the country. He urged Hyrcanus to ſolicit Aretas, king of Arabia, to ſupport him in his endeavours to regain his crown; and for obtaining this point he exerted his utmoſt influence with Aretas, to whom he repreſented Ariſtobulus as a moſt abominable character, and recommended Hyrcanus as a man of extraordinary merit; he exhorted him not to deny ſuccour to a prince moſt cruelly oppreſſed, obſerving that he would derive great honour from generouſly affording Hyrcanus relief, and that kings were reciprocally bound to ſupport each

* *Vide* Ant *l.* 14. *c.* 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

each other in their legal claims and privileges. Having prepared Hyrcanus to petition, and Aretas to comply with his requeſt, Antipater conducted the former out of the city by night, and accompanied him to Petra, where the royal palace of Arabia was ſituated: he introduced him to the king, and recommended him to his protection: and Aretas promiſed his utmoſt endeavours towards reſtoring him to the regal dignity.

In a ſhort time the Arabian king entered Judæa with an army compoſed of fifty thouſand men, including horſe and foot, and in the firſt attack completely routed the troops of Ariſtobulus, who retreated into Jeruſalem for refuge. Aretas beſieged the city, which he would inevitably have ſubdued but for the following circumſtance: a war ſubſiſting between Pompey the Great and Tygranes, the former ordered Scaurus to lead the army under his command from Armenia into Syria; upon the arrival of the Roman general at Damaſcus, he found that Metellus and Lellius had conquered the place, and drawn off their forces; and upon gaining intelligence of the ſituation of affairs in Judæa, he judged that the moſt advantageous meaſure he could adopt would be to lead his army into that country; and having reached the borders, he was encountered by two ambaſſadors, who were commiſſioned to ſupplicate the Romans to eſpouſe the cauſe of their reſpective employers. The ambaſſador from Ariſtobulus preſented Scaurus with three hundred talents, which ſum prevailed beyond the juſt pretentions of Hyrcanus, and induced him to diſpatch ambaſſadors to Hyrcanus and Aretas, commanding them in the name of Pompey the Great and the Roman ſenate, inſtantly to raiſe the ſiege and draw off their troops, and threatening them with a declaration of war in caſe of refuſal. Aretas, dreading to provoke the indignation of ſo powerful an enemy as the Romans might prove, retired from Judæa to Philadelphia; and Scaurus returned to Damaſcus. Ariſtobulus was of too enterprizing a diſpoſition to repreſs the deſire of conqueſt, becauſe the departure of the enemy had left him in a ſtate of ſecurity: he collected his troops, and purſued Hyrcanus and Aretas to a place named Papyron, where he encountered them, and put near ſeven thouſand of their men to death, and in the number of the ſlain was Cephalon, the brother of Antipater.

Deſpairing of ſuccour from the Arabian, Hyrcanus and Antipater reſolved to ſubmit themſelves to the generoſity of Pompey, and to ſue to him for protection and relief: upon the arrival of Pompey at Damaſcus they preſented to him valuable preſents, and farther to attach him to their intereſts, they repeated the arguments and ſupplications that had been enforced to prevail upon Aretas. The influence he had obtained over Scaurus, by the means of bribes, inſpired Ariſtobulus with the idea that he could not poſſibly fail of ſucceſs. In this diſpoſition, being attired in a ſuperb habit, and attended by an equipage of royalty, he went to pay his compliments to Pompey: when he had waited till his pride ſuggeſted to him that a longer attendance would be to derogate from the dignity of the royal character, he retired, and directed his courſe towards Dioſpolis.

The abrupt and diſreſpectful departure of Ariſtobulus proved ſo highly offenſive to Pompey, that he was the more readily induced to comply with the requeſt of Hyrcanus and Antipater. He immediately marched in pur-

ſuit of him with the Roman troops, and a conſiderable body of Syrian auxiliaries; and having paſſed Pella and Scythopolis, he arrived at Corede, where he learnt that Ariſtobulus had taken refuge in Alexandrion, a caſtle of great ſtrength ſituated on a high mountain, and diſpatched a meſſenger to require Ariſtobulus to come down to him. Conſidering this meſſage as an inſult, he determined not to comply; whereupon his people expreſſed great diſſatisfaction, and his friends repreſenting the impoſſibility of withſtanding ſo formidable an enemy as the Romans, he was, at length, prevailed upon to deſcend. Having urged to Pompey his right to continue in poſſeſſion of the throne, he returned. At the inſtance of Hyrcanus he deſcended a ſecond time: and when the brothers had pleaded before Pompey in ſupport of their reſpective pretentions, Ariſtobulus again repaired to the caſtle. He was now in a ſtate of irreſolution, being agitated between the extremes of hope and fear: he frequently conceived an intention of entirely ſubmitting himſelf to the pleaſure of Pompey, and in this diſpoſition proceeded half way from the caſtle, but as often returned, leſt he ſhould be guilty of a conduct unworthy the regal character. Pompey having learnt that Ariſtobulus had commanded his governors to obſerve ſuch orders only as were given under his own hand, inſiſted upon his writing to his officers, authorizing them to ſurrender the caſtles and other places. Ariſtobulus judged it neceſſary to comply with this injunction; but the imperious conduct of Pompey ſo exaſperated him that he immediately departed for Jeruſalem, in the full reſolution of commencing hoſtilities.

In order to deprive Ariſtobulus of all opportunity of making preparations for war, Pompey marched after him; and when he was near Jericho he was animated to greater expedition upon receiving information of the deceaſe of Mithridates. Jericho is the moſt fruitful province in Judæa; it abounds with palm-trees, and is celebrated for producing the excellent balſam which iſſues by drops from the plant, when inciſions have been made in the bark, by means of ſharp ſtones. The morning after his arrival Pompey left this province, and haſtened to Jeruſalem. Ariſtobulus was aſtoniſhed at the expedition, and alarmed at the appearance of Pompey, to whom he offered great ſums of money, and the ſurrender of his perſon and the city. This ſubmiſſion appeaſed in ſome degree, the indignation of Pompey; but the other was not able to make good the conditions he had propoſed; for Gabinius being appointed to receive the money, the perſons who commanded in the town, in the name of Ariſtobulus, refuſed him admittance. This ſo greatly offended Pompey that he detained Ariſtobulus a priſoner, and proceeded to reconnoitre the fortifications, in order to determine where he could make an aſſault with the greateſt proſpect of ſucceſs. He found the walls of ſurprizing ſtrength, and to be defended by a terrifying precipice: he judged it ſcarcely poſſible to ſubdue the city, and that if the exploit could be effected, the people might take refuge in the temple, which appeared to be abſolutely impregnable.

At this time and inſurrection happened in the city between the two parties reſpectively attached to Ariſtobulus and Hyrcanus. The adherents

of the former were for rescuing their king by force of arms: the other party was equally strenuous for admitting Pompey into the city, and a majority of the people, conscious of the superiority of the Romans, were friends to the latter measure. The partizans of Aristobulus took possession of the temple, and cut away the bridge of communication with the city, resolving to defend themselves to the last extremity. The other party admitted several Romans into the town, and gave them possession of the royal palace. Hereupon Pompey dispatched one of his general officers, named Piso, with a strong detachment to take possession of the palace. Finding that the Jews who had retired into the temple were absolutely determined in their purpose, he entertained no further thoughts of a compromise, but made the necessary preparations for an assault; and he received every possible assistance from Hyrcanus and his adherents.

Pompey resolved to attack the wall on the north side; and preparatory to this, he ordered the enormous ditch to be filled: the place was of such surprizing depth, and the Jews had so great an advantage of annoying the enemy from above, that the undertaking could scarcely have been accomplished had not Pompey ordered his soldiers to employ themselves in filling up the ditch only on the sabbath-day, when the superstitious veneration of the Jews would not permit them to offer the least interruption, or even to perform any kind of work, except what was indispensably necessary for the immediate support or defence of their lives. The ground being levelled, Pompey caused strong towers to be erected thereon; and every necessary preparation being made; the assault was commenced with a species of engines of war that had been brought from Tyre; the soldiers stationed in the towers continuing to annoy the Jews who defended the walls.

During even the utmost extremity of danger the Jews continued to offer up daily prayers and sacrifices, and to perform every other religious ceremony with the regularity usual in times of profound peace: and this instance of fortitude and resolution proved a matter of great admiration to Pompey. The temple was taken by assault after a siege of three months, during which time only one of the towers belonging to the Jews was lost. The breach was first entered by Faustus Cornelius, the son of Sylla, who was followed by Furius and Fabius, two centurions, with the troops under their command. Such of the people as attempted to escape, or offered resistance, were instantly put to death. Several priests, who were occupied in the holy function, paid no regard to their personal safety even when the swords of the enemy were pointed to their breasts, but, yielded up their lives while exercising the duties of their profession. The Jews attached to Pompey felt no compassion for those who espoused the cause of Aristobulus; and the latter, being driven to the utmost despair, threw themselves down precipices, or set fire to such materials as they could collect, and cast themselves into the flames. On this occasion twelve thousand Jews perished: no considerable number of Romans fell in the action; but many were wounded.

Amidst the general calamities of the Jews nothing so sensibly afflicted them as the unprecedented event of the holy of holies being exposed to profane eyes. To this place only the high-priest was to be admitted; but it was entered

entered by Pompey and his attendants, who ſaw the candleſticks, lamps, tables for incenſe, and divers other veſſels compoſed of gold, beſides a great quantity of curious perfumes, ſilver utenſils, and other ſacred treaſure, to the value of two thouſand talents. Pompey would not permit any one of the articles dedicated to the Almighty to be touched; and on the day after the taking of the temple he ordered that it ſhould be purified, and that the oblations and other ceremonies of religion ſhould be performed as uſual. In conſideration of the aſſiſtance he had received from Hyrcanus during the ſiege, Pompey appointed him high-prieſt, the humanity, juſtice and moderation of the conqueror obtained him an high place in the eſteem of the people. A perſon who was both father-in-law and uncle to Ariſtobulus was among the number of priſoners. The promoters of the inſurrection Pompey condemned to the loſs of their heads: but he conferred liberal rewards upon Cornelius Fauſtus, and others who had ſignalized themſelves in proſecuting the ſiege. He ſubjected Judæa to a tribute; deprived the Jews of the cities they had gained poſſeſſion of in Cœle-Syria, and by annexing them to the juriſdiction of the Roman government, reduced the poſſeſſions of the Jews to their former limits. In favour to one of his freedmen, named Demetrius, who was a native of Gadara, he rebuilt that city which had been laid in ruins by the Jews. Hippion, Scythopolis, Bella, Samaria, Mariſſa, Azotus, Jamnia, and Arethuſa, which were inland cities; and the coaſt-towns of Gaza, Joppa, Dora, and that formerly called Straton's Tower, but afterwards rebuilt, and named Cæſarea, by Herod, he took from the Jews and reſtored to their ancient inhabitants, at the ſame time annexing them to the province of Syria. He appointed Scaurus to the government of Judæa, Cœle-Syria, and all the country of Ægypt to the borders of the Euphrates, giving him likewiſe the command of two legions. Pompey now haſtened towards Rome by the way of Cilicia, taking with him Ariſtobulus, his two ſons, Alexander and Antigonus, and his two daughters, priſoners: but on the way Alexander effected an eſcape.

CHAP. VI.

A reconciliation between Aretas and Scaurus. Alexander being ſubdued by Antipater retreats to Alexandrion, whither he is purſued by Gabinius. The intrepidity of Mark Anthony. Gabinius commits the care of the temple to Hyrcanus; regulates the civil adminiſtration, and divides the province of Judæa into five juriſdictions. The Romans vanquiſh Ariſtobulus; but he forces a paſſage through the adverſe army, and reaches Machærus. The Romans ſubdue the caſtle, and ſend Ariſtobulus, and his ſon Antigonus, in chains to Rome. Gabinius vanquiſhes Alexander. Craſſus ſucceeds to the government of Syria: he deſpoils the temple of the ſacred treaſures.

SCAURUS* led an army into Arabia, and proceeded towards Petra; but his march was greatly impeded by a paſſage through a craggy and moſt difficult tract of country. Notwithſtanding his being greatly diſtreſſed for want

* *Vide* Ant. l. 14. c. 6, 10, 11, 12.

want of provisions, and having other disadvantages to encounter, he laid the neighbourhood of Pella in a state of devastation. Through the agency of Antipater he was, however, occasionally supplied with the necessaries of life by Hyrcanus. Conscious that a friendship subsisted between Antipater and Aretas, the Arabian king, Scaurus applied to the former, urging him to propose terms of accommodation to Aretas. Antipater engaged in the commission, and managed it with so much address that Aretas paid three hundred talents to Scaurus, who in consequence thereof declined a farther prosecution of the war.

Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, who had escaped from Pompey, having assembled a considerable number of men, was now committing devastations in Judæa, and harrassing Hyrcanus; he even entertained the hope of being able to subdue Jerusalem, as the walls which Pompey had destroyed were not yet rebuilt. Gabinius, an experienced and brave commander, succeeded Scaurus, and marched against Alexander, who judging it necessary to take every possible precaution to oppose so formidable an adversary, encreased his troops to ten thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, and fortified Alexandrion, Hyrcanion, Machærus, and other places near the Arabian mountains. In the interim Gabinius dispatched Mark Anthony with a body of Antipater's chosen troops; and he was to be joined by a considerble number of Jews under the command of Malichus and Pitholaus. These detachments were followed by Gabinius leading the main body of the army. Alexander finding the enemy was proceeding towards him with a force which he was by no means in a condition to withstand, judged it prudent to retreat. He was followed by Gabinius into the neighbourhood of Jerusalam, where a battle took place, in which three thousand of Alexander's followers were put to death, and a like number was made prisoners. When Gabinius had arrived at the castle, he proposed an indemnity to such deserters as would return to his army previous to the engagement: but upon their refusal, he attacked and put many of them to death, and the remainder took refuge in the fort. On every former occasion Mark Anthony had greatly signalized himself: but his conduct in this action exceeded every preceeding instance of his valour. Leaving a sufficient force to prosecute the siege, Gabinius proceeded to take a view of the several cities and towns of the province: he applied himself to the re-establishment of good-order in those places which had escaped desolation, and to rebuild those that had been destroyed. Hence the people of Scythopolis, Samaria, Anthedon, Apollonia, Jamnia, Raphia, Marissa, Dora, Gadara, Azotus, and several other towns, joyfully returned to resume their former places of residence.

Gabinius now returned, and continued the siege with additional vigour. Alexander despairing of success in opposing so powerful an enemy, dispatched ambassadors to supplicate pardon from Gabinius, and offer him possession of Machærus, Hyrcanion, and Plexandrion. The propofals being accepted, Gabinius reduced the latter place entirely to ruins, in compliance with the request of Alexander's mother, who urged the destruction of the place, lest it should prove the cause of future hostilities. From a motive of tenderness and affection to her husband and children, who were prisoners at Rome,

ſhe availed herſelf of every opportunity to ingratiate herſelf into the eſteem of Gabinius.

Hyrcanus was now conducted to Jeruſalem by Gabinius, who committed the temple to his care, and after appointing ſome of the moſt conſiderable Jews to the offices of civil adminiſtration, he divided the province of Judæa into the five following juriſdictions: Jeruſalem was the firſt: Gadara,* the ſecond; Amathus, the third; Jericho, the fourth; and Sepphoris, a city in Galilee, was the fifth. The people were exceedingly happy in the circumſtance of living under an ariſtocratical, inſtead of a monarchial, government.

Soon after this time Ariſtobulus eſcaped from Rome, and was joined by a great number of Jews, ſome being influenced merely by a deſire of changing their ſituation, and others by a principle of fidelity and affection. He made an attempt to repair Alexandrion; but upon receiving information that Gabinius had diſpatched an army in purſuit of him, under the command of Siſenna, Anthony and Servilius, he retreated to Machærus, where he diſmiſſed the uſeleſs part of his followers, retaining only eight thouſand men, including one thouſand fugitive Jews, whom Pitholaus had brought from Jeruſalem. In a ſhort time the Roman army arrived, and a general battle took place, in which Ariſtobulus and his adherents fought with aſtoniſhing bravery; but they were, at length, compelled to yield to the ſuperiority of the enemy, with the loſs of five thouſand men: two thouſand gained a hill, and made ſome further reſiſtance; and Ariſtobulus with the other thouſand cut a paſſage through the Roman army, and retired to Machærus, where he arrived towards evening, and found the place in ruins: but he entertained an opinion that the enemy would conſent to a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, which would enable him to reinforce his army, and repair the caſtle. The Romans, however, immediately proceeded to aſſault the place, which was defended with great bravery for two days, when a compleat victory was gained over Ariſtobulus, who, with his ſon, Antigonus, that had eſcaped with him from Rome, was made priſoner, put in bonds, and ſent to Gabinius, who ordered them to be conducted to Rome. The father was ſentenced to impriſonment by the ſenate, but the ſon was permitted to return to Judæa, through the mediation of Gabinius, who informed the ſenate by letter that, when the wife of Ariſtobulus reſigned the caſtle to him, he engaged himſelf to intercede in behalf of Antigonus.

While Gabinius was preparing to commence hoſtilities againſt the Parthians, he learnt that Ptolemy, having retired from the Euphrates, was upon his march towards Ægypt; and therefore he declined to purſue his deſign. Gabinius was ſupplied with arms, corn, money, and other neceſſaries for war, by Hyrcanus and Antipater; and they prevailed upon the Jews of Peluſium, who, in a manner guarded the entrance into Ægypt, not to intercept the progreſs of Gabinius to that country. The departure of Gabinius proved greatly alarming to the inhabitants of different parts of Syria; and at the ſame time an inſurrection happened among the Jews. Alexander, the

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* Doris, Rufinus.

ſon of Ariſtobulus, having collected a very conſiderable body of followers, made a reſolution to put every Roman who ſhould fall into his power to immediate death. Being ſenſible of his danger, and that the ſedition encreaſed, Gabinius employed his intereſt with Antipater to effect an accommodation. But Alexander being naturally diſpoſed to martial exploits, and having an army of thirty thouſand men, rejected the propoſals. The armies joined battle in the neighbourhood of the mountain of Itabyr. The Romans obtained a compleat victory, and left ten thouſand of the enemy ſlain in the field. Alexander and his remaining troops eſcaped. After this victory, Gabinius, in compliance with the advice of Antipater, marched to Jeruſalem, in order to introduce a republican government. He afterwards led his forces againſt the Nabathæans, whom he engaged, and ſubdued: and he diſmiſſed two Parthian deſerters, named Mithridates and Orſanes, circulating a report that they had effected an eſcape.

The government of Syria devolved from Gabinius to Craſſus, who, in order to defray the expences of the Parthian war, deſpoiled the temple of the two thouſand talents which Pompey had generouſly declined to ſeize, and of all the gold contained in the building: and he then paſſed the Euphrates. The particulars of his defeat and death will come with more propriety hereafter.

Caſſius ſucceeded Craſſus in the government of Syria, and intercepted the Parthians, who were preparing to make an incurſion into that country. He led an army into Judæa; ſubdued Tarichæa, and took with him from the conquered town near three thouſand Jewiſh captives; and among them was Pitholaus, whom Antipater prevailed upon him to put to death for having eſpouſed the cauſe of Ariſtobulus. Cypris*, the wife of Antipater, was an illuſtrious Arabian; ſhe bore to him the four following ſons: Phaſael, king Herod, Joſeph, and Pheroras; and a daughter called Salome. The liberal ſentiments and wiſe conduct of Antipater, obtained him an high reputation among the moſt eminent characters of his age, and the particular friendſhip of the Arabian king, to whom he committed the care of his children, when he engaged in the war againſt Ariſtobulus. Having concluded a truce with Alexander, Caſſius marched in order to occupy his former ſtation near the Euphrates, and repulſe the Parthians, in caſe of their attempting to make an incurſion.

* In the Antiq. Cypron.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Cæsar restores Aristobulus to freedom; soon after which he is poisoned by the friends of Pompey. His remains conveyed to Judæa. The death of Alexander. The marriage of Philippion with Alexandra. Antipater joins Mithridates in besieging Pelusium. Mithridates being in the most imminent danger, is rescued by Antipater. The possession of the pontificate confirmed to Hyrcanus.

POMPEY* and the senate having departed from Rome, and in a consternation passed the Ionian sea, Cæsar was left to the absolute government of the place: he immediately restored Aristobulus to freedom, and sent him into Syria, attended by two companies of soldiers; firmly believing that the people would readily surrender to him. But this was too flattering an expectation; for Aristobulus fell a sacrifice to poison, which was administered to him by the friends of Pompey. His body was embalmed, but remained some time unburied: Anthony, however, caused his remains to be conveyed to Judæa, and to be deposited in the royal sepulchre. The fate of Alexander was not less deplorable than that of his father. Pompey, having sentenced Alexander to death for seditious practices against the Romans, transmitted orders to Scipio to behead the youth at Antioch.

Ptolemy, the son of Mennæus, and the prince of Chalcis, which is situated on mount Libanus, dispatched his son Philippion to Askalon, commissioning him to request that the widow of Aristobulus would send by him Antigonus and his sisters. Philippion became enamoured with, and espoused Alexandra, the younger sister. This conduct of Philippion greatly incensed his father, who therefore caused him to be put to death: and he soon afterwards married his widow. The tenderness of Ptolemy towards Antigonus and his sisters was considerably encreased by this alliance.

Upon the decease of Pompey, Antipater sought to ingratiate himself into the esteem of Cæsar. Mithridates, a Pergamenian, who had meditated an expedition in Ægypt, finding his progress impeded by means of his ships being denied at passage at Pelusium, remained with his army at Askalon; and, though a stranger, he had the address to gain over the Arabians to his side, and to prevail upon about three thousand Jews to take up arms and join his troops. He attached to his interest Ptolemy of Libanus, another personage named Ptolemy, Jamblichus, and many other Syrians of great consideration; and the example of these distinguished people was followed by great numbers of their countrymen. The power of Mithridates being so considerably encreased by the assistance he had received from Antipater and other quarters, he marched against Pelusium; and being opposed by the inhabitants, he besieged the city. In this action Antipater acquired additional reputation; for a breach being made by the troops under his command, he first entered the town, and was followed by his people.

After

* *Vide* Antiq. *l.* 14. *c.* 13, 14, 15.

After the reduction of Pelusium, the Jews inhabiting that province of Ægypt, called Onias, resolved to oppose Mithridates: but Antipater prevailed upon them to decline their intentions, and even to furnish provisions for the army. The example of the people of Onias was followed by those of Memphis, who voluntarily surrendered to Mithridates. Having marched without interruption to Delta, Mithridates and Antipater encountered a body of Ægyptians at a place called the camp of the Jews. Mithridates commanded the right wing of the army, and Antipater the left. The former being in the most imminent danger of a defeat, Antipater, having routed that part of the enemy's army which he had engaged, hastened along the bank of the river to the rescue of his friend, many of whose pursuers he put to death, and chaced the rest to their camp, which he rifled of a considerable booty. In this exploit Antipater lost only eighty men: but eight hundred of Mithridates's party were slain; and it was beyond all expectation that he himself escaped. Mithridates transmitted an account to the emperor, gratefully acknowledging the very important services rendered him by Antipater; and Cæsar expressed his deep sense of obligation to the victorious hero, who was thereby more zealously attached to his interest, and the marks of the wounds he had received bore an honourable testimony of his willingness to hazard his life in the service of so illustrious a master. The war in Ægypt being concluded, Cæsar returned into Syria; and he made Antipater a free citizen of Rome, allowing him all the privileges annexed to that character, and conferring upon him other signal honours; and as a farther instance of the sincerity of his esteem, he confirmed Hyrcanus, the friend of Antipater, in the pontifical dignity.

CHAP. VIII.

The friends of Pompey accused as being the authors of the death of Aristobulus. Cæsar creates Hyrcanus high-priest, and promotes Antipater to the government of Judæa. Antipater rebuilds the walls destroyed by Pompey, and exhorts the people to observe due submission to Hyrcanus. Herod makes a prisoner of Hezekias, the leader of a banditti. The envy of Hyrcanus towards the sons of Antipater. The command of the troops in Syria and Samaria given to Herod; who, in revenge for the injuries received from Hyrcanus, resolves to depose him: but the expostulations of his father and brother prevail upon him to relinquish that design. Cæcilius Bassus causes Sextus Cæsar to be murdered, and the officers of Julius Cæsar, being joined by the sons of Antipater, seek revenge. The government of Sextus devolves to Marcus.

ANTIGONUS,* the son of the deceased Aristobulus, appealed to Cæsar, representing that his father had been poisoned by the contrivance of the friends of Pompey; in a stile of the most bitter invective accusing Hyrcanus and Antipater as the cause of himself and his brethren being cruelly driven from their native country; and charging them with having oppressed the public for the sake of indulging their private passions and desires. He asserted that the assistance they had rendered Cæsar proceeded from fear rather

* *Vide* Antiq. *l.* 24. *c.* 15, 16, 17.

rather than reſpect, and a proper ſenſe of their duty, and was only meant to make ſome compenſation for their former attachment to Pompey. To obviate the intended effect of theſe reproaches, Antipater expoſed his wounds, as the beſt teſtimony of loyalty to Cæſar. " It is a matter of aſtoniſhment (ſaid " Antipater) that this man, the ſon of a declared enemy to the ſtate of Rome, " and inheriting the rebellious principles of his father, ſhould have the ef- " frontry thus to accuſe the moſt zealous of Cæſar's ſubjects; and to arro- " gate a merit to himſelf, when his conduct has rendered him deſerving of " death."

Cæſar, having heard them both, immediately conferred the pontificate upon Hyrcanus, deeming him in every reſpect qualified to aſſume that dignity: and at the ſame time he deſired Antipater to mention any commiſſion he wiſhed to enjoy, and it ſhould be granted. Antipater ſubmitted the matter entirely to the pleaſure of Cæſar; who appointed him to the government of Judæa, and as a farther inſtance of his favour, granted him permiſſion to repair the walls, which had been deſtroyed by Pompey. Cæſar ordered theſe decrees to be engraven on braſs and placed in the capitol, in teſtimony of the glorious ſervices of Antipater, and of the honourable recompence he obtained.

Having accompanied Cæſar to the frontiers of Syria, Antipater returned to Judæa, and immediately undertook a general reparation of the walls: and he viſited the ſeveral parts of the province, in order, by threats and perſuaſions, to eſtabliſh the public tranquillity. He informed the people, that if they obſerved a due obedience to Hyrcanus, they ſhould enjoy plenty and happineſs: but, that if they ſought to gratify their private intereſts at the expence of the public, he would himſelf prove a rigid governor, and they would find in the perſon of Hyrcanus, inſtead of a gracious and mild prince, a cruel and unrelenting tyrant.

Though Antipater, for political reaſons exacted great deference to Hyrcanus, he was conſcious of his incapacity to diſcharge the duties of his office, and determined to take every neceſſary precaution againſt the probable ill conſequences thereof. He advanced Phaſael, his eldeſt ſon, who was captain of the guards, to the government of Jeruſalem, and the whole of that province: and to the government of Galilee he appointed Herod, his ſecond ſon; who, though at an early period of life, diſcovered himſelf to be equal to great undertakings. Herod made priſoner of Hezekias, the leader of a conſiderable band of robbers, who had committed great depredations in Syria, and cauſed him and many of his followers to be put to death. This enterprize obtained Herod a very diſtinguiſhed ſhare of reputation; and the Syrians in general celebrated him as the man to whom they were indebted for the ſecure and happy enjoyment of their lives, liberties, and poſſeſſions. The heroic exploit of Herod made him known to Sextus Cæſar, couſin to Cæſar the great, who at that time held the government of Syria; and the fame of his achievement inſpired Phaſael with the generous idea of emulating the conduct of his brother. Phaſael was ſo moderate in the exerciſe of power over the people of Jeruſalem, and ſo ſtrictly obſervant of the principles of

juſtice, that he gained univerſal approbation. The glory of the ſons greatly encreaſed that of the father, who experienced as high a degree of veneration as he could have done had he actually been the ſovereign of the Jews; and this wiſe adminiſtrator, ſo far from being tranſported beyond the bounds of moderation by his great ſucceſs, ſtill preſerved his fidelity and reſpect towards Hyrcanus.

That exalted characters are never ſecure from the malignant ſhafts of envy will be found exemplified in the following inſtance. Hyrcanus had long entertained a ſecret enmity againſt the ſons of Antipater, on account of their great and well-deſerved reputation; and his prejudice was encreaſed by the court-paraſites, to whom ſuperior virtue is ever an object of deteſtation. They inſinuated to him that the brothers acted as ſovereigns rather than as ſubjects; declaring that Herod had committed a daring violation againſt the Jewiſh law, by putting ſeveral perſons to death without the authority of Hyrcanus; and urging that he ought to be rendered amenable to juſtice for the iniquities he had committed. Theſe ſuggeſtions ſo powerfully operated upon Hyrcanus that he ordered Herod to be ſummoned to appear before the council. By the advice of his father, Herod ſecured his garriſons in Galilee, and proceeded to obey the mandate; and unwilling to give offence to Hyrcanus, he was attendeded only by ſuch a company of ſoldiers as he deemed neceſſary for his perſonal ſafety. Sextus Cæſar having conceived a great eſteem for Herod, was much concerned, leſt, when in the power of his enemies, ſome fatal event might happen to him; and he therefore applied to Hyrcanus, requeſting that he would diſmiſs the complaint exhibited againſt the youth; and this deſire was readily granted. Herod did not conſider himſelf to be in a ſtate of perfect ſecurity, conceiving that Hyrcanus had done a violence to his inclination in acquitting him: he therefore determined not to appear if he ſhould be a ſecond time ſummoned, and in this diſpoſition repaired to Sextus, who then reſided at Damaſcus. The enemies of Herod endeavoured to revive the enmity of Hyrcanus, by repreſenting that the youth had departed in anger, and had reſolved upon ſome deſperate means of revenge. Hyrcanus was greatly embarraſſed at the idea of having ſo formidable an enemy; but upon receiving information that Sextus had appointed Herod to the command of his troops in Syria and Samaria, his terror encreaſed to ſo high a degree that he was continually tortured by the imagination that his adverſary was leading an army to depoſe him. In this conjecture he was not deceived; for, violently enraged at having been treated as a criminal, Herod collected an army, and proceeded towards Jeruſalem in a reſolution to deprive Hyrcanus of the government; and this enterprize he would indiſputably have effected, had he not yielded to the diſſuaſions of his father and brother. They urged him to "offer no violence to the king, to whoſe "favour and countenance he was indebted for the dignified ſtation he enjoyed. They ſaid his indignation at being accuſed, ſhould, in a great "meaſure, be appeaſed by the circumſtance of his acquittal; that if he prided "himſelf in his power, he ſhould conſider that the meaſure he was about to "purſue was wholly unprofitable; that the protection of the Almighty could "not be expected by the man who had revolted againſt his legal ſovereign; that

" that the prince he meant to oppoſe was his ſincere friend and generous " benefactor, and one who had in no inſtance wronged him, except when ir- " ritated by the injurious ſuggeſtions of his enemies." Hereupon Herod repreſſed his indignation, and waved the deſign of proceeding to hoſtilities. A civil war between the Romans broke out at this period in the neighbourhood of Apania; during which Cæcilius Baſſus, with a view to gratify Pompey, treacherouſly cauſed Sextus Cæſar to be put to death, and then aſſumed the command of his troops. In revenge for the murder of Sextus, the party attached to Julius Cæſar oppoſed Baſſus with their utmoſt power: and from a veneration towards the ſurviving Cæſar, and the memory of the deceaſed, Antipater diſpatched conſiderable ſuccours to the avengers of the murderers of Sextus, under the command of his ſons. Marcus* was commanded to depart from Italy in order to ſucceed to the government of Sextus.

CHAP. IX.

Julius Cæſar murdered in the capitol; the terrible diſorders conſequent on that event. The oppreſſion of Caſſius. The treachery of Malichus. Cæſar and Anthony in a ſtate of hoſtility with Brutus and Caſſius. Herod promoted to the government of Syria. Malichus cauſes Antipater to be poiſoned. Herod revenges the death of his father.

THE civil diſſentions among the Romans† was followed by a ſtill more terrible war. In the ſeventh month of the third year of his reign, Caſſius and Brutus murdered Cæſar in the capitol; and his death was followed by the moſt ſhocking contentions and diſorders among the ſubjects of the Roman empire. The people were divided into factions; and, regardleſs of the public welfare, they acted according to their reſpective intereſts and paſſions. Caſſius went into Syria, and took the command of the troops employed in beſieging Apamia: having attached Marcus‡ and Baſſus, and ſome male-contented cohorts to his intereſt, he raiſed the ſiege, and then impoſed moſt enormous taxes upon the cities: he alſo ſubjected the Jews to a contribution of ſeven hundred talents. Antipater appointed his ſons and his particular friends to provide for the tax upon the Jews; and the preſſing exigency of public affairs induced him to join Malichus, his profeſſed enemy, in the commiſſion. The firſt ſum, amounting to an hundred talents, was collected by Herod in Galilee, and his expedition in the buſineſs obtained him great favour with Caſſius; who was ſo exaſperated by the delay of the other agents, that he entirely deſtroyed Gophnaſ‖, Thamna and two other cities of equal conſideration: and he formed a deſign of puniſhing the neglect of Malichus by putting him to death: but his rage was appeaſed by Antipater, who preſented him with an hundred talents.

Notwithſtanding Malichus had repeatedly acknowledged himſelf indebted to Antipater for the preſervation of his life; no ſooner had Caſſius departed than he contrived meaſures for the deſtruction of his generous benefactor, whom

* Caſaubon ſays Murcus, Exercit. 1. An. DCCVI.
† *Vide* Ant. *l.* 14. *c.* 17, 18, 19, 20.
‡ Al. Murcus.
‖ Ammaus. Joſ.

whom he conſidered as the only obſtacle to his ambitious views. Antipater knowing him to be a man of an artful an diſingenuous temper, entertained a ſuſpicion of his deſigns, and therefore paſſed the Jordan, and aſſembled a body of troops, that he might oppoſe his meaſures. Perceiving that Antipater ſuſpected his deſigns, Malichus employed every plauſible means for ingratiating himſelf into the eſteem of Phaſael and Herod, the former of whom was governor of Jeruſalem, and the latter captain of the guards. He had the addreſs to perſuade them that he had never entertained even the moſt diſtant thought of injuring their father, who they prevailed upon to conſent to a reconciliation; they alſo negotiated a compromiſe with Marcus*, governor of Syria, who had reſolved to put Malichus to death on account of his factious diſpoſition. Cæſar and Anthony being now at war with Brutus and Caſſius, and the latter as well as Marcus being ſenſible of the great qualities of Herod, they nominated him to the government of Syria, and appointed him a ſtrong body guard of horſe and foot; promiſing that upon the concluſion of the war they would promote him to the ſovereignty of the Jews. The merit of Herod however, proved the cauſe of his father's death: for Malichus, in order to free himſelf from the dangers by which he ſuppoſed himſelf to be ſurrounded, bribed the butler of Hyrcanus to mix a poiſon with Antipater's drink. Hyrcanus was advanced to the throne through the means of Antipater, who was a man of conſummate wiſdom, and undaunted reſolution. The multitude were exaſperated to the higheſt degree of extravagance againſt Malichus, ſuſpecting him to have procured the death of the man to whom he was under innumerable obligations: but they were ſomewhat appeaſed upon his making the moſt ſolemn declaration of being perfectly innocent of the execrable crime alledged againſt him. Malichus aſſembled troops, and put himſelf into a condition of making a defence, apprehending that Phaſael and Herod would ſeek revenge for the death of their father. Herod was deſirous of wreaking inſtant vengeance upon the abominable traitor: but his brother diſſuading him from that meaſure from an unwillingneſs to diſturb the public peace, they permitted him to make a defence, and aſſumed the appearance of being perfectly ſatisfied of his innocence. After this they proceeded to the interment of their father, whoſe funeral ſolemnities were conducted with great magnificence.

Herod now went to Samaria in order to quell the diſturbances which prevailed in that country: but on all ſolemn days he continued to repair to Jeruſalem, being attended by his guards, Malichus being under great apprehenſion from Herod, prevailed upon Hyrcanus to expoſtulate with him on the impropriety of being attended by ſtrangers, by whom the holy religion was prophaned and the people interrupted in their devotional exerciſes. Herod treated the matter complained of by Hyrcanus with contempt, and by night gained admiſſion to the city. Malichus went to him pretending to be exceſſively afflicted at the fate of Antipater; and Herod, diſſembling his rage, appeared to believe him ſincere. Herod wrote to Caſſius, demanding juſtice upon the murderer of his father; and as Caſſius already entertained an enmity againſt Malichus, he readily conſented that Herod ſhould ſeek revenge,

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* Al. Murcus.

venge, beſides which he diſpatched private orders to the commanders of his troops, authorizing them to grant ſuch aſſiſtance as he ſhould require.

Having ſubdued Loadicea, the principal people of the country came in great numbers to compliment and make preſents to Herod; who conſidered this as a favourable opportunity for gratifying his deſire of revenge. Malichus ſuſpecting his deſign, formed a plan for getting his ſon from Tyre, where he then reſided in quality of a hoſtage, and retreating with him into Judæa: but reflecting on the deſperate ſituation of his affairs, and the little probability of ſucceeding in the attempt, he at length ſuggeſted a more daring enterprize. He determined to take advantage of Caſſius being engaged in the war againſt Anthony, and to ſpirit up the whole Jewiſh nation to an inſurrection againſt the Romans; and he imagined that, if he could effect this point, to depoſe Hyrcanus, and obtain poſſeſſion of his goverment, would be attended with but little difficulty. Herod, however, conceiving that ſome important deſign was meditating againſt him, invited Hyrcanus and Malichus to ſupper: he diſpatched a domeſtic under the pretence of making the neceſſary preparations for the entertainment, having previouſly inſtructed him to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of the officers of the Roman troops. In obedience to their directions from Caſſius, the Roman commanders marched towards the ſea ſide of the city, where they ſurrounded Malichus, and put him to death. This event cauſed Hyrcanus to faint; but after much difficulty he was recovered; he then enquired, by whom Malichus had been ſlain; and one of the officers replied that he had been put to death by the order of Caſſius. "Then "(ſaid Hyrcanus) I acknowledge Caſſius to be the preſerver of my life and "kingdom; for the deſtruction of both the traitor had long meditated." Whether he ſpoke his real ſentiments, or from an impulſe of fear cannot be determined.

CHAP. X.

In revenge for the death of Malichus, Felix declares war againſt the brothers. Marion, king of the Tyrians, after being expelled Galilee, is joined by Antigonus; and they march to oppoſe Herod. Several accuſations againſt the brothers; but the deſign of the plaintiffs is defeated. Anthony appoints Phaſael and Herod tetrarchs of Judæa.

AFTER the departure of Caſſius from Syria*, freſh troubles took place in Jeruſalem. In revenge for the death of Malichus, Felix commenced hoſtilities againſt Phaſael and Herod. Herod was at that time at Damaſcus with Fabius, the governor; and an indiſpoſition rendered him incapable of leading his troops to join his brother. Phaſael, however, was in no want of reinforcements; for, with his own forces, he ſubdued the enemy. He reproached Hyrcanus in the moſt ſpirited terms for his ingratitude in eſpouſing the cauſe of Felix, and giving the brother of Malichus poſſeſſion

* *Vide* Ant. l. 14. c. 20, 21, 22, 23.

poſſeſſion of Maſſada, the ſtrongeſt fort in the country, beſides ſeveral other caſtles. Upon the recovery of Herod, he marched againſt the enemy, retook the places that had been conquered, and humbled Hyrcanus upon his knees: but ſought no further revenge for his treacherous behaviour. He recovered three caſtles that had been taken by Marion, king of the Tyrians, and drove that monarch out of Galilee. He ſhewed great lenity to the Tyrians whom he made priſoners, by ſparing their lives, and many of them he gratified with preſents; and by theſe means he made them friends to his cauſe. Marion, like the other perſons promoted by Caſſius, exerted an unbounded oppreſſion in Syria. Marion marched againſt Herod, taking with him, on account of their being enemies to his adverſary, Antigonus, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, and Fabius, whom Antigonus had bribed to engage in his ſervice: they were ſupplied with proviſions and other neceſſaries by Ptolemy, father-in-law to Antigonus.

The armies engaged upon the borders of Judæa; and, having defeated the enemy, Herod returned in triumph to Jeruſalem, where he was received with the greateſt acclamations of joy; and thoſe perſons who had been enemies to him, on account of his relationſhip to Hyrcanus, now ſought to cultivate his friendſhip with the greateſt aſſiduity. Herod had been married to a woman of noble birth of his own country, named Doris, who bore to him Antipater; he afterwards eſpouſed Mariamne, daughter of Alexander, who was ſon of Ariſtobulus and Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus; and hence the relation of Herod to the king.

After the deceaſe of Caſſius at the battle of Philippi, Cæſar repaired into Italy, and Anthony into Aſia; and ambaſſadors from divers places, and ſeveral of the principal people among the Jews, came to the latter at Bithynia, and exhibited violent complaints againſt the brothers, whom they accuſed of having uſurped, and arbitrarily exerciſed, the ſovereign authority, leaving Hyrcanus only the name of king. To obviate the effect of theſe accuſations, Herod preſented Anthony with a very conſiderable ſum of money, which had ſo powerful an effect that no regard was paid to the complainants. About the time when his amour commenced with Cleopatra, an hundred Jews, diſtinguiſhed by their rank and abilities, repaired in a body to Anthony, who was then at Daphnis in the ſuburbs of Antioch, in order to repeat the charges againſt the brothers; and the moſt eloquent ſpeakers among them were appointed to urge the complaints. The defence was undertaken by Meſſala and Hyrcanus, the latter being induced to plead on account of his relationſhip to the parties accuſed. Having heard the cauſe, Anthony demanded of Hyrcanus, whom he conſidered as the moſt perfectly qualified for public adminiſtration: and he replied, that he knew no perſons ſo capable of government as Phaſael and Herod. This declaration proved highly ſatisfactory to Anthony, who ſtill held in grateful recollection the friendly reception and liberal entertainment he had experienced from Antipater, whoſe ſons he now conſtituted tetrarchs of Judæa, inveſting them with the full powers of adminiſtration.

The deciſion in favour of the brothers occaſioned the deputies to expreſs great diſſatisfaction, which proving highly offenſive to Anthony, he ordered fifteen

fifteen of them to prifon; and they were in imminent danger of being put to death. He treated their companions with great feverity, and then fuffered them to depart. Hereupon the male-contents of Jerufalem were exafperated to the laft degree; and they now difpatched a thoufand deputies to Anthony, who was then at Tyre, making preparations to march to Jerufalem. Thefe people were fo outrageous that Anthony commanded the magiftrates of the city to difperfe them, and put fuch as attempted refiftance to inftant death; and in every refpect to maintain the authority of the tetrarchs he had eftablifhed. Herod and Hyrcanus went to the deputies while they were walking before the port, and in a friendly manner expoftulated with them on the dangerous tendency of their conduct, and exhorted them to moderation, left the ruin of themfelves and their whole nation fhould enfue. In proportion to the lenity fhewn them, their infolence encreafed; and Anthony being under the neceffity of reducing them to order by the force of arms, many were flain. Hyrcanus ordered the neceffary care to be taken of the wounded, and the dead to be interred: but this goodnefs had no effect upon thofe who efcaped; for they continued their outrageous proceedings till Anthony was provoked to pronounce the fentence of death upon all his prifoners.

CHAP. XI.

A treaty for dethroning Hyrcanus and eftablifhing Antigonus in the regency. Antigonus is joined by the Jews of mount Carmel, who defeat and purfue the enemy to Jerufalem. Antigonus propofes a reconciliation. The perfidy of Pacorus, and of Barzapharnes. The Parthians make prifoners of Phafael and Hyrcanus. Herod efcapes to Maffada; and after vanquifhing the enemy, proceeds to Petra. The Parthians commit great devaftation in Jerufalem and the adjacent country. Phafael and Hyrcanus furrendered to Antigonus, who tears Hyrcanus's ears with his teeth. The king of Arabia commands Herod to evacuate his dominions. Cleopatra gives Herod an honourable and magnificent reception at Alexandria. Herod goes to Rome, and is declared king of the Jews.

ABOUT two years after this, when Syria was under the government of one of the principal of the Parthian nobility, named Barzapharnes *, jointly with Pacorus, the king's fon, Lyfanius, who fucceeded his father Ptolemy, the fon of Mennæus, engaged to deliver to them five hundred women, and pay them a thoufand talents, in confideration of their depofing Hyrcanus and advancing Antigonus to the throne. They readily accepted the propofal; and Pacorus directed his march by the way of the fea-coaft, while Barzapharnes proceeded through the inland country. The people of Ptolemais and Sidon admitted Pacorus into their cities, but the Tyrians refolutely denied him reception. He fent before him a troop of cavalry, commanded by the king's butler, who, as well as the prince, was named Pacorus; and the bufinefs of this officer was to reconnoitre the country, obferve

* *Vide* Ant. l. 14. c. 23, 24, 25, 26.

ſerve the operations of the enemy, and if occaſion ſhould require it, to reinforce Antigonus.

The Jews inhabiting mount Carmel voluntarily declared themſelves diſpoſed to aſſiſt Antigonus; and he commanded them to gain poſſeſſion of that part of the country called Dryma. They proceeded to an engagement, and put the enemy to flight; after which, upon their forces being conſiderably encreaſed, they marched to Jeruſalem, where they were courageouſly oppoſed by Hyrcanus and Phaſael, who, after an obſtinate battle in the market-place, obliged them to retreat into the temple. Hereupon, Herod ſtationed a guard of ſixty men in the adjacent buildings: but the populace, from their implacable enmity to the brothers, ſet fire to the houſes. This event ſo greatly exaſperated Herod, that he made a ſudden and furious attack upon the enemy, great numbers of whom he put to the ſword; and not a day elapſed without a ſkirmiſh and ſlaughter. The time for celebrating the feſtival now approaching, ſuch multitudes aſſembled from all parts of the country, that all quarters of the city, and even the avenues of the temple, were crouded with people, moſt of whom were provided with weapons of defence. Phaſael undertook to defend the walls, while Herod, with but a ſmall number of troops, guarded the palace. Herod attacked the people in the ſuburbs by ſurprize, and purſued the aſſault with ſo much vigour that many were ſlain, and the reſt put to flight, ſome taking refuge in the city, ſome in the temple, and others behind an adjacent rampart.

Matters being arrived to this extremity, Antigonus offered terms for a reconciliation, and that Pacorus, the king's officer already mentioned, ſhould be conſtituted umpire. Phaſael accepted the propoſition, and admitted Pacorus, with a troop of five hundred cavalry into the city. The treacherous Parthian, concealing his deſign of rendering ſervice to Antigonus, under the pretext of ſuppreſſing the inſurrection, prevailed upon Phaſael to diſpatch an embaſſy to Barzapharnes, reſpecting the re-eſtabliſhment of the public peace. Herod was wholly averſe to this meaſure; and he repeatedly exhorted his brother againſt negociating with, or repoſing confidence in, the barbarians, whoſe diſpoſitions were treacherous by nature; and he urged his brother to put Pacorus to death, inſtead of ſuffering himſelf to be made the dupe to the ſcheme of deſtruction which the inſinuating traitor was preparing. To avoid the ſuſpicion of Phaſael, and give an appearance of plauſibility to his deſign, Pacorus with Hyrcanus followed Phaſael out of the city, where Herod was left with ſome of the people called freemen by the barbarians.

Upon their arrival in Galilee they found a diviſion prevailing among the people, who had taken up arms: but the governors, however, gave them the meeting: by flattery and preſents Barzapharnes had the addreſs to diſguiſe his treachery: but he had ſtationed a party of troops to ſurprize them on the road they were to purſue after parting with him. They were conducted to a place called Ecdipon, ſituated near the ſea, where they were informed that the Parthians had engaged to betray them, in conſequence of Antigonus having promiſed a gratuity of a thouſand talents, ſeveral women belonging to theſe unfortunate people, and others, amounting in the

whole to five hundred; and that the treacherous deſign would not have been ſo long deferred but from an apprehenſion that it would be entirely fruſtrated if they attempted to put it in practice previous to the arrival of Herod at Jeruſalem. The truth of this relation was proved by the appearance of the guards.

A Syrian named Saramalla, the moſt wealthy man of his country, having related the whole ſcheme of treachery to Ophelius, he communicated the particulars to Phaſael, urging him to provide for his own ſafety: but refuſing, on any conſideration, to deſert Hyrcanus, he fought Barzapharnes, whom he violently upbraided with treachery, ſaying it was in his power to give a more conſiderable ſum for his life than Antigonus had offered for the kingdom. Hereupon Barzapharnes denied the guilt imputed to him with ſhocking imprecations; and then went in ſearch of Pacorus. Upon the departure of Barzapharnes, Phaſael and Hyrcanus were taken into cuſtody by the Parthian guards.

According to the directions of Barzapharnes, Pacorus endeavoured to entice Herod out of the town, and make him priſoner; but Herod being aware of the treachery of the barbarians, fruſtrated the deſign. He had received information that his brother was taken into cuſtody, and imagined that he had written an account of what had befallen him, but that the letters had been intercepted. Mariamne, daughter of Hyrcanus, eſteemed one of the wiſeſt women of her time, exhorted him againſt expoſing himſelf to the evidently treacherous deſigns of the barbarians. Pacorus adviſed him to go forth, ſaying that on the way he would meet his letters, by which he would be convinced that his brother enjoyed his liberty, and that he had not experienced a breach of faith. The ſeveral ſtratagems that Pacorus had put into practice having failed of ſucceſs, he employed himſelf in deviſing other means for getting Herod into his power: but, in the interim, wholly unſuſpected by the enemy, Herod, with ſome of his neareſt relations, eſcaped by night, and directed their courſe towards Idumæa. Upon gaining intelligence of his eſcape, the Parthians purſued him; and having ſent forward his mother, brother, and Mariamne, to whom he was betrothed, and Mariamne's younger brother, Herod made preparations for oppoſing the enemy. Several engagements enſued, in which the Parthians were vanquiſhed; and Herod afterwards retired to the caſtle of Maſſada. He was now more harraſſed and annoyed by the Jews than he had been before by the Parthians: they attacked him at the diſtance of about ſixty furlongs from Jeruſalem, and an engagement took place, and after the enemy had ſuſtained a great ſlaughter, victory decided in favour of Herod; who, to immortalize the honour of the enterprize, conſtructed a magnificent palace, and a caſtle of great ſtrength on the ſpot, and, from his own name, he called the place Herodion.

When Herod was at Threſſa* in Idumæa he was adviſed by his brother Joſeph to diſmiſs a part of his followers, whom he judged to be too numerous to be entertained in the caſtle of Maſſada, computing them to have en-

* Al. Reſſa. *Vide* Antiq. l. 14 c. 25.

creaſed to upwards of three thouſand. Herod diſpoſed of his relations and the moſt valuable of his followers in the caſtle, which he furniſhed with ſuch proviſions as he deemed would be neceſſary in caſe of a ſiege; he appointed eight hundred men as a guard to the women; and leſſened the number of his followers by diſmiſſing to Idumæa ſuch as appeared likely to prove of the leaſt ſervice. He now proceeded towards a city in Arabia called Petra.

The Parthians at Jeruſalem forcibly entered the habitations of thoſe who were abſent, and made booty of all the property they could find; they even ſeized the treaſure of the royal palace: but they entirely ſpared that of Hyrcanus, which did not amount to three thouſand talents. The ſpoil obtained by the barbarians was not ſo conſiderable as they expected; for Herod, being ſenſible of their rapacious diſpoſition, had the precaution to remove his moſt valuable treaſure to Idumæa; and this example was followed by his companions. After the plunder of the town, the Parthians proceeded to an outrageous and bloody war in the adjacent countries. They laid the city of Mariſſa in ruins; declared Antigonus king, and ſurrendered Phaſael and Hyrcanus in bonds. Antigonus tore off the ears of Hyrcanus with his teeth, in order to diſqualify him from aſſuming the high-prieſthood; no blemiſhed or maimed perſon being deemed eligible to the pontifical dignity.

Phaſael eſcaped the vengeance of Hyrcanus; for though his hands were confined, he found means to deprive himſelf of life, which he effected by daſhing his head againſt a ſtone: and by this reſolute act he proved that he was not of the degenerate ſpirit that Hyrcanus poſſeſſed, but worthy to be called the brother of Herod. A report is circulated of Phaſael that he repented having offered violence to himſelf, and that Antigonus ſent to him a phyſician, who adminiſtered poiſon to his wounds. It is alſo related, that previous to his deceaſe he was informed by a woman that his brother had eſcaped, whereupon he declared that he ſhould die happy, ſince he ſhould leave a friend who would revenge his injuries.

The Parthians were highly incenſed againſt Antigonus on account of his incapacity to deliver the five hundred women, agreeable to the ſtipulation: the matter, however, was ſettled at Jeruſalem, and Hyrcanus was ſent in bonds to Parthia. Herod being ignorant of the death of his brother, judged that a ſum of money was the only means by which he could redeem him from the power of the avaricious barbarians; and therefore he determined upon a journey in order to ſolicit pecuniary aſſiſtance from Malichus, the king of Arabia, reſting his expectations of ſucceſs on the ancient friendſhip that had ſubſiſted between the Arabian and Antipater, his father, and propoſing to reſign the ſon of Phaſael, aged only ſeven years, as a ſecurity: and the Tyrians joined in the requeſt of Herod. But the unhappy fate of Phaſael diſappointed the laudable and generous intention of his brother; who conſidered his ſituation among the Parthians to be very precarious, ſince Malichus had commanded him to evacuate his dominions, on the pretext that the Parthians, by the agency of their ambaſſadors, had inſiſted on his being expelled the country: but the real cauſe of his ingratitude was a naturally illiberal and contracted mind, which would not permit him to acknowledge and acquit to the ſon the obligations he had incurred to the father. The people moſt

moſt eſteemed by Malichus were of abandoned diſpoſitions; and to their advice he paid the greateſt deference.

Finding that thoſe very circumſtances which he expected to procure him the friendſhip of the Arabians had made them his enemies, he ſent by the meſſengers a ſevere reply, and marched towards Ægypt. In the evening he joined a number of his people at a caſtle where he had left them on his journey, and on the following day he arrived at Rinocolura, where he received information of his brother's death, which proved exceedingly diſtreſſing. After paying a tribute of grief to the memory of his tenderly eſteemed brother and friend, he continued his march.

Malichus being now touched with remorſe for his barbarity, diſpatched meſſengers to ſolicit the return of Herod: but as he had by this time reached Peluſium, the Arabian was ſenſible of his ingratitude too late to repair the injury. He was refuſed the liberty of taking ſhipping at Peluſium: but, upon an application to the magiſtrates, they granted him permiſſion of taking what courſe he approved; and he ſailed for Alexandria. Cleopatra was at this time preparing for an important enterprize; and therefore, with a view to induce him to accept a military command, ſhe gave him a moſt honourable and magnificent reception upon his entrance into the city. Herod, however, was ſo deſirous of proceeding to Rome, that the earneſt entreaties of the queen, the extremity of the ſeaſon, and the danger of the ſeas, were not ſufficient to change his purpoſe. He embarked, and directed his courſe by the way of Pamphylia. During the voyage it was judged neceſſary, for the preſervation of the veſſel, to caſt the cargo into the ſea: however after encountering great difficulties, Herod landed at Rhodes, where he found public affairs in a very embarraſſed ſtate, on account of the war then prevailing with Caſſius. He was received in a generous manner by two friends, named Saphinias and Ptolemy: and though he was diſtreſſed for money, he procured a ſtrong veſſel to convey him to Brunduſium, whence he proceeded to Rome. Upon his arrival at Rome, he repaired to Anthony, hoping aſſiſtance from him on account of the friendly mannner in which he had lived with Antipater: he related to him an account of his friends and relations being beſieged in the caſtle of Maſſada, with the whole of the adventures of himſelf and his family; ſaying that he had undertaken a dangerous voyage in the extremity of winter for the purpoſe of paying his reſpects to, and ſupplicating the countenance of, the ancient friend of his father. A regard to the memory of Antipater, and a conſciouſneſs of Herod's worthineſs, determined Anthony, who had formerly conſtituted him tetrarch, now to relieve his great afflictions by promoting him to the ſovereignty of the Jews; and to this reſolution he was in ſome degree influenced by the averſion he entertained againſt Antigonus, whom he conſidered as a man of a violent and ſeditious temper, and one diſaffected to the ſtate of Rome. Notwithſtanding the generoſity of Anthony, Auguſtus proved a ſtill more active patron to Herod: in all converſation he dwelt with peculiar pleaſure on the exploits and great ſervices of Antipater in Ægypt, the friendſhip that had ſubſiſted between him and Cæſar, and the courage, integrity, and amiable diſpoſition of Herod.

A senate being assembled, at which Herod was present, Messala, and after him, Stratinus, expatiated on the great qualities of Antipater, commending his steady adherence to the interests of the Romans: and they represented Antigonus as a professed enemy to the state of Rome, in contempt of which he had even consented to accept the crown from the Parthians. These discourses greatly irritated the senate against Antigonus; and Anthony declared that, on account of the war with the Parthians, it would be highly advantageous to appoint Herod king of the Jews. He was by an unanimous voice, promoted to the sovereignty. Upon the rising of the senate, the consuls and other magistrates first departed to give orders respecting sacrifices, and deposit the decrees of the senate in the capitol. Herod went forth being attended by Cæsar on one side of him, and by Anthony on the other. Herod concluded the first day of his reign at a superb entertainment provided by Anthony.

CHAP. XII.

Massada besieged by Antigonus, and defended by Joseph. Herod joined by Ventidius and Silo. Joppa subdued and Massada relieved by Herod; who proceeds to Jerusalem, but is compelled to retreat. Herod quells a dangerous insurrection. Sephoris being deserted by the inhabitants, he takes possession of that city, and then conquers and plunders Jericho. He disperses the robbers, and then returns to Samaria. A terrible massacre of the Jews by Machærus. Somosata surrendered to Anthony.

DURING the above transactions at Rome*, Antigonus laid siege to the castle of Massada, where the people had a sufficient supply of all necessaries, excepting water, the want of which put them to such extremity, that Joseph, the brother of Herod, conceived a design of privately retreating from the castle by night, in company with two hundred of his most particular friends, in order to request the assistance of Malichus, who he had learnt repented his injurious treatment to Herod. When he was on the point of deserting the castle, abundance of rain descended, and replenished the reservoirs, cisterns and other vessels, and rendered his removal no longer necessary. Upon being thus seasonably relieved, the troops proceeded to make frequent sallies upon the besiegers, whom they sometimes openly opposed by day, and at other times surprized under favour of the night. In these actions they put a great number of the enemy to death; but they did not always escape without considerable injury to themselves.

In the interim, a Roman general, named Ventidius, being dispatched to chace the Parthians out of Syria, entered Judæa under the pretence of affording relief to Massada: but his real motive was to make booty of the treasure of Antigonus. After having considerably enriched himself, he departed from Jerusalem, in order to quell the tumults raised in several cities by the Parthians, leaving Silo with a small party of troops for the purpose of concealing his deception, for he was apprehensive, that by withdrawing the whole army,

* *Vide* Antiq. *l.* 14. *c.* 24, 25, 26, 27.

army, he ſhould incur the charge of having been influenced by motives of avarice. Upon the departure of Ventidius, Antigonus entertained hopes that he ſhould ſtill receive ſuccour from the Parthians; and he bribed Silo not to oppoſe his meaſures.

Herod, having now repaired from Rome to Ptolemais, collected a formidable army compoſed of people of his own country and ſtrangers. At the inſtance of Anthony, Dellius prevailed upon Ventidius and Silo to join Herod; and thus reinforced, he marched into Galilee to oppoſe Antigonus. During his march, he was daily joined by great numbers of people, and almoſt the whole number of inhabitants attached themſelves to his party. The firſt enterprize he reſolved to attempt was to relieve his relations and friends, who were beſieged in Maſſada: but previous to this he deemed it neceſſary to reduce Joppa, as he could not ſafely march towards Jeruſalem while the force of that city remained behind him. Silo at this time availed himſelf of an opportunity of abandoning Herod, and being purſued by the Jews of Antigonus's party, Herod, at the head of a ſmall number of troops, engaged and vanquiſhed them; and after a faint reſiſtance, brought Silo away.

Having ſubdued Joppa, Herod haſtened to the relief of Maſſada, and his army was ſtrengthened by the people of the country; ſome joining him from a regard to the memory of his father, ſome on his own account, others from the obligations they owed jointly to the father and ſon, and a ſtill greater number from the expectation of advancing their fame and fortune. Antigonus ſtationed ambuſhes, and purſued other meaſures, though with little ſucceſs, to intercept the march of Herod, who was now at the head of a very formidable army. The ſiege of Maſſada was, at length, raiſed without much difficulty to Herod, who, after relieving his friends, and getting his effects from the caſtle, proceeded towards Jeruſalem, where many of Silo's followers, and of the inhabitants of that great city, ſubmitted to his authority.

Herod encamped his troops on the weſt ſide of the town, and the enemy made frequent ſallies againſt him, and greatly annoyed his troops with their darts and arrows. He cauſed a herald to make a proclamation round the walls of the city, ſetting forth that he had no view in the preſent expedition but the ſecurity of the city, and the general welfare of the people; and propoſing an act of amneſty to his enemies of every denomination whatever. Antigonus adopted every probable means for preventing the declaration of the herald from being heard by the multitude: at length he gave orders for battle, and the ſoldiers ſtationed in the towers diſcharged immenſe numbers of lances and darts, and repulſed the aſſailants.

The corruption of Silo now became indiſputably evident: the ſoldiers loudly complained of wanting proviſions and money; that the country had been ravaged by Antigonus; and that they were deſtitute of winter quarters. Public affairs bore ſo threatening an aſpect that Herod judged it prudent to apply to Silo's officers, and to the common ſoldiers, with a view to prevent a revolt. He repreſented to them that he had received his commiſſion from Cæſar, Anthony, and the ſenate; and requeſted that they would patiently wait one day, on which condition all their demands ſhould be ſatisfied. He

gave orders for ſupplies of proviſions, which were immediately ſent to the people in great abundance; and Silo was, therefore, left without farther cauſe of complaint. Herod, in order to guard againſt a ſcarcity in future, wrote for cattle, corn, oil, wine, and other neceſſaries to be conveyed from Samaria, which was then under his protection. Antigonus diſperſed troops in ambuſhes among the paſſes of the mountains, in order to intercept the conveyance of proviſion to Herod's army.

In the interim, Herod, with five companies of Romans, five of Jews, and a ſmall party of horſe, proceeded towards Jericho. He found the city entirely abandoned, and that five hundred of the inhabitants, with their wives and families, had ſought refuge among the mountains; and theſe people he took, but afterwards ſet them free. After ſtationing a garriſon in the town, and appointing the Roman troops to winter-quarters in Idumæa, Galilee, and Samaria, Herod returned. Antigonus, by means of preſents prevailed upon Silo to permit a part of his army to be quartered in Lydda, imagining that he ſhould thereby obtain the favour of Anthony. The Romans were now happy in the enjoyment of a ſtate of perfect tranquility, and an abundance of all the neceſſaries of life. But Herod, naturally averſe to a ſtate of inactivity, diſpatched an army compoſed of four hundred cavalry, and two thouſand infantry, under the command of his brother Joſeph, for the purpoſe of fortifying Idumæa againſt any future attempt of Antigonus; and, after accompanying his mother and other relations, whom he had reſcued from the caſtle of Maſſada, to Samaria, he left them there in a ſtate of ſecurity, and proceeded to aſſault the garriſons that Antigonus poſſeſſed in the province of Galilee. He arrived at Sepphoris during a great fall of ſnow, and the place being immediately abandoned by the garriſon, he took poſſeſſion of it, and finding proviſions exceedingly plentiful, he remained there three months, during which ſpace he greatly refreſhed his troops after the fatigues of the winter. He now determined to exterminate the numerous banditti who took refuge in the caverns, and by frequent incurſions committed greater devaſtation than the country would have ſuſtained from an open war. He diſpatched a body of horſe and three companies of foot to Arbela, to which place, at the end of forty days, Herod went in perſon at the head of the remaining part of his army. The robbers collected themſelves into a body, and repoſing great confidence in the military qualifications of their chief, with undaunted reſolution prepared for an engagement. The right wing of the banditti put the left wing of Herod's army to the rout: but at a ſeaſonable moment he wheeled to the relief of the troops who were in danger of a defeat, and the enemy were not able to withſtand his ſuperior power; he purſued them to the Jordan, and in their flight put great numbers to death; the reſt eſcaped by croſſing the river. Thus was Galilee delivered from the robbers, but as ſome few of the fraterni y ſtill remained concealed in the caves, Herod did not quit the country immediately.

That his ſoldiers might enjoy the firſt fruits of their ſervices, he ordered one hundred and fifty drachmas to be given to each private man, and proportionate rewards to the officers: and he then ordered his troops into winter quarters. He commiſſioned Pheroras, his youngeſt brother, to furniſh proviſions,

viſions, and to encloſe Alexandrion with a wall: and his commands were obeyed with punctuality.

Ventidius ſent advices to Herod and Silo, ſignifying, that when the affairs of Judæa ſhould no longer require their preſence, they ſhould join Anthony, who was then at Athens, in the war againſt the Parthians. Though Herod could have retained Silo, he permitted him to depart; determining himſelf not to leave the province till he had cleared it of the robbers who ſtill were concealed in the rocks. The caverns were ſituated among the craggs of the moſt horrible precipices, and were only to be entered by the moſt intricate windings. The hiding-places appearing to be inacceſſible, it was not without difficulty that the king reſolved upon the means of executing his deſign. At length he adopted the following expedient: he cauſed ſtrong caſes or cheſts of wood to be formed, and a number of ſoldiers therein to be lowered from the top of the mountain to the entrances of the caverns where the robbers were ſheltered: from theſe cheſts the ſoldiers, by means of their weapons and fire, put the thieves to death. Herod being deſirous that ſome of the robbers ſhould be ſaved, ordered a herald to make proclamation that the lives of thoſe who ſurrendered ſhould be preſerved: but they all rejected the offer, and even thoſe who were made priſoners, preferring death to the loſs of liberty, put an end to their lives. The wife and ſeven ſons of an aged man earneſtly entreated his permiſſion to ſurrender themſelves to the enemy. Hereupon he poſted himſelf at the entrance of the cave, and, ordering them to follow each other out, as they appeared he put them to death. From an eminence Herod beheld this ſhocking ſcene, and being greatly affected, he endeavoured by ſigns and entreaties to divert the man from his purpoſe, but without effect; after he had ſlain his ſons, he ſubjected his wife to the ſame fate, caſting the bodies down the rock: he then upbraided Herod as being a man of an abject mind, and put a period to his exiſtence.

Having driven the robbers from their retreat, Herod left a number of troops, under the command of Ptolemy, to prevent a revolt, and returned to Samaria. With an army of three thouſand foot, armed with bucklers, and ſix hundred horſe, Herod now marched againſt Antigonus. The inſurgents of Galilee, taking advantage of Herod's abſence, attacked Ptolemy by ſurprize, and put him to death; after which they committed great devaſtation in the country, and fled to the marſhy grounds and other places for ſhelter. Upon gaining intelligence of theſe events, Herod marched againſt the rioters, put great numbers of them to the ſword, relieved the caſtles which they had blocked up, and levied a fine of an hundred talents upon the cities.

The Parthians being vanquiſhed in a great battle, wherein Pacorus was ſlain, Anthony commanded Ventidius to ſend a reinforcement to Herod of two legions and a thouſand horſe, under the command of Machærus. Antigonus wrote to Machærus an account of the indignities he had received from Herod, offering a large ſum of money on condition of ſupporting him in the war: but in conſideration of his being recommended to the oppoſite party, whom he judged would prove the more liberal benefactor, Machærus declined the propoſal: and contrary to the advice of Herod, he determined to aſſume the appearance of friendſhip, and under the pretext of negotiating the propoſed

propoſed treaty, to reconnoitre the ſtate and diſpoſition of Antigonus's army. But Antigonus ſuſpecting his deſign, refuſed him admittance to the city, and annoyed him with darts and arrows. Machærus was ſo diſconcerted by this repulſe that he retreated to Ammaus*, and in the violence of his rage put to death all the Jews he met with, regardleſs of their being either friends or enemies.

Theſe barbarous outrages ſo exaſperated Herod, that he determined to execute vengeance upon Machærus, and treat him as a profeſſed enemy: but upon reflection he deemed it moſt expedient to ſubmit his complaint to Anthony. Upon the departure of Herod, being conſcious of the enormity of his offence, Machærus haſtened after him, and by means of ſubmiſſions and the moſt earneſt entreaties effected a reconciliation. Herod, however, ſtill held his reſolution of going to Anthony; and learning that he was then with a powerful army engaged in the ſiege of Samoſata, a city of conſiderable ſtrength, ſituated upon the Euphrates, he was induced to proceed with the greater expedition; for he conſidered this as a favourable opportunity of acquiring the friendſhip of Anthony by a ſeaſonable diſplay of his fidelity and reſolution. The reduction of the place was accelerated by the arrival of Herod, who committed a great ſlaughter upon the barbarians; and a conſiderable portion of the ſpoil became his property. This inſtance of Herod's attachment and intrepidity ſerved greatly to encreaſe the eſteem that Anthony entertained towards him; and it acquired him great honour, and inſpired the hope that he ſhould be able firmly to eſtabliſh himſelf in his government.

CHAP. XIII.

The death of Joſeph. Great alterations in the ſtate of public affairs, conſequent on the ſucceſs of Antigonus. Anthony appoints Soſius governor of Syria. Herod has a fore-boding dream; and is three times miraculouſly delivered from the moſt imminent danger. In revenge for the death of his brother Joſeph, Herod orders Pappus to be beheaded. Jeruſalem ſubdued by aſſault. Antigonus ſent bound to Anthony, and condemned to the loſs of his head. The avaricious temper of Cleopatra.

DURING the above occurrences†, an unhappy change took place in the affairs of Judæa, which country Herod had left under the government of his brother Joſeph, with a ſtrict injunction againſt attempting any enterprize againſt Antigonus; for on account of the former conduct of Machærus, he entertained doubts of his fidelity, and was unwilling to afford him an opportunity of betraying Joſeph. When his brother had departed, however, Joſeph, regardleſs of the orders he had received, marched his own troops, and five companies of horſe, provided by Machærus, towards Jericho, in order to carry away the corn, which had then arrived to perfection. He encamped on the mountains, where he was attacked by the enemy, who having greatly the advantage in point of ſituation, cut off the five companies of Roman cavalry, who had been lately raiſed in Syria, there being among them no

* Al. Emmaus.

† *Vide* Ant. *l.* 14. *c.* 27. *l.* 15. *c.* 1, 5.

no veteran troops to make amends for their deficiency in point of diſcipline, ſkill and experience. In this action Joſeph was ſlain by Pappus; he was eſteemed a man of great courage, and other military qualifications.

Not ſatisfied with victory, the brutality of Antigonus's diſpoſition urged him to inſult the body with blows, and to ſever the head of the deceaſed Joſeph, notwithſtanding Pheroras offered fifty talents in conſideration of the body of his brother being ſuffered to remain entire. The ſucceſs of Antigonus produced a great change in the affairs of Galilee: the adherents of Antigonus drowned the moſt conſiderable people among the Herodians in the lake: and in Idumæa there was alſo a conſiderable revolution; in that country Machærus rebuilt the walls and fortified the caſtle of Gath.

Herod was wholly ignorant of theſe events for ſome time. Upon the reduction of Samoſata, Anthony appointed Soſius to the government of Syria, commanding him to ſupport Herod in the war againſt Antigonus, and then directed his courſe towards Ægypt. Having diſpatched two companies to join Herod in Judæa, he followed with the reſt of his troops. Herod being at a place called Daphne, in the ſuburbs of Antioch, he had a dream, which he underſtood to fore-bode the death of his brother: being affected by the viſion, he leaped from his bed, and at that inſtant meſſengers entered his chamber, with news of the unhappy fate of Joſeph. When the violence of his grief had in ſome meaſure ſubſided, he proceeded with incredible expedition to ſeek revenge upon the enemy. Attended by one Roman cohort, he arrived at mount Libanus, and thence taking eight hundred of the inhabitants, departed in the night, directing his march towards Galilee. He came up with the enemy, put them to flight, and obliged them to retire into a caſtle which they had quitted on the preceeding day. He beſieged the place, but was, at length, under the neceſſity, on account of the approach of winter, of ſheltering his forces in an adjacent village. In a few days Herod's army was reinforced by another company from Anthony; and the arrival of theſe troops threw the garriſon into ſo great a conſternation, that, under favour of the night, they eſcaped from the caſtle.

Burning with impatience to avenge the death of Joſeph, Herod now proceeded with all poſſible expedition towards Jericho, where he was ſo miraculouſly preſerved from impending deſtruction that he muſt appear to have been an object of the peculiar care of Providence. He had given a ſupper to a number of perſons of diſtinction, and the company had no ſooner departed, and Herod retired, than the roof of the eating-room fell in. Conſidering this wonderful and auſpicious eſcape as a cautionary preſage, he marched away at an early hour in the morning. About ſix thouſand of the enemy deſcended from the mountains, and engaged in a ſkirmiſh with his vanguard; but dreading a cloſe encounter with the Romans, they ventured only to aſſail them at a diſtance with ſtones and arrows, by which many were wounded, and as Herod himſelf was paſſing he received a hurt in his ſide by a random dart.

Antigonus being ambitious of the reputation of having a more numerous and courageous army than Herod, diſpatched a body of troops, under the

command of a man named Pappus, who was his intimate friend, in order to subdue Machærus. In the interim, Herod conquered five towns, committed great devastation in the enemy's country, and put two thousand of the inhabitants to death; after which he returned to his army, which was encamped adjacent to the village of Cana. He was daily joined by great numbers of Jews from Jericho and other parts; many being influenced by a respect to Herod, others by an aversion to Antigonus, and some merely by the love of change. Herod was exceedingly anxious to proceed to battle; and the adverse army marched against him with great resolution; and such as were not opposed to the troops under the conduct of Herod, made a bold resistance; but wherever he engaged, the enemy were made fatally sensible of his great superiority, to such extraordinary activity and courage was he animated by the thirst of vengeance for the death of his brother. Where Herod observed the enemy in a body, he broke in upon them with surprizing fury, threw them into disorder and constantly put them to the rout. Pappus's army was thrown into the most extreme confusion; great numbers sought refuge in the town they had before quitted, where being pursued by Herod, the buildings were instantly filled, and the roofs of them covered by the fugitives: the houses were destroyed, and those who escaped meeting their fate under the ruins were put to death by the sword. The slaughter was so great, that it was with much difficulty the victors were able to march over the heaps of dead bodies that covered all the streets and avenues of the place. On this occasion the people of the country experienced feelings terrible beyond all powers of description. Elated by this success, Herod would have led his victorious troops immediately to Jerusalem, had not that expedition been rendered impracticable by the rigour of the winter season; which was the only obstacle to his obtaining a compleat conquest, and effectually ruining Antigonus, who was at that time actually making preparations for abandoning the capital of the kingdom.

In the evening Herod dismissed his people in order to recruit their strength and spirits after the fatigue of the battle; and the king retired to refresh himself by bathing, attended only by one domestic. In his way to the bath he was met by three soldiers following each other, with drawn swords in their hands, who, upon perceiving the king, fled in the utmost consternation from the house where they had taken shelter. Happily the king was not molested by these people, whose whole attention was engrossed upon preserving their own lives, which they effected, there being no persons near to prevent their escape. On the following day Herod caused the head of Pappus, Antigonus's general, by whom Joseph had been slain, to be struck off; and he sent the head to Pheroras, with a view to afford him some degree of consolation for the common loss they had sustained in the death of their brother.

Upon the return of spring, Herod marched to Jerusalem, and deemed it expedient to assault the place in that quarter where Ptolemy had formerly made a successful attempt. This siege was commenced in the third year after he had been proclaimed king at Rome. He assigned the officers their respective stations and duties; nominated each man to a post in the suburbs; ordered three ramparts to be raised, and towers to be erected thereon. Having given the necessary

ceſſary commiſſions to perſons in whoſe diligence and integrity he could ſafely confide, Herod repaired to Samaria, in order to engage in a matrimonial alliance with Mariamne, daughter of Ariſtobulus, the ſon of Alexander, to whom he had been ſome time contracted; and on this occaſion he evinced the contempt he entertained for his enemies by proſecuting the ſiege and a matrimonial negotiation at the ſame time, thereby intimating, that they were not ſufficiently formidable to cauſe him to protract the celebration of his nuptials.

After his marriage Herod returned to Jeruſalem with conſiderable reinforcements; and he was joined by a body of Roman horſe and foot, under the command of Soſius, who had directed the greateſt part of his forces to march through the midland country, while, with the remainder, he took his courſe by the way of Phœnicia. The army upon a general muſter was found to amount to eleven regiments, and ſix thouſand horſe; excluſive of a conſiderable body of Syrian auxiliares. The aſſault was made upon the northern quarter of the place. Herod founded his right upon the decree of the Roman ſenate, by which he had been conſtituted king; and Soſius urged that he was authorized by the commiſſion of Anthony to ſupport Herod in the war.

The utmoſt conſternation prevailed among the Jews in the city: great numbers of them aſſembled about the temple, lamented their unhappy fate, and, in a ſtyle of enthuſiaſm, ſpoke of matters which they ſuppoſed to predict future calamities; thoſe who poſſeſſed more courage paraded the town and places adjacent, ſeizing all the articles which were proper for the ſupport of the people, horſes, and other cattle. In the mean time the ſoldiers were buſily employed in counteracting the operations of the aſſailants. Herod ſtationed ambuſhes to ſurprize the people who were ravaging the country, and cauſed proviſions to be brought from diſtant parts for the ſervice of his army. The Jews encountered every danger with the greateſt alacrity, and, fearleſs of death, ſuſtained a moſt reſolute defence: but it muſt be acknowledged that they were ſurpaſſed by the Romans in point of military ſkill and addreſs. By mining, in which they greatly excelled, and by ſurpriſes, they frequently put the aſſailants to diſadvantage when it was leaſt expected; when their fortifications had ſuffered any injury, they made the neceſſary reparations with ſurprizing diligence: and, in ſhort, with undaunted reſolution they oppoſed fatigue, danger, and difficulty, firmly perſiſting in their determination to defend themſelves in the laſt extremity. After Herod's immenſe army had continued the ſiege for the ſpace of nine months, a breach was made, and a ſelect party of his moſt reſolute troops, ſeconded by ſome of Soſius's centurions, mounted the wall, and effected an entrance into the city. They immediately ſurrounded the temple: and in the mean time the reſt of the army arrived, and a general maſſacre enſued: no reſpect was paid to either ſex or age, nor were even the lives of thoſe ſpared who ſought refuge in the temple: the buildings and ſtreets were encumbered with mangled carcaſſes. Herod enjoined his people, on their allegiance, to with-hold their rage: but they were ſo irritated by the hardſhips they had ſuſtained during the ſiege, that, abandoning every ſentiment of humanity,

they ſtill continued the ſlaughter; and death triumphed in his moſt horrid forms.

The conduct of Antigonus was unworthy his exalted ſtation: he deſcended from the tower called Baris, and meanly caſt himſelf at the feet of Soſius, who, while he remained in the diſgraceful poſture, upbraided him by ſaying that, inſtead of Antigonus, he ſhould in future be called Antigona; notwithſtanding the effeminacy of his behaviour, however, he was not treated as a woman, but put in chains and retained a priſoner.

Though Herod had gained a compleat victory over his enemies, he had ſtill great difficulties to encounter; for from a curioſity to ſee the things dedicated to God, the foreign auxiliaries violently crouded into the temple; and as entreaties and menaces proved ineffectual, he was under the neceſſity of uſing force to repreſs their inſolence; for he deemed it neceſſary to diſappoint their deſigns, ſince if conqueſt was to prove the cauſe of the ſacred privacies being expoſed to common view, it would be a more unhappy event than a defeat.

Herod being reſolved that the city ſhould not be plundered, informed Soſius that, if the treaſure was ſeized and the town depopulated, he ſhould be the ſovereign of a deſert; and that he would not purchaſe the government of the univerſe at the expence of ſacrificing the lives of his ſubjects. Soſius replied that after what the troops had undergone, they would naturally expect ſome part of the pillage. Herod admitted the force of Soſius's plea, and declared that every man ſhould be duly recompenſed out of his own private fortune. According to his promiſe, the king rewarded the private ſoldiers, and the officers, in proportion to their reſpective ſtations and deſerts; and he preſented Soſius with gifts worthy the regal character: in ſhort, the liberality and munificence which he diſplayed on this occaſion afforded univerſal ſatisfaction. Having dedicated a crown of gold to the Almighty, the Roman general departed from Jeruſalem, taking with him Antigonus in bonds, in order to deliver him up to Anthony. Even to his laſt moment Antigonus flattered himſelf with the hopes of preſerving his life: but his expectations were diſappointed, for he was ſentenced to the loſs of his head.

The conqueſt of Jeruſalem having eſtabliſhed Herod in the ſovereignty of Judæa, he diſtinguiſhed thoſe who had eſpouſed his intereſts from the friends of Antigonus; he treated the former with great honour and reſpect, and cauſed great numbers of the others to be put to death. Being deficient in ready money, he ſent articles of value to Anthony and other particular friends: but he was not able by theſe means to eſtabliſh himſelf in a ſtate of ſecurity; for Anthony had conceived ſo violent a paſſion for Cleopatra that he had not power to deny her moſt unreaſonable requeſts. This ambitious princeſs had exerciſed her cruelty ſo extenſively among her kindred that not one now remained: and her unbounded avarice prompted her to direct her vengeance againſt ſtrangers. As the means of poſſeſſing herſelf of their wealth, ſhe calumniated the moſt reſpectable people, and prevailed upon Anthony to put them to death: to gratify her extravagant views, ſhe meditated the deſtruction of the Jews and Arabians, and proceeded ſo far as to ſolicit Anthony to deſtroy

deſtroy Herod and Malichus*, the kings of thoſe people. Anthony pretended that he would comply: but to take away the lives of two virtuous princes, of whoſe conduct he had not the leaſt cauſe of complaint, appeared to be an act of ſo heinous a nature that he could not reflect on it without horror: but he ſo far yielded to her interceſſion as to diſcontinue his friendſhip, and to deprive them of a conſiderable part of their territories, particularly the lands of Jericho, highly celebrated for the production of Palm-trees and balſam, and, excepting Tyre and Sidon, all the cities upon the river Eleutherus, which he preſented to Cleopatra; who, when he engaged in an expedition againſt the Parthians, accompanied him as far as the Euphrates, whence by the way of Apamia and Damaſcus, ſhe repaired into Judæa.

Though Herod had already parted with conſiderable ſums, her avarice was ſtill unſatisfied, and ſhe exacted from him an annual income of two hundred talents iſſuing out of the revenue of Judæa; and treating her with great deference and reſpect, he conducted her to Peluſium. In a ſhort time Anthony returned from the Parthian war, bringing with him Artabazes †, the ſon of Tigranes; and this priſoner, with the whole booty he had obtained, he preſented to Cleopatra.

CHAP. XIV.

The artful and treacherous diſpoſition of Cleopatra; ſhe diverts Herod from aſſiſting Anthony. Herod defeats the Syrians: but is after routed by the Arabians. A great number of cattle, and thirty thouſand people ſwallowed up by an earthquake in Judæa. Several Jewiſh ambaſſadors put to death. Herod pronounces an animating exhortation to his troops. He encounters and ſubdues the Arabians, who elect him their protector.

HEROD‡ having recovered Hyrcania§ from the ſiſter of Antigonus, and his kingdom being in a ſtate of perfect tranquillity, he reſolved to join Anthony in proſecuting the war declared between him and Auguſtus. But Cleopatra, who from the deſire of obtaining their poſſeſſions, entertained an implacable enmity againſt all kings, fruſtrated the intention of Herod, whoſe generous conduct ſhe apprehended might encreaſe his intereſt with Anthony. She prevailed upon Anthony to engage Herod in the Parthian war, flattering herſelf that if he proved victorious, ſhe ſhould gain the ſovereignty of Arabia, and that of Judæa if he was vanquiſhed.

The queen, however, was the involuntary cauſe of great advantage to Herod; who having collected a very formidable troop of horſe, they, by the command of their king marched againſt and aſſaulted the Syrians in the neighbourhood of Dioſpolis, and, after they had made a brave reſiſtance, compleatly vanquiſhed them. In conſequence of this defeat an

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* Μάλιχος, Joſ. *Malichus.* † Al. Artabaſdes. ‡ *Vide* Ant. l. 15. c. 6, 7, 8.
§ Al. Hyrcanion.

immenſe Arabian army was encamped at Canatha*, in Cœle-Syria, in order to wait the arrival of Herod; who, upon obſerving their great ſtrength, deemed a more than uſual precaution to be neceſſary; and therefore he commanded his camp to be encloſed by a wall. Their late victory had animated Herod's troops to ſuch impatience for battle that they could not be perſuaded to reſtrain their impetuoſity during the time that would have been occupied in erecting the wall. The armies joined battle, and on the firſt aſſault the Arabians were put to flight: but an officer in Cleopatra's ſervice, named Athenion, who had been long an inveterate enemy to Herod, leading a body of Canathenes to the relief of the fugitives, they reſumed their courage, and returned to the charge, routed the Herodians, purſued them through woods and other places of difficult paſſage, and put great numbers of them to death. Some of Herod's people eſcaped to a neighbouring village called Ormiza, where they were ſurrounded by the enemy, who alſo took poſſeſſion of the camp, and made priſoners of the men therein. In a ſhort time Herod arrived with reinforcements, but the injury being already ſuſtained, his preſence was of no avail. The diſobedience of Herod's troops was the only cauſe of their defeat: for had not they precipitately urged to an engagement, Athenion would have had no opportunity of relieving the Arabians. Herod made repeated incurſions and ſurprizes upon the Arabians, and by many ſmall victories gained ample compenſation for the capital defeat his army had ſuſtained.

At the beginning of ſpring in the ſeventh year of Herod's reign, during the height of the war at Actium, his ſucceſſes were interrupted by a moſt dreadful earthquake, which ſwallowed up thirty thouſand people, and cattle innumerable; the army, that was then encamped in the field, eſcaped this judicial calamity, which, though ſufficiently terrible in itſelf, was magnified by report; and the Arabians, imagining Judæa to be utterly ruined, cheriſhed the flattering idea that no difficulty would attend poſſeſſing themſelves of a province, which had not a ſufficient number of inhabitants to ſuſtain a defence: and after having put to death the ambaſſadors who had been ſent to them from the Jews, they advanced into Judæa, in the full confidence of gaining poſſeſſion of that country. The Jews, whoſe ſpirits were greatly depreſſed by their late calamities, were thrown into the moſt terrible conſternation by the appearance of the Arabians: with a view to revive their fortitude and courage, Herod addreſſed his people to the following effect:

" It is certainly reaſonable to lament the afflictions we ſuffer from an " offended God: but I muſt obſerve, that, from a dread of the power of man, " to ſink into deſpondency argues a degree of puſillanimity unworthy the " character you have hitherto maintained. Notwithſtanding our late cala- " mity, I am ſo far from conſidering our enemies as objects of fear, that I am " inclined to ſuppoſe the ſhocking event was intended by providence as a " temptation to draw the Parthians into our power, that we may take ven- " geance for our numerous wrongs: they do not depend on the number or " courage of their troops, but reſt all their hopes of ſucceſs in the idea of " our being reduced to a ſtate of miſery. What hopes can be more deceiv- " ing

* In the Ant. Cana, l. 15. c. 6.

" ing than thoſe which wholly rely on the diſtreſſes of our adverſaries, in-
" ſtead of being founded on our own virtues? In human affairs nothing can
" be more uncertain than ſucceſs and adverſity; in evidence of this aſſertion
" it is only neceſſary to mention the late engagement: we were elated with
" the idea of a compleat victory, and the next hour ſubjected to the mercy of
" the enemy. The foundation of your fear is to me an aſſurance of ſucceſs;
" for great confidence renders people unwary. Our defeat is to be attributed
" to your inconſiderate and raſh behaviour in attacking the enemy contrary
" to order, which afforded Athenion the opportunity of turning the event of
" the battle in favour of his friends. Our deliberations are now conducted
" with judgment and temper; and hence we may reaſonably entertain the
" hope of victory. Let us preſerve our ſpirit till we come into the field,
" and then proceed to convince the iniquitous foe that our reputation is in-
" finitely dearer to us than our lives: let us bravely encounter every danger
" and difficulty rather than yield to the Arabians, whom we have ſo fre-
" quently ſubjected to our power.

" But whence this conſternation on account of the earthquake? Such con-
" tentions of the elements ariſe in the common courſe of nature, and are to
" be conſidered in themſelves as calamities, and not as the preſages of miſ-
" fortune. Signs may, perhaps, appear to predict peſtilence, famine, or
" earthquakes; but when theſe events arrive, the more violent they are, the
" ſhorter is their duration. Suppoſe we do not ſucceed in this war, can our
" ſufferings be greater than thoſe we experienced from the earthquake?
" What fate but ruin can thoſe people expect who, in violation of the laws of
" God and man, have barbarouſly murdered our ambaſſadors, and impiouſly
" offered ſacrifices to the deity on occaſion of their victory? Can theſe be-
" trayers of public faith hope to eſcape the vengeance of an enraged God?
" Let them rather tremble at the impending deſtruction that, animated by
" the glorious ſpirit of our anceſtors, we ſhall ſpeedily hurl upon them.
" Re-aſſume your courage, my brave friends and brother-warriors, and let
" us proceed, not to defend our wives, children, or country, but to avenge
" the death of our ambaſſadors: the very idea of fighting in the cauſe of
" thoſe murdered heroes will animate us to greater exploits than the utmoſt
" efforts of the ſurviving commanders. Chearfully follow where I lead,
" and I ſhall be ſatisfied. But one caution, however, is neceſſary: be not
" raſh and precipitate; and rely on my aſſurance, victory will be the re-
" ward of our bravery."

Herod obſerving that his exhortation had raiſed the ſpirits of his people, immediately performed ſacrifice, and, croſſing the river Jordan, encamped his army at Philadelphia, at no great diſtance from the enemy. Between the armies was a caſtle, of which the contending parties were equally deſirous to gain poſſeſſion. A party of the Arabians attempted to gain the caſtle; but without much difficulty they were repulſed by the Herodians, who afterwards took poſſeſſion of the hill. Herod daily arranged his men in order of battle, and took every poſſible method to provoke the enemy to an engagement. In point of numbers the Arabians had the ſuperiority, but the Jews were by far the moſt intrepid people. A general conſternation prevailed in

the Arabian army, and Altemus, the general, was particularly alarmed. Being unable to draw them out, Herod attacked the enemy in their intrenchments, and threw them into the moſt extreme diſorder. During the battle the ſlaughter was not great; but Herod proving victorious, great numbers of the enemy were ſlain in the purſuit, and others being trampled to death by their own people, the loſs of men amounted to five thouſand, and the reſt were driven into the camp, where they were ſoon ſurrounded and beſieged by Herod. Being in great diſtreſs from a want of water, they ſent ambaſſadors to offer Herod fifty talents, on condition of his putting a period to the war: but he treated the ambaſſadors with the utmoſt contempt, not condeſcending to hear the terms they were commiſſioned to propoſe. Their thirſt, at length, became ſo intolerable, that in the ſpace of five days four thouſand of them ſurrendered to the Jews, and they were put into bonds: and on the ſixth day, in the extremity of deſpair, the reſt urged the Jews to an encounter, in which ſeven thouſand of the Arabians were ſlain. Thus was Herod's revenge gratified: and his adverſaries were ſo effectually humbled, that they ſupplicated him to become their protector.

CHAP. XV.

The generous declaration of Herod on occaſion of the defeat of Anthony at Actium. The liberality of Cæſar towards Herod. Auguſtus ſplendidly entertained by Herod. Herod is confirmed in his government, which is conſiderably enlarged. He is appointed governor of Syria. The character of Herod.

THE joy conſequent on Herod's ſucceſs* was greatly abated by his receiving intelligence of the defeat of Anthony at Actium: but the cauſe of his apprehenſion was not ſo deſperate as he imagined; for Cæſar could not entertain the idea that Anthony would be entirely ruined while Herod remained attached to his intereſt. While affairs were in this ſituation, Herod went to Rhodes, and, being in the habit of a private man, but ſtill preſerving an air of dignity, thus addreſſed himſelf to Cæſar:

" I acknowledge, great prince! that I am indebted to Anthony for the " regal ſtate I at preſent enjoy: and had I not been engaged in the war a- " gainſt the Arabians, I would have manifeſted my gratitude by joining my " forces to thoſe of my benefactor: however, as far as my ſituation would " permit, I ſupplied him with ſoldiers and proviſions. Notwithſtanding the " unfortunate event at Actium, I ſtill entertain for Anthony the greateſt " warmth of friendſhip, and venerate him as a generous patron. Though I " could neither attend him in perſon, or ſo effectually ſupply him with men " and arms as I was inclined to do, yet I gave him advice that, had he pur- " ſued it, would have been of more material ſervice: I urged him to aban- " don Cleopatra, ſaying, that while his connection with her ſubſiſted, he " would be in continual danger. On condition of his compliance, I pro- " miſed him money, troops, places of ſtrength, and even to take an active " part in the war; but his infatuation for the queen co-operated with the ſe-

" cret

* *Vide* Ant. l. 15. c. 9, 10, 11, 12.

" cret purpoſes of providence to effect his ruin. My own fate, mighty Cæ-
" ſar! is involved in that of Anthony. I have reſigned the regal character
" in conſequence of his ruin. And only as an honeſt man, faithfully at-
" tached to your intereſts, I form my pretentions to your favour and
" friendſhip."

To this addreſs Cæſar replied to the following purpoſe: " Preſerve the ſo-
" vereignty which you have hitherto enjoyed with ſo much honour; and ſtill
" be happy: and reſt aſſured that your crown ſhall be ſtill more ſafely ſe-
" cured to you; for the man who is capable of ſuch exalted friendſhip,
" muſt neceſſarily be qualified for the ſovereign authority. Let your friend-
" ſhip for the ſucceſsful be as ſteady as it has been to the unfortunate; and
" from the natural dignity of your mind I ſhall promiſe myſelf great advan-
" tages. I can ſcarcely cenſure Anthony for rejecting your counſel reſpect-
" ing Cleopatra, ſince it is to that act of imprudence that I am indebted for
" the proofs I have received of your friendſhip. I bear in recollection the
" ſervices you rendered me by ſending ſuccours to Ventidius againſt Antho-
" ny's gladiators; and I muſt confeſs that therein you anticipated my deſign.
" Be happy in the aſſurance that you ſhall be confirmed in the poſſeſſion of
" your kingdom; and that my friendſhip will amply compenſate for your
" unhappineſs on account of Anthony."

Cæſar enjoined Herod to rely on the ſincerity of his friendſhip; and, plac-
ing the crown upon his head, confirmed him in the ſovereignty by an act of
the ſenate. Having made valuable preſents to Cæſar, in order to diſpoſe his
mind to favour, Herod ſolicited the pardon of one of his friends, named
Alexander: but Cæſar being highly enraged againſt the man, declared that
the offences he had committed were too enormous to be excuſed.

When Cæſar was paſſing through Syria into Ægypt, Herod received him
at Ptolemais with a magnificence truly aſtoniſhing; and while the emperor
was reviewing his troops, he cauſed Herod to ride in company with him.
The emperor, his friends, and the whole army were entertained by Herod
with the greateſt plenty and regularity, and with a degree of ſplendor that
can ſcarcely be conceived: and he furniſhed a ſupply of water at Peluſium,
and other places where that element was ſcarce, and provided the army with
the utenſils neceſſary for common uſe. This unbounded generoſity cauſed
Auguſtus and his whole army to acknowledge that the kingdom of Judæa
was not adequate to the capacious mind of Herod.

Upon the arrival of Cæſar in Ægypt, both Anthony and Cleopatra being
deceaſed, he gave to Herod four hundred Gauls, who had ſerved as the
guards of the late queen, and annexed to his kingdom that part of Judæa
which Anthony had aſſigned to her, containing Gadara, Hippon, Samaria,
and the maritime cities of Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and the tower of Stra-
ton. Auguſtus beſtowed great additional honours upon Herod, proportion-
ing his rewards according to the approved merits of the king; to whoſe com-
mand he ſubjected the provinces of Trachon and Batanæa, and on the follow-
ing occaſion annexed Auranitis to his juriſdiction: a man named Zenodo-
rus, who inhabited a houſe hired of Liſanias, made a practice of ſending peo-

ple to commit depredations in Damascus; the people of which country represented to Varus, who was then governor of Syria, the oppressions they endured, supplicating redress, and urging that he would report their case to Cæsar. Varus complied with their request, and being commissioned by the emperor to suppress the robbers, he extirminated them the land, and confiscated part of the estate of Zenodorus, which Cæsar bestowed upon Herod; whom he appointed governor of all Syria.

Ten years afterwards Augustus came again into that province, when he enjoined the governors to consult Herod in all affairs of importance: and Zenodorus being now deceased, he gave to Herod all the land between Trachon and Galilee. Herod valued himself, above all other circumstances, on that of possessing the next place to Agrippa in the esteem of Cæsar, and being respected by Agrippa above all men, excepting Cæsar. Herod was blessed with the enjoyment of every advantage that could contribute to the happiness of life; and his mind became exalted in proportion to the advancement of his fortune.

CHAP. XVI.

Herod repairs the temple, and builds divers superb edifices. His great and various dedications. The bounty of Cæsar to Herod. Straton's tower repaired, and a superb palace constructed. Description of a port between Dora and Joppa. Herod's benevolence. His excellent endowments.

IN the fifteenth year of his sovereignty over the Jews*, Herod, at an immense expence, rebuilt the temple in a style of the utmost magnificence that can be conceived. The building was surrounded with superb galleries, raised from the foundation, and adjoining to the northern side a castle was constructed, which in point of grandeur and elegance was not inferior even to the royal palace; and, in honour of Anthony, Herod named this place Antonia. He enlarged the inclosure about the temple to double its former extent. Upon an eminence that commanded a view of the city he erected two spacious buildings, and they were executed in so rich and splendid a manner that there was no temple deserving to be put in competition with them. In honour of his illustrious friends, Cæsar and Agrippa, he called these structures Cæsarion and Agrippion.

It was not to particular buildings that Herod confined himself; for, to immortalize the memory of his two noble friends, he dedicated whole cities to them: for instance, in Samaria he built the beautiful city called Sebaste, the circumference of which was twenty furlongs, and it was inclosed with a wall. This city was peopled by six thousand inhabitants, who enjoyed peculiar privileges, and had granted to them exceeding fine tracts of land. Besides other fine buildings, Herod erected a superb temple, and formed an area about it of three furlongs and an half: this temple he dedicated to Cæsar.

After

* *Vide* Ant. l. 15. c. 11, 12, 13, 14. l. 16. c. 9.

After this Auguſtus granted conſiderable additions to the territories of Herod, who, in gratitude to his patron, conſtructed a temple, compoſed of white marble, at Panium, which is ſituated near the head of the river Jordan. Adjacent to Panium, there is a prodigious mountain environed with crags and rocks, and a valley of great depth: At the bottom there is a dark cavern, worn by the continual fall of the waters, and it is of ſuch ſurprizing depth that the bottom cannot be founded. A number of bubbling ſprings iſſue from the foot of the cavern, and tradition reports them to be the ſource of the Jordan. But we ſhall treat more particularly of this matter in the ſequel.

Between the caſtle of Cypros and the old palaces, Herod conſtructed other buildings, formed after more commodious plans; and to theſe places he gave names in honour of Auguſtus and Agrippa. Herod, in ſhort, erected ſome memorial of the fame of the emperor in every part of his dominions.

Upon viſiting his maritime cities, Herod obſerved that time had made great ravages in the place called Straton's Tower, and judging that city, from its ſituation and other advantages, to be worthy his particular notice, he cauſed the neceſſary reparations to be made with a beautiful kind of white ſtone; and he erected a magnificent palace, thereby affording a ſtriking inſtance of the ſingular greatneſs of his mind. The city called Straton's Tower is ſituated between Dora and Joppa, on the coaſt of the ſea, which is there exceedingly dangerous to navigators, and particularly ſo when the ſouth-weſt wind prevails even in a very ſmall degree; for it then points directly upon the rocks, and the water breaking back in eddies, the ſea is greatly agitated for a conſiderable time. This liberal-minded and enterprizing king, however, conquered even the diſadvantages of nature, and formed a port, more extenſive even than the Pyræneum, where the largeſt veſſels could ride in perfect ſecurity during the moſt violent tempeſts. The contrivance was ſo admirably planned and executed to reſiſt the violent outrages of the ſea, and to give a magnificent appearance to the work, that no addition could be made either of ſtrength or beauty. Upon his taking dimenſions for forming the port, Herod ordered a quantity of ſtones of immenſe ſize to be caſt into the ſea, at twenty fathom water; moſt of them were fifty feet long, nine in depth, and ten over, and many were of a ſtill greater bulk. The ſtones, to the extent of two hundred feet, being piled to the ſurface of the water, they formed a wall which ſerved the purpoſe of a mole, and thence derived the name of Procymæa. One half of the wall was intended to break the violence of the waves, and on the other were erected ſpacious and beautiful turrets; the moſt conſiderable of which, in compliment to Druſus, a kinſman to Cæſar, was called Druſion. Within the port a great number of magazines were formed for the reception of ſtores, and before the magazines was a ſpace paved with large ſtones, which was convenient for landing, and at the ſame time a moſt agreeable walking-place: it fronted the north, whence, in that ſituation, the winds blow the moſt temperate. Three coloſſes, raiſed on columns, were placed on each ſide the entrance: a ſtrong tower, formed of an entire ſtone, ſupported thoſe upon entering on the left hand; and thoſe on the oppoſite ſide were mounted conſiderably higher than the others upon two large

ſtone pillars joined together. The buildings adjacent to the port were compoſed of white ſtone; and the ſtreets leading from the city to the key were formed after a regular and uniform plan. Cæſar's temple was ſituated upon a hill oppoſite the port-gate; and no idea of ſplendor and elegance can ſurpaſs what was diſplayed in this ſtructure, wherein was placed a ſtatue of the illuſtrious Auguſtus, formed on the model of the Olympian Jupiter, to which it was equal both in ſize and the ingenuity of workmanſhip; and there was another Roman figure not inferior to that of Juno at Argos. The motive that induced Herod to build this city and port, was a deſire to promote the convenience and advantage of the inhabitants of the country, and to provide for the ſecurity of travellers: and in honour of Cæſar the place received the name of Cæſarea. A moſt commodious market-place, a theatre and amphitheatre were built, and the Ludi Quinquennales were inſtituted, which were to be celebrated every fifth year in honour of the emperor. Herod alſo firſt conferred honourable rewards upon the man who excelled in the exerciſes, and aſſigned inferior gratuities to the ſecond and third candidates for the prize: this eſtabliſhment took place in the hundred and ſecond olympiad. He compleatly repaired Anthedon, which was nearly deſtroyed during the war, and changed the name of the city to Agrippion, in compliment to his friend Agrippa, whoſe name he inſcribed upon the gate of the temple which he erected.

Herod's filial gratitude was not leſs remarkable than his generoſity and patriotiſm: he conſtructed a city in the moſt delightful and fertile ſpot of his kingdom, finely diverſified with wood and water; and this place he diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Antipatris, in veneration of the memory of his father. He built a ſtrong caſtle in a fine part of the country beyond Jericho, which, from Cypris, his mother, he called Cypros. He gave many proofs of his regard for his brother Phaſael, by whoſe name he diſtinguiſhed a magnificent tower which he built at Jeruſalem, and of which we ſhall hereafter ſpeak more particularly; and the ſame name he gave to a city which he conſtructed in the northern part of Jericho.

When Herod had compleated the magnificent works by which he meant to immortalize the names of his friends and relations, he built a caſtle upon a mountain in Arabia, and in alluſion to his own name, he called it Herodion; and the ſame appellation he gave to a hill of ſurprizing height, about ſixty furlongs from Jeruſalem, which he cauſed to be raiſed in the ſhape of a woman's breaſt. The top of the mount was environed with round turrets; and in the circuit were a number of royal palaces, executed in the moſt ingenious and ſplendid taſte that can be conceived; the ſtairs were formed of the fineſt white marble, and conſiſted of two hundred ſteps: at an immenſe charge water was conveyed from a diſtant part for the ſupply of the place. At the foot of the eminence the king erected a magnificent palace, and provided ſpacious buildings for the reception of his friends. Though meant only as a reſidence for the king, by the great number of ſtructures, variety of conveniencies, ſplendor, and extent of the whole, the place had the appearance of a city rather than a caſtle.

The

The above glorious works being compleated, Herod reſolved to extend his generoſity to ſtrangers: and therefore he formed colleges and public baths at Tripolis, Damaſcus, and Ptolemais; erected ſtrong walls at Byblis; temples, public magazines, council-chambers, galleries and market-places, at Berytas and Tyre; theatres at Sidon and Damaſcus; he formed an aqueduct at the ſea-coaſt town of Laodicea; and conſtructed water-works, baths, large and beautiful piazzas and cloiſters at Aſkalon. To ſome cities he aſſigned woods and harbours, and to others lands: thus he ſeemed to derive ſatisfaction in dividing his kingdom for the common advantage of mankind. At Coos he eſtabliſhed a revenue for the perpetual preſervation of the baths; and he conferred ſimilar benefits upon other places. He ſupplied thoſe with grain who were diſtreſſed for that article; and when the people of Rhodes had occaſion for money for the purpoſe of equipping their navy, he repeatedly furniſhed them with the neceſſary ſums. He cauſed the temple of Apollo, called Pythium, which had been conſumed by fire, to be rebuilt. His munificence to the Lycians and Samaritans was worthy his exalted ſtation and character. The Athenians, the Lacedæmonians, the Nicopolitans, and the people of Pergamus in Lycia, extenſively experienced the unbounded liberality of Herod. Antioch, the capital of Syria, was rendered ſo incommodious by the water laying continually on the ground, that for the ſpace of twenty furlongs it was impaſſable: but Herod removed every inconvenience by cauſing the place to be paved with white marble, and porticos to be erected for ſhelter in wet ſeaſons.

It may be urged that the above-mentioned inſtances of generoſity were granted for the benefit only of particular cities: but in the bounties of this truly munificent ſovereign to Elians, he conferred great obligations upon the Grecians, and upon mankind in general, or, at leaſt, upon all thoſe who had any knowledge of the olympic games. Upon his arrival at Rome, he found theſe games to be the only veſtiges remaining of ancient Greece, and that they were on the point of being neglected from a want of money: and therefore he for that year aſſumed the office of Agonotheta*, and eſtabliſhed a revenue for preſerving the exerciſes in perpetuity. To enumerate the debts and tributes that he remitted to the Phaſaelites, Balameotes†, the inhabitants of ſeveral towns in Cilicia, and many other people, would be an arduous taſk. His generoſity would have been ſtill more extenſive to ſtrangers, but for the apprehenſion of attracting jealouſy and envy by conferring upon them benefits which their own princes were unwilling to beſtow.

Herod's ſtrength of body was proportionate to the greatneſs of his mind: he was perfectly ſkilled in horſemanſhip; and took great delight in the chace, in which exerciſe he greatly excelled. His country abounded in wild boars, but more particularly ſo in wild aſſes and deer: in one day he killed forty beaſts. He was a moſt courageous ſoldier, and ſo expert a ſwordſman, that it was ſcarcely poſſible to reſiſt him; and as a markſman, with either dart or arrow, he was unequalled. Excluſive of his great perſonal advantages

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* An officer who preſided at the exerciſes, and adjudged rewards to the ſucceſsful candidates.

† Al. Balaneotes.

and mental qualifications, he was exceedingly fortunate in his undertakings; and he never failed of success in war, but through treachery, or the rashness of his soldiers.

CHAP. XVII.

Account of the disorders prevailing in Herod's family. He repudiates his wife Doris, and marries Mariamne, by whom he has five children. The expulsion of Antipater. Hyrcanus put to death, and Antipater drowned, by the command of Herod. The women devise a method to make Herod jealous of his wife. Mariamne and Joseph put to death. The two sons of Herod contract marriage. Herod takes Antipater home, and formally settles the succession upon him. Alexander charged before Cæsar with confederating to poison his father. The defence of Alexander. The reconciliation of Herod and his sons. Archelaus entertains Herod. An assembly called at Jerusalem by Herod. His speech on the occasion. The character of Antipater. The mother of Antipater conducts a plot. Salome becomes a tale-bearer. The advice of Herod to his sons. Pheroras and Salome enemies of the brothers. A report that Pheroras had a design to poison his brother. The cruelty and injustice of Herod. Antipater the source of all the mischief. Alexander apprehended, and his friends put to the torture. He makes confession of a pretended plot. The case argued with Herod by Archelaus. Pheroras humbles himself, and obtains pardon. Herod becomes an advocate for Alexander. Alexander introduced to his father by Archelaus. Eurycles becomes the favourite of Herod. A charge against Alexander and Aristobulus. Several persons put to the torture. A forgery of Diophantus. Salome acts the part of an incendiary. Herod in the utmost rage, orders the brothers into chains. He summonses a council to meet at Berytus, and opens the business. Sentence of death passed on the sons. The generous conduct of Tyro, and the baseness of Tryphon. Herod orders his sons to be strangled.

THE troubles which arose in the family of Herod* were a great deduction from the happiness of his reign; and these misfortunes were principally occasioned by the person he loved beyond all others: for soon after he was in possession of the kingdom, he discharged his first wife Doris, who was a Jew, and married Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus. The unhappy disputes in his family, particularly after his return from Rome, arose chiefly from this source.

Herod banished from the city Antipater, the son of Doris, on account of the children he had by Mariamne; but on festival days he was allowed to remain within the town. He then caused Hyrcanus, his wife's grandfather, (who was now returned from Parthia) to be put to death, on a pretence that he had projected a plot against his life. After the conquest of Syria, Barzapharnes had carried Hyrcanus prisoner to the king of Parthia; but the Jews on that side the Euphrates pitying his case, paid his ransom, and obtained him his liberty: and in this situation he might have lived in peace and happiness, if he had taken their advice, and not returned to Herod: but he was

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* *Vide* Ant. l. 15. c. 3, 4, 9, 11. l. 16. c. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 16, 17.

induced to meet his ruin by the irreſiſtible deſire that he had to reviſit his native country. In the mean time, the circumſtance that wrought on the paſſions of Herod, was not that Hyrcanus had any view to ſeize the government, but that it belonged to him by a legal title.

The children that Mariamne bore to Herod were three ſons and two daughters. The youngeſt of the former died while he was in the courſe of his education at Rome, and the two elder were educated in a manner becoming the high rank both of the father and mother, and as the immediate heirs of royalty. But the circumſtance that moſt endeared the children to Herod, was the exceſs of his fondneſs for Mariamne, which encreaſed to ſo violent a degree, that he ſeemed almoſt inſenſible of the inſults and indignities that ſhe daily offered him; for, in fact, ſhe evidenced a degree of averſion proportioned to the exceſs of his tenderneſs. It is true that Mariamne was furniſhed with ſufficient pretences for this conduct, and confiding in the exceſs of that paſſion which he entertained for her, ſhe made no ſcruple of directly charging him with the murder of Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus, and of reproaching him with every circumſtance of aggravation. She urged that the latter was a youth of only ſeventeen years of age when he was advanced to the rank of high-prieſt, and was deſtroyed ſoon after he had been honoured with this diſtinction. She ſaid, that on a feſtival-day, when he firſt appeared in his ſacred veſtments, to diſcharge his duty at the altar, there was ſomething ſo affecting in the ſpectacle, that the people could not refrain from ſhedding tears of joy: but that in the night ſucceeding this very day, Herod did not ſcruple to give orders for the conveying Ariſtobulus to Jericho, where, in conſequence of theſe orders, he was drowned in a lake by the Gauls.

Theſe animadverſions on the conduct of Herod did not appear to gratify the whole reſentment of Mariamne; but ſhe attacked his mother and ſiſter in terms ſtill more ſevere; while he heard the whole without making any reply, ſo extravagant was the fondneſs of his love for her. In the mean time this circumſtance mortified the women to ſo high a degree, that they concerted how they might moſt effectually inflame the paſſions of Herod; and having reſolved to propagate inſinuations againſt the honour and virtue of his wife, they told him a ſtory, among other things equally plauſible, that ſhe had ſent her picture to Anthony, and that, through the violence of an ungovernable paſſion, ſhe had taken uncommon pains to make herſelf acquainted with him: and they inſinuated, that as Anthony was one of the moſt licentious men of the age, he would not ſcruple even to ſacrifice the life of Herod for the obtaining of his purpoſe. Herod was inexpreſſibly alarmed at this intelligence, which threatened the loſs of his wife, and even of his own life: and his fears were greatly aggravated when he reflected on the avarice and cruelty of Cleopatra, and the influence ſhe had exerted over Anthony, in the caſes of Lyſanias, and Malichus, the king of Arabia, the lives of both of whom were forfeited through her inſinuations.

Diſtracted with his jealous fears, Herod formed a reſolution of paying a viſit to Anthony; and, during his abſence, recommended the care of his wife to Joſeph, the huſband of his ſiſter Salome, of whoſe affectionate regard he had no doubt; and he ſecretly enjoined him, that if himſelf ſhould be deſtroyed

deſtroyed by Anthony, Joſeph ſhould put Mariamne to death. Now Joſeph, thinking to impreſs the queen with an idea of the extreme fondneſs the king had for her, which would not allow him to indulge the thought of parting from her even in death, innocently communicated this circumſtance to her. When Herod returned, he, in the exceſs of his fondneſs, was telling the queen that he never had a paſſion for any other woman. "I am convinced "of that (ſaid ſhe) by the commiſſion you left with Joſeph to deſtroy me." Herod was almoſt diſtracted at this unexpected reply; for it immediately ſtruck him, that unleſs Joſeph had been too intimate with the queen, he never would have imparted ſo important a ſecret. Shocked with this idea, he leaped from his bed, and took a walk in the court-yard, where he met Salome, who immediately ſeized this opportunity, which ſhe thought a favourable one, of traducing Mariamne; and this ſhe did in ſuch a manner as to confirm the ſuſpicions of Herod, who, during the phrenzy of his rage, gave orders that Joſeph and Mariamne ſhould be put to death. He had not long iſſued theſe orders before he repented of them; but it was too late; the execution was already paſt. Herod was now tranſported to the moſt violent degree of madneſs; he would not believe that his wife was dead, though a moment's reflection muſt have aſſured him that ſhe was ſo. He even kept talking to her as if ſhe had been yet living; and after the funeral ſolemnities were paſſed, the extravagance of his preſent grief equalled the violence of his former love.

The two ſons of Mariamne now became inveterate againſt Herod, whom they conſidered as a common enemy, on account of the barbarity of his late proceedings. They had entertained an unfavourable opinion of him from the time they were at Rome; but ſince their return to Judæa, they were confirmed in their ſentiments, the ſtrength of their minds having grown with their growing years. Being now of age, one of them married the daughter of his aunt Salome, a profeſſed enemy of their mother; and the other eſpouſed the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. After their marriage they converſed more freely than they had formerly done; a circumſtance that ſubjected them to the malice of informers, who did not ſcruple to acquaint the king that his ſons had joined in a conſpiracy againſt him; and that the ſon-in-law of Archelaus had formed an intention of retiring to his father-in-law, from whom he would go to Rome, and exhibit a complaint to Cæſar againſt Herod. The mind of Herod was ſo impreſſed by theſe various inſinuations, that he took Antipater, (his ſon by Doris) to reſide with him in his own palace, propoſing that he ſhould act ſo as to countermine the plots of his brothers; and in conſequence of this idea he treated Antipater with diſtinguiſhing marks of his regard.

This alteration was highly diſagreeable to the brothers, who thought it a great derogation from the dignity of men of their illuſtrious deſcent, to be ſubjected to the ſon of a private and obſcure woman; on which they freely declared their reſentment on all occaſions: but this freedom of ſpeech was diſadvantageous to their intereſt, and greatly in favour of Antipater, who partly by flattery, and partly by traduction, (in which he was aſſiſted by his friends and agents,) at length brought affairs to ſuch an iſſue, that all hope of his brothers

brothers ſucceeding to the government was abſolutely deſtroyed, ſince the will of his father made a public and formal ſettlement of it on himſelf. Soon after this Herod ſent Antipater in a kind of regal ſtate and character to Cæſar, in which he wore the royal robes, and was attended as a king. The crown alone ſeemed to be wanting to his dignity. The vanity of his ſtately pomp had ſuch an effect upon Antipater, that, by the help of inſinuations and calumnies, he procured an introduction for his mother into the bed-chamber of Mariamne; and by the ſame diſingenuous conduct he practiſed againſt his brothers, till he inſpired his father with a deſign of taking away their lives.

In conſequence of theſe proceedings Herod took Alexander with him to Rome, and there exhibited a charge againſt him before Cæſar, as having been an accomplice in the intention of poiſoning his father. Alexander being admitted to make his defence, and before a judge whom he thought could not be eaſily impoſed on either by Herod or Antipater, he began by endeavouring to ſet his father right with regard to the falſe impreſſions he had received: he ſpoke clearly to all the points with which himſelf was charged, and entirely exculpated his brother Ariſtobulus, who, as it was alledged, was equally culpable with himſelf. He then proceeded to a diſplay of the various artful contrivances of which Antipater had been guilty. All this he did with a grace and dignity peculiar to himſelf, ſo that the integrity of his mind was illuſtrated by the powers of his eloquence; for he was a moſt florid and agreeable orator. He ended his diſcourſe in a modeſt manner, obſerving that it could not be a crime in a father to puniſh his children when they ſhould appear to be guilty. The auditors were ſo affected by the ſpeech, and this concluding obſervation, that they burſt into tears; and it had likewiſe ſuch an influence on Cæſar, that he exerted his authority to unite them all in friendſhip, on the condition that the ſons ſhould, in future, pay all proper obedience to their father, and that the father ſhould be entirely directed by his own pleaſure in the diſpoſition of the kingdom.

When Herod returned from Rome, he could not do otherwiſe than exculpate his ſons of the crime of which they had been charged; though he ſtill entertained his ſuſpicions; for Antipater ſo frequently diſcourſed to him on the ſubject, that it was almoſt impoſſible for him to baniſh them: though, at the ſame time, he did not dare to ſpeak publicly, or do any thing contrary to the determination of Cæſar. In his paſſage Herod went from Cilicia to Eleuſa, where Archelaus, on account of his ſon-in-law, received him with the utmoſt magnificence and diſtinction, returned him a thouſand thanks, and heartily congratulated him on the favourable turn of affairs. In the interim, Archelaus, by means of letters, and by the interpoſition of his friends at Rome, exerted his utmoſt endeavours to promote the intereſt of Alexander. Archelaus conducted Herod as far as Zephyrium, where he took his leave of him, after having firſt preſented him with thirty talents.

No ſooner had Herod arrived at Jeruſalem than he ſummoned the meeting of an aſſembly, and related an account of his journey, and the ſucceſs that had attended it; returning his unfeigned thanks to Almighty God, and

to the emperor, that the commotions in his family were allayed, and his ſons united in peace and friendſhip. He then ſpoke as follows: "I ſhall "always conſider this circumſtance as a bleſſing of more ineſtimable value "than the ſplendor of a crown; and in proportion to the eſteem I have "for it, I ſhall endeavour to preſerve and improve it. I am indebted to "Cæſar for the rank and dignity I ſuſtain; and to him likewiſe I "owe the valuable privilege of appointing a ſucceſſor. I thus make "my public acknowledgements to the emperor, and, at the ſame time, de- "clare that it is my intention to divide the ſucceſſion and ſovereignty among "my three ſons, if it prove agreeable to the will of God, and meets with "your approbation. The eldeſt has undoubtedly the natural claim of "ſuperiority; and the other two have that pretention which is founded "on dignity of birth; while the command itſelf is ſufficient to gratify "them all.

"It will be your duty to pay all proper reſpect to thoſe who have been "united by the influence of Cæſar, and whoſe authority will be recognized "by their father. Your reſpect muſt be equal, juſt, and impartial, paying "only a proper regard to priority of birth: ſince it will be leſs a compliment "to any one of them to promote him before his proper time, than it will "be an affront to the other two to be ſlighted. As I am ſenſible of the ill "conſequence that may ariſe from evil counſel or example, (of which the "worſt kind is that in a man's own family) it ſhall be my buſineſs to ſee that "they are attended by perſons of wiſdom and diſcretion, on whoſe pru- "dence I can rely, and who ſhall be anſwerable for their unity, and regu- "larity of behaviour.

"I ſhall likewiſe farther expect from theſe their attendants, as alſo from "the officers of my army, that they ſhall acknowledge no other ſovereign "than myſelf for the preſent; for I do not now propoſe to tranſmit the go- "vernment itſelf, but the honorary part of it to my ſons. My view is that "they ſhall be gratified by being conſidered as a kind of regents in the admi- "niſtration: but the weight of public affairs, and the final determination in "all matters of importance, muſt neceſſarily remain with me. I wiſh you to "reflect on my age, my accuſtomed manner of living, and the unaffected "piety of my behaviour. I am not yet ſo far advanced in life, but that, "by the courſe of nature, I may expect to live a conſiderable time: I have "not debauched my conſtitution by intemperate pleaſures, ſo as to expect "any abridgement of my life on that account: and then with regard to "my duty to God, I have been ſo conſtant in my attendance on his holy "worſhip, that I flatter myſelf my zeal and devotion may entitle me to the "bleſſing of ſome years ſtill added to my life. If there ſhould be among "you any one that, in deſpite of my authority, ſhall preſume to advance "my ſons during my life-time, he may expect the moſt condign puniſh- "ment. Though at the ſame time I would have my ſons treated with all "poſſible reſpect: but young men are generally violent in their paſſions, "and the permitting them to be more active than becomes them, is only "tempting them to ſtill farther acts of indiſcretion. It will be well, there- "fore, for you to reflect ſeriouſly, before you determine on the part you will

"act,

" act; for it is incumbent on me to punish or reward men according to their " conduct; and you may depend on it I shall not be remiss in this part of " my duty. On the whole, it will be proper for the father and sons to be " united in sentiments: for it is my interest that they should live in friend- " ship with each other; and theirs that I should hold the reigns of govern- " ment."

Herod having spoken thus, turned to his sons, and said, " And now my " dear children, reflect on the natural affection which Providence hath im- " planted in our breasts and made common even to brutes as well as men; " and behave to your father as becomes dutiful and affectionate children: In " the next place, pay all honour and respect to Cæsar, for his good offices as " a mediator; and finally, look upon it as an act of kindness in me, that I " have only requested what I had a right to command, which is, that you " should live together, strongly united in the social bands of fraternal friend- " ship. It shall now be my care to accommodate you with such equipage " and attendants as become your rank. I once more charge you to live " in peace with each other, and I pray to God to keep me in the same peace- " able disposition."

When Herod had thus finished his address, he embraced his sons, and then dismissed the assembly. Some discontented people went away complain- ing, and saying that they could not hear any thing of what he had spoken; while others made their remarks on particular parts of his address, and expressed their wishes that his performance might keep pace with his pro- mises.

A disunion still prevailed among the brothers, who became so jealous of each other, that they thought it prudent to seperate, for fear of ill conse- quences. Alexander and Aristobulus were highly offended that any prefe- rence seemed to be given to Antipater, who, on the other hand, was exas- perated to think that any share in the government should be alloted to the other brothers. Antipater was of a temper false, secret, and malicious: he kept his sentiments entirely within his own breast, and never exhibited the least sign of that mortal enmity he had for his brothers. They, on the con- trary, were open and unreserved, and made it a point of honour not to con- ceal or disguise their sentiments. In the interim their enemies were every where busy, by their agents, to take all advantage of any thing they said. Some provoked them to free and dangerous liberty of speech; while others, under pretence of friendship, insinuated themselves so far into their favour, that not a word passed in Alexander's apartments, but it was immediately carried to Antipater, who reported it to Herod with such circumstances of aggravation as he thought proper. The most innocent language was made to appear criminal by the mode of its interpretation, and even the slightest circumstance was aggravated to a crime.

There was not a day in which the agents of Antipater did not surround Alexander, to learn his sentiments; and a slight fact, being intermixed with a thousand falsehoods, was sufficient to give currency to the whole story. It was remarked that the agents of Antipater were as reserved as himself; but whether this reserve arose from a natural closeness of disposition, or was

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the conſequence of the bribes and rewards they received, is foreign to the preſent purpoſe: but the truth is, that the whole life of Antipater was one continued myſtery of iniquity. In fact, Antipater conducted his affairs in ſuch a manner, that either by the force of flattery or reward, all the friends, acquaintance, and ſervants of Alexander were prevailed on to diſcover his ſecrets. The contrivance of Antipater was ſuch, that he never declared himſelf an open enemy; but when any of his agents accuſed Alexander, he appeared at firſt to take his part, and then artfully turned the whole argument againſt him; till at length Herod was driven almoſt diſtracted from a conviction of the truth of Alexander's plot againſt his life: for the artful management of Antipater in the buſineſs, fully confirmed him in his ſuſpicions.

This conduct of Antipater highly incenſed Herod againſt the brothers, and he obtained the king's good opinion in proportion as they loſt it. The friends of the government acceeded to Herod's ſentiments, ſome from conviction, and others through faſhion, among whom were Ptolemy, the king's particular friend, then his brothers, and at length the whole family; for Antipater was now the particular favourite. Alexander was ſhocked to think that this wicked plot aroſe from the advice of Antipater's mother, who bore a mortal enmity to the queen's children. Great reſpect was now paid to Antipater, on account of the favour in which he was held by the king, who had iſſued an order that no application ſhould be made to, or intercourſe held with, the other brothers. This order alarmed thoſe of the royal houſhold, as well as their diſtant friends; for Cæſar had conferred privileges on Herod, never granted to any other perſon; particularly that of fetching deſerters from the territories of other princes, where he had no command. In the mean time the brothers were ignorant of all offence, as no public charge had been exhibited againſt them by Herod; and their ſituation was therefore dangerous, as they knew not how to prepare a defence: but they ſuſpected the fact, and became unhappy thereon, from a viſible declenſion in the royal favour.

In the interim, Antipater ſpoke with the utmoſt freedom to Pheroras, and his aunt Salome, againſt his brothers. The family uneaſineſs was by this time riſen to a great height; but it was conſiderably aggravated by Glaphyra, the wife of Alexander, who was conſtantly boaſting of the dignity of her extraction, as giving her a right to precede all others. She ſaid ſhe was deſcended on the father's ſide from Themenus, and on that of the mother, from Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes. She treated the wife and ſiſter of Herod with contempt, as perſons of low birth. She ſaid Herod, in marriage, had conſulted beauty, not quality. It has been already obſerved that Herod had ſeveral: wives for he was a friend to polygamy, which is permitted by the laws of the Jews. Glaphyra's pride exaſperated all theſe women againſt Alexander.

Salome, though mother-in-law to Ariſtobulus, now became his enemy. She thought herſelf inſulted by the unreaſonable pride of Glaphyra, who frequently reflected on her, on account of the meanneſs of her birth. Glaphyra told Ariſtobulus that his wife was only a private woman, whereas his brother Alexander had wedded a queen. Salome's daughter, affected by this remark, went weeping to her mother with the news; to which ſhe added

that Alexander and Ariſtobulus had threatened, that if ever they came to the throne, all the wives and daughters of Herod ſhould be compelled to ſpin for their ſubſiſtence; and with regard to the boys, they would ſerve for pariſh clerks: though this, in fact, was only a joke on their attachment to literature. Salome was ſo enraged by this information, that ſhe went immediately to Herod with the news, which had the more weight, as it was the evidence of a mother-in-law againſt her ſon. To this tale was added another, which gave Herod more concern than all the reſt. It was ſaid that Alexander and Ariſtobulus, with ſighs and groans, often lamented the unhappy ſituation of their mother, and curſed their father. It was likewiſe hinted, that when Herod divided the wearing-apparel among his other wives, the two brothers made their remarks, inſinuating that mourning would ſoon take place of thoſe gaudy dreſſes.

Reflecting on theſe circumſtances, Herod, conſidering that his ſons were now in the prime of their vigour, was apprehenſive of ſome violence from them; but he was unwilling to carry matters to extremities. Being now reſolved on a journey to Rome, he directed his ſons to attend him, and, intermixing the tenderneſs of the father with the authority of the ſovereign, gave them advice for the regulation of their conduct, recommended an agreement among themſelves, and a mutual regard: and promiſed them a full pardon for all paſt offences, on the condition of their repentance and reformation. As to what Herod had ſaid, the youths poſitively denied the charge againſt them; and they engaged, if they might be attended to, not only to prove its falſity, but its impoſſibility. At the ſame time they inſinuated that calumnious reports would never ceaſe, while he would liſten to the tales of the calumniators.

The brothers having ſatisfied Herod, made themſelves eaſy from the apprehenſion of farther danger; but new cauſe of anxiety ſoon aroſe. They were very ſenſible that Pheroras and Salome, whoſe influence was great, and whoſe rank conſiderable, were their determined enemies: and they particularly dreaded Pheroras, who in ſome degree ſhared the regal government with Herod. His perſonal revenue conſiſted of an hundred talents, excluſive of the emolument ariſing from all the lands beyond Jordan, which the benevolence of Herod was the means of his obtaining, for Cæſar had been induced to make him a tetrarch on his recommendation. Herod likewiſe honoured him with an alliance to the royal family, having given him his wife's ſiſter in marriage; and after her deceaſe he propoſed a match between him and his eldeſt daughter, with whom he offered, as a marriage-portion, three hundred talents: but Pheroras declined this noble offer, from an attachment he had to a woman of inferior rank. Herod was ſo provoked by this refuſal, that he cauſed her to be married to the ſon of his brother, the ſame who was afterwards ſlain in the Parthian war. Though at firſt Herod had been exceedingly enraged by the rejection of his offer, yet, on calmer deliberation, he thought leſs of the indignity, which he imputed to the impulſe of a violent paſſion.

It had, for a considerable time past, been whispered that Pheroras, even during the life-time of Mariamne, had formed a design of poisoning his brother. The spies and informers were so busy in propagating this tale, that Herod, though entertaining the sincerest fraternal affection, could not avoid being alarmed, and giving some credit to the report. Many persons were apprehended, of whom several were put to the torture; and when others had been thus examined, it came to the turn of the friends of Pheroras. These declared their ignorance of any intention to poison, but said that Pheroras had formed a design of retiring into Parthia with the woman that he loved; and that Costobarus, the second husband of Salome, was well acquainted with this his intention. This was the same Costobarus to whom Herod had given Salome, after her former husband's life had been sacrificed on account of her adultery. Salome herself did not escape without having an accusation; for she was charged by her brother Pheroras, with having treated of a match with Syllæus, the governor of Arabia, under king Obodas, and the most inveterate of all the enemies of Herod. There was not a single article that Pheroras exhibited against his sister Salome, of which she was not found guilty: but they both received a free pardon from Herod.

Those who wished to create a disturbance, now levelled their charges against Alexander. Herod had in his service three eunuchs, who had all of them a considerable share in his favour, and were well known in the family by the offices they bore: these were a cup-bearer, a steward, and a valet de chambre. One of them was to fill the king's wine, the second to provide his supper, and the third to put him to bed, and to sleep with him. Now these men, by the influence of gratuities and promises, were all of them the friends and agents of Alexander. Herod having become suspicious of them, caused them to be put to the torture, when the whole secret was discovered; the method in which Alexander had imposed on them, and the promises by which he had prevailed. It was said that he had made a declaration to the following purport: "You can have no expectations from Herod, who is a wicked old "man, that has his hair coloured like a beau, to make him appear young: "the respect which you pay to him belongs of right to me, who am to succeed him in the kingdom, a circumstance which he cannot prevent. When "this time arrives, it will be in my power to punish my enemies, and reward my friends, of whom you will be considered in the first rank." The informers farther declared that the principal ministers and officers were all attached to the interest of Alexander, and meeting together in a private manner, consulted how they might most effectually serve him.

Herod was so astonished at this intelligence, that he was for some time afraid of publishing the discovery he had made; but no time was lost by his agents, who were constantly employed, by night and day, to discover what passed in all families, and in every place; and immediate death was the consequence even of being suspected. In this part of Herod's history there appears an uniform series of oppression and injustice. Calumnies arose from the slightest disgust; and these calumnies were sufficient to make a crime capital: for Herod was but the agent to execute the contrivance of others. However infamous the evidence, however gross and absurd the tale, it was certain to

be

be credited; and the punishment immediately followed the charge, even without conviction; for Herod seemed to conceive that, in a case where the life of a prince was in danger, all the formalities of the law were superfluous.

At length the disposition of Herod became so ferocious, that innocence itself was no security against the severity of his nature. Even his friends were treated in the most cruel manner: some of them he banished from the kingdom, and in instances where he could not exercise this power, he indulged his malice by insulting them in the most approbrious terms. Almost all this mischief, however, is chargeable on Antipater, with his friends and adherents, who omitted nothing in their power to promote the growing evils. The king was at length so terrified by Antipater's ridiculous stories, that he imagined Alexander standing before him, with a sword ready to destroy him. Agitated by these ideas, he caused Alexander to be apprehended, and put his friends to the torture. Many of these, from conscientious motives, remained absolutely silent; while others, whose courage could not afford them resolution to abide the torment, made a charge against the two brothers, as having concerted a plot against the life of the king: which plot, they said, was to be executed during a time of hunting, and the agents in it were immediately to make their escape to Rome. However improbable this story was, the fears of Herod made him credulous enough to believe it; and thereupon, his son was committed to prison.

The jealousy which at this time tormented the mind of Herod, appeared to be at once so inveterate and incurable, that Alexander gave himself no farther concern to make his defence by argument or excuse; but resolved that, for the future, he would acknowledge all the charges which his enemies brought against him, and by such acknowledgement, condemn them equally with himself. Thus determined, he drew up four papers, in which he owned himself a confederate against the life of his father. In these papers he gave the names of the confederates, among whom were Pheroras and Salome, the latter of whom he charged with the insolent audaciousness of forcing herself into his bed one night, against his consent. When Herod was in possession of these papers, in which were capital charges against a number of the nobility, it providentially happened that Archelaus, uneasy respecting the fate of his daughter and son-in-law, arrived in Judæa, with a view to serve them to the utmost of his power: and his interference had great success; for by his address and management, the passions of Herod were, in a great degree, allayed.

When Archelaus met Alexander and Herod, he burst out into the following exclamations: "What is become of my abandoned son? Wherefore "does he secrete himself from my personal vengeance, which would tear "him in pieces? I will provide a better man as a husband to my daughter: "but alas! she is so affected even with the recollection of the relation she has "borne to this execrable man, that though innocent of all his contrivances, "she is an unfit wife for any other. I am astonished at your patience, which "hath thus spared the life of a conspirator, at the hazard of your own. "When I hastened from Cappadocia hither, I little thought to have found "Alexander living: so that my view in this visit was rather to have confer-

" red with you reſpecting my daughter, whom I gave in marriage to this " man, through the reſpect that I entertained for you: but as matters are " now ſituated, ſomething may be urged in behalf of both parties. Your " tenderneſs as a father and a man will probably induce you to remit the pu- " niſhment due to a rebellious ſon: wherefore let us only change hands: I " will commend my daughter to your generoſity, and permit me the favour " of doing juſtice on your ſon."

Herod became more favourable in his ſentiments towards Alexander, through this ſpeech of Archelaus; but, at the ſame time, Archelaus was enraged againſt Pheroras; for the ſubſtance of the four papers, which Herod gave him to read, was principally levelled againſt him. Archelaus, being thus poſſeſſed of evidence ſo favourable to his own wiſhes, exerted himſelf to become maſter of the merits of the caſe, and laid the blame on the principal agents in the faction, who were mentioned in the papers, but particularly on Pheroras. By this time Archelaus, finding that he had made ſome kind of intereſt in the favour of Herod, addreſſed him in the following manner: " I confeſs it is my opinion that you are in leſs danger of being injured by " your ſon, than he is by being deſtroyed by a faction. Alexander muſt " have been out of his ſenſes to have been guilty of the practices charged a- " gainſt him. In a great degree he does already divide the government with " his father, and has reaſonable hopes of ſucceſſion: nor would he expect " more, if not inſtigated by thoſe who wiſh to corrupt his mind. Young men " are inconſiderate, and, through want of experience, liable to be impoſed " on by bad company and ill advice. Such ſorts of agents are ſo artful that " neither youth nor age can reſiſt their inſinuations: and, when theſe make " their appearance, kingdoms, as well as private families, fall a ſacrifice to " their artifices."

Theſe arguments induced Herod to think more favourably of Alexander, and leſs ſo of Pheroras than he had heretofore done; for this reaſoning was fairly deducible from the four papers which had been preſented. Pheroras now finding that the temper of Herod appeared to be changed for the better, and that the intereſt of Archelaus was very conſiderable, he aſſumed all poſſible courage, and reſolving to ſupply by impudence what might be otherwiſe wanting, he repaired to Archelaus; who told him that it was impoſſible he ſhould ever clear himſelf of a charge that was as fully proved againſt him as the nature of it would admit: for that his conſpiracy againſt his brother's life was evident, as was likewiſe his contrivance to ruin Alexander. Archelaus farther addreſſed him, ſaying, " You had better ceaſe all endeavours to ob- " tain your ends by tricks and contrivance, and freely confeſs the crimes of " which you muſt be conſcious of having been guilty. Your brother's affec- " tion for you is ſuch as might be expected from a brother; and I have no " doubt but that he would grant your pardon on a proper application. Con- " ſider on what I have ſaid, make the experiment, and depend on every af- " ſiſtance within the compaſs of my power."

Having reflected on this hint, Pheroras put himſelf into deep mourning, and accommodating his countenance to the ſolemnity of his appearance, went and threw himſelf at the feet of Herod, to whom he confeſſed his faults,

faults, and moſt humbly implored his pardon: but at the ſame time attributed all his offences to a violent paſſion which he entertained for a woman, who had made him regardleſs of his duty, and almoſt incapicitated him from being a proper judge of the propriety of his own conduct. Pheroras had no ſooner given this ample teſtimony againſt himſelf, than Archelaus uſed his influence to reconcile him to Herod, and to abate the violent paſſions of the king. On this occaſion Archelaus addreſſed Herod in ſubſtance as follows: "I confeſs that ſuch conduct from a near relation has a very bad appearance: "yet I have ſuffered even more from a brother, and greater inſults than have "been offered to you: but I thought it a point of prudence to make my reſentiments of revenge yield to thoſe of duty and natural affection. It is with "kingdoms as with the human body; when a diſorder deſcends into any one "of the limbs, it is certainly more prudent to endeavour a cure, than to ſuffer the limb to be amputated."

The diſpoſition of Herod towards Pheroras, being now more favourable, through the interpoſition of Archelaus, the latter affected to treat Alexander with threats and reproaches, and at length ſaid, that without farther heſitation, he would take away his daughter. This apparent reſentment of Archelaus had ſuch an effect on the mind of Herod, that he became an advocate for his ſon, and moſt earneſtly entreated Archelaus not to take a ſtep which would render the marriage void. Archelaus replied, that, through the regard he had to the honour of the alliance, he was ſatisfied to leave his daughter to the abſolute diſpoſal of Herod, on the ſingle condition that he ſhould not beſtow her on Alexander. But this behaviour was the effect of art only. Herod urged that the young couple might remain together, ſaying, that they had children, and entertained ſo great a regard for each other, that death itſelf would not be worſe than their ſeparation. Herod ſaid farther, "If ſhe remain, an act of oblivion ſhall paſs; but if ſhe depart, the conſequence will be fatal; ſince nothing endears relations to each other like a "friendly correſpondence between their families." Theſe words were no ſooner ſpoken than Archelaus went out, and returned in a few minutes, bringing Alexander in his hand, and immediately reconciled him to his father. Archelaus now gave his advice that Herod ſhould repair to Rome, and give the emperor an account of the late tranſactions; declaring that he himſelf had written many of the particulars.

The above-mentioned artful behaviour of Archelaus delivered his ſon from danger, and gave an opportunity of celebrating the reconciliation by every aſſiſtance of friendly feſtivity. When Archelaus was ready to take his leave, Herod preſented him with ſeventy talents, a throne ornamented with jewels, and ſeveral eunuchs, complimenting him likewiſe with a concubine named Pannychis. Herod likewiſe ordered magnificent preſents for the king's miniſters, relations and friends, proportioned to their reſpective ranks: and then himſelf and his nobility went as far as Antioch, to conduct Archelaus on his journey.

Soon after this event a perſon arrived in Judæa, who, in point of political management, was more than the equal of Archelaus; and who not only

defeated the late ſcheme of Alexander's reconciliation with his father, but, in the end, brought the young man to deſtruction. The name of the man was Eurycles, born in Lacedæmon. His love of money induced him to aſſume the affectation of power; yet he was ſo profuſe in his expences, that even a princely revenue was unequal to them. He ſent Herod ſeveral valuable preſents, with a view to obtain greater, which Herod actually ſent him; but he thought not much of any bounty that was not the price of royal blood; wherefore he inſinuated himſelf into Herod's favour, partly by artful tales, and partly by the groſſeſt flatteries; till at length he had made himſelf ſuch a perfect maſter of Herod's foibles, that he approved of all he ſaid or did. This inſinuating behaviour procured him great intereſt at court; beſides that his country was honoured, as he was a Spartan by birth.

Eurycles having remarked the diſſentions which prevailed in the royal family, and particularly the light in which Herod ſeemed to regard them, went and lodged with Antipater, and at the ſame time pretended great friendſhip for Alexander, to whom he recited ſtories of his intimacy with Archelaus, and the amity that had long been between them. This pleaſed Alexander, who communicated the grateful intelligence to his brother Ariſtobulus. Eurycles having diſcovered the diſpoſitions of the ſeveral people with whom he had to deal, accommodated himſelf to their various humours; his principal view being to betray Alexander, and poſſeſs himſelf of Antipater's money. Addreſſing himſelf to the latter, he ſaid, "I am aſtoniſhed that you, who "are the eldeſt ſon, and heir-apparent to the crown, can be impoſed on by "thoſe who only pretend to your right." To Alexander he addreſſed himſelf as follows: "It is ſtrange that you, who are the ſon of one great prin-"ceſs, and the huſband of another, can bear the ſon of a private woman to "ſtand between you and the crown, eſpecially when ſupported by ſuch a "friend as Archelaus." Alexander was impoſed on by this addreſs, which he ſuppoſed aroſe from the friendſhip of Eurycles to Archelaus, and having no ſuſpicions, made Eurycles his boſom friend, and ſpoke freely to him reſpecting Antipater: "It is no wonder (ſaid he) that Herod can think of de-"priving the ſon of the kingdom, when he robbed the mother of life." On hearing this, Eurycles affected aſtoniſhment at the barbarity of the proceeding, and engaging Ariſtobulus to diſcourſe on the ſame ſubject, involved him alſo in the treachery. When Eurycles had poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſecrets of both the brothers, he went to Antipater, and told him what he had heard, with many circumſtances of his own invention, inſinuating that the king's life was in danger, and the plot on the point of being executed. For this ſervice Antipater gratified Eurycles with a preſent of a large ſum of money, and likewiſe ſpoke of him to Herod, in the warmeſt terms of friendſhip: and from this time Eurycles conſtantly offered himſelf as an evidence againſt the brothers, till the death of Alexander and Ariſtobulus.

Eurycles now went to Herod, and addreſſed him in the following manner: "Gratitude brings me hither, to acknowledge your favours, and to of-"fer you your life as the reward. Your death has long been reſolved on: "Alexander was at one time armed with a ſword, to have perpetrated the "deed; and the horrid fact would have been actually accompliſhed, if I had

not

" not prevented it, by affecting to approve of it, and offered my affiſtance to " carry it into execution. Alexander ſaid, cannot Herod be content with " uſurping a kingdom, deſtroying my mother, and diſtracting the govern- " ment, without nominating for his ſucceſſor ſuch a wretch as Antipater, to " the diſgrace of all royalty? But it is my part to do juſtice to the manes of " Hyrcanus and Mariamne. It would be infamous that the government " ſhould deſcend from ſuch a father to a ſon ſo meanly born. Daily provo- " cations furniſh freſh arguments to confirm me in my purpoſe. Every word " I mention is made a ſnare to betray me. If I but ſpeak on the ſubject of " honourable families and extraction, Herod deems it an affront offered to " himſelf, and ſays that I mean to inſinuate his baſeneſs and my own honour " and dignity. When I hunt with him, if I am ſilent, he demands why I " do not talk; if I ſpeak, he commands my ſilence. If I praiſe him, he at- " tributes it to flattery. In fact, I can do nothing to pleaſe him: Antipater " is poſſeſſed of that happineſs. If my preſent plot ſhould fail, death will " be more welcome than life in ſuch a ſituation: and if it be ſucceſsful, I " can eaſily retire to my father-in-law, and from him to Cæſar, who is little " acquainted with Herod's temper, or the preſent ſituation of affairs. When " I arrive at Rome, I ſhall not tremble, as formerly, in terror of a father on " the ſpot. I ſhall little inſiſt on the injuries I have received, but dwell on " thoſe of the public; the corruptions and oppreſſions; the impoſitions of " public money, waſted in luxury. I ſhall ſhew how, and by whom the " money was ſpent; the ſlavery of the citizens, and its true cauſe; and fi- " nally, I will relate ſuch a tale of the death of my grandfather Hyrcanus, " and my mother Mariamne, and develope the wickedneſs of Herod in ſuch " a light, that the murder of my father will never be laid to my charge."

This invective againſt Alexander being finiſhed, Eurycles began to ſpeak highly of Antipater, whom he repreſented as a dutiful ſon, who had cruſhed the plot in its birth. Herod, whoſe former jealouſies were not ſubdued, broke into the moſt extravagant rage on this occaſion, and this rage was inflamed by Antipater, who produced new evidence againſt the brothers, in ſubſtance as follows: " That Alexander and Ariſtobulus had maintained a " private correſpondence with Jucundus and Tyrannus, two commanders of " horſe, who had been lately degraded for miſbehaviour." Exaſperated by this information, Herod ordered the officers to be put to the torture; but they declared they knew nothing of the affair, other than that a letter had been written to the governor of Alexandrion, as from Alexander, requeſting him to receive himſelf and brother into the caſtle, in caſe of their father's death; and, in ſuch an event, to furniſh them with arms and other neceſſaries. Alexander declared that this letter was forged by Diophantus, the king's ſecretary, who was a daring man, and extremely ſkilled in counterfeiting hands. It is worthy of remark, that Diophantus was at length executed for forgery. The governor of the caſtle was tortured, but confeſſing nothing, the ſons were acquitted: yet Eurycles, the contriver of the plot, who was a diſgrace to human nature, was careſſed by Herod as his friend and preſerver, and preſented with fifty talents. Before Archelaus could have intelligence of the brothers impriſonment, this execrable villain retired privately

vately to him, and had the assurance to inform him, that Herod and Alexander were good friends, and that himself had been the happy means of effecting the reconciliation. Thence he departed into Achaia with his riches, which he spent in as infamous a manner as he had acquired them. At length he was accused before Cæsar, with having been guilty of seditious practices, and promoting oppressions and disturbances; and in the end was banished. Thus were his infamous transactions against Alexander and Aristobulus punished.

In this place it may not be improper to contrast the conduct of Evaratus of Coos with that of Eurycles the Spartan. Evaratus was in Herod's court at the same period, and was much the friend of Alexander. The king earnestly questioned Evaratus how far he credited the report of the conspiracy, and the accusations that were founded on it; when Evaratus declared on his oath, that he believed the young princes were perfectly innocent. Notwithstanding this, the unfortunate prisoners met with no better fate; for Herod listened to calumnies only: the more infamous the traduction, the more the traducer was in his favour; and the ready way to please him was to say as he did, and affect to believe what he credited.

At this time Salome, for her own security, inflamed the quarrel between Herod and his sons. Aristobulus had cautioned her to take care of herself, both as a mother-in-law and an aunt; hinting that her danger from Herod was as great as that of any other person, since she had entered into a contract with Syllæus, the Arabian, with an intention to marry him, though she knew he was a professed enemy to the king; and that she had repeatedly given him secret accounts of the transactions of the cabinet. The view of Aristobulus in giving her this warning, was to involve her in the same fate with himself and brother; but it happened otherwise, and this scheme proved the destruction of them both: for Salome immediately going to the king, informed him of what Aristobulus had said, by which he was so much enraged, that he caused the brothers to be put in chains, and kept separate from each other.

During the violence of Herod's passion, he sent Volumnius, a commander of horse, and Olympus, his own friend, to Cæsar, with an account of what had passed. On arriving at Rome, they delivered their letters to Cæsar, the perusal of which gave him great pain, on account of the young men; but he was diffident of exerting his authority to the prejudice of the natural power of a father over his children; wherefore he sent an answer to Herod, that "He was master of himself, and all those who depended on him." Yet Cæsar thought it prudent to call a council of Herod's friends and relations, with the governors of the province, to examine into the plot; and then to execute those who had been guilty of wilful malice: but he thought that a slighter punishment might suffice, if the brothers had only entertained an idea of absconding.

Berytus was fixed on by the emperor as the place where the contending parties should meet; and, agreeable to his instructions, Herod summoned a council to assemble there. Cæsar appointed the presidents, who were Saturninus and Pedanius, ambassadors, with Volumnius, governor of the province,

and Herod's friends and relations; Salome and Pheroras not excepted. Beſides theſe there were all the chief men of Syria, except king Archelaus, the father-in-law of Alexander, of whom Herod was ſuſpicious. The brothers were kept in cuſtody, at the village of Plantane in Sidonia, the council being averſe to admitting them into court, for reaſons of prudence; as the very ſight of them would have excited compaſſion, and if they had been permitted to plead their own cauſe, it was in Alexander's power to have obviated every objection.

When Herod ſtood up to ſpeak, he expreſſed his diſpleaſure againſt his ſons in the moſt violent manner, as if they had been within hearing. On the ſubject of the conſpiracy, he ſpoke in a low and faint voice, as if unwilling that what he had to ſay on this topic ſhould be heard; for he could not poſſibly prove his aſſertions: but when he ſpoke of acts of diſobedience, injuries, rancourous expreſſions, and affronts to himſelf, he was diſtinctly heard by every one; and he inſinuated that death itſelf was leſs painful in his idea, than theſe inſults. At length, when he found that there was no oppoſition to his will, he directed the court to proceed to ſentence, after lamenting his unhappy fate, in being victorious in a conteſt that coſt him ſo dear.

The firſt opinion was given by Saturninus, who ſaid the ſons ought to be puniſhed, but not capitally; for it would look ill to paſs ſuch ſentence on the abſent, while Herod had three ſons in the council. The ambaſſadors, and ſeveral others were of the ſame opinion; but Volumnius adjudged them to ſuffer death, in which he was followed by ſuch others as the intereſt or paſſions of Herod had influenced: but none of them bore any malice to the unfortunate youths. The expected iſſue of this affair occaſioned an alarming ſuſpence in Judæa and Syria; though no one thought that Herod would accede to the murder of his children. However, ſo little of humanity was there in his diſpoſition, that he firſt ſent them in chains to Tyre, and thence to Cæſarea by ſea, till he determined in what manner they ſhould be put to death.

At this period advanced one Tyro, an ancient ſoldier, who was a great admirer of the young princes, and whoſe ſon was very much eſteemed by Alexander. Now Tyro, in a rage of reſentment at Herod's prepoſterous conduct, went about exclaiming like a madman, that "Juſtice was inſulted, truth "was vaniſhed; that villainy and iniquity triumphed at large in the world, "while humanity and natural affection had fled from the face of the earth." Thus he continued to rave and exclaim, as one who was grown weary of his life; and at length he went to the king, whom he addreſſed in the following manner: "Thou, Herod, of all men exiſting, art certainly the moſt miſer-"able; ſince thou art puniſhed by giving credit to the baſeſt and vileſt of the "people, to the injury of thy beſt and moſt approved friends. For in-"ſtance, there are Salome and Pheroras, whom thou knoweſt, and haſt de-"clared, are highly deſerving of death; yet on the credit of theſe people, "art thou raſhly proceeding to deprive thy ſons of their lives. Thou haſt "not conſidered how much Antipater will be gratified by the deſtruction of "the legal heirs, when only thyſelf and him remains: for the plan of thy

" enemies is to have a king who will govern according to their wiſhes. " But, in this caſe, let them beware of the ſoldiers: for if they reſent the " murder, no one knows where the deſtruction may end. Every man pities " the brothers; and the men of rank publicly complain of the ill manage- " ment of affairs." Several of the mal-contents were now mentioned by Tyro, on which Herod gave orders for their immediate apprehenſion, and that Tyro and his ſon ſhould likewiſe be taken into cuſtody.

One Tryphon, the king's barber, happening to be preſent at this time, advanced, and offered himſelf as an evidence againſt Tyro; declaring that he had, in the name of Alexander, offered him a conſiderable reward, if he would cut Herod's throat while he was ſhaving him. Hereupon orders were given that the barber, with Tyro and his ſon, ſhould be put to the torture. The two latter denied every thing that was charged againſt them, and Tryphon remained perfectly ſilent. On this Herod ordered an encreaſe of Tyro's torments; till his ſon, in mere compaſſion for the father, promiſed the king a full diſcovery, if he might be pardoned. In conſequence of this he was taken from the torture, when he declared that Alexander had inſtigated his father to murder the king. Some perſons gave credit to this ſtory, while others ſuppoſed it was merely a contrivance of the youth, to get his own pain remitted.

Soon after this Herod ſpoke reproachfully of ſome great officers of the army, and of Tyro; which ſo inflamed the mob, that they attacked thoſe officers, as well as Tyro and the barber, with ſtones and cudgels, and deſtroyed them all. Herod's unhappy ſons were now at Sebaſte, near Cæſarea, where he ordered them to be ſtrangled, and their bodies conveyed to Alexandrion, and depoſited by their mother's uncle, Alexander. Thus ended the lives of Ariſtobulus and Alexander.

CHAP. XVIII.

Antipater conſpires againſt the life of his father. He dreads the children of the murdered brothers. Herod protects the orphans. A council ſummoned by Herod, who recommends proper alliances for the royal family. Antipater prevails on Herod to diſſolve the contracts. The caſe of Syllæus and Salome. A faction among the women. The king informed of it by Salome. Bad practices charged on the wife of Pheroras. Antipater prohibited from converſing with Pheroras, or his wife. Antipater is ſent to Rome by Herod, with his laſt will, in which Antipater is declared ſucceſſor. A journey to Rome undertaken by Syllæus, for a rehearing of the cauſe between him and Antipater. The corrupt practices of Syllæus. His deſign againſt Herod's life diſcovered.

THE ſucceſſion to the kingdom was now looked on as certain by Antipater*: but the people univerſally hated him; for they were ſenſible that he was the author of all the preceding miſchief: nor was he eaſy himſelf when he reflected on the future vengeance of the children of the murdered brothers. By Glaphyra Alexander had two ſons, named Tigranes and Alexander;

* *Vide* Ant. l. 17. c. 1, 3, 4.

Alexander; and by Berenice, the daughter of Salome, Ariſtobulus had Herod, Agrippa, and Ariſtobulus, and two daughters, Herodias and Mariamne. After the death of Alexander, Glaphyra was ſent back to Cappadocia, with her fortune; and Berenice, widow of Ariſtobulus, had married her uncle Antipater, who concerted this match to become friends with Salome, and put an end to all animoſities. Antipater complimented, and made preſents to Pheroras, and at the ſame time ſent large ſums to Rome, to procure the intereſt of Cæſar's friends. Nor was he leſs liberal to Saturninus and his friends in Syria. But this profuſion of expence had no good effect; his bounty was thought the conſequence of fear, and the more he gave the more he was deſpiſed; while thoſe to whom he gave nothing, became his more inveterate enemies. Herod being very careful of the orphan children, ſeemed to ſhew that he commiſerated the death of their parents; a circumſtance that made Antipater ſtill more liberal of his bounties.

Herod having now ſummoned a meeting of his friends and relations, ſent for the young princes, and, with tears in his eyes, addreſſed the company in the following manner: "You now behold the children of an unhappy "family. Having been deprived of their fathers by a melancholly fate, I "am bound in humanity to protect the orphans, and be a better grandfather "than I was a father. With this view, I ſhall provide that, after my death, "my children may be placed in the care of my moſt valuable friends. With "regard to you, Pheroras, I adviſe you to wed your daughter with the "eldeſt ſon of Alexander, and be a father and guardian to him. To you, "Antipater, I recommend that your ſon marry one of the daughters of Ariſ-"tobulus, and that you become a parent to the orphan child. Let the other "ſiſter be married to Herod, the grandſon of Simon, the high-prieſt, by my "mother's ſide. This is my earneſt requeſt, which will not be deſpiſed by "any one who has a regard or affection for me. I repeat that this is my will; "and I truſt that Heaven will bleſs theſe connections to the advantage of "my family and kingdom, and grant that the children may be more happy "than their parents."

Thus ſaying, Herod united the hands of the princes, and having wept over them, diſmiſſed the aſſembly, taking leave of each member reſpectively.

Obſerving what paſſed, Antipater was ſtruck in ſuch a manner that every one remarked it; for he conſidered the friendſhip that Herod had evidenced towards the children as an inſult to himſelf. He thought that, by this proceeding, all things would become confuſed, particularly if the tetrarch Pheroras ſhould join his intereſt with Archelaus, in favour of the ſons of Alexander. He was likewiſe tormented with the idea of the hatred of the public to himſelf, the compaſſion of the people to the children, and the intereſt the whole nation took in the affair, between reverence for the deceaſed, and regard for the living; ſo that himſelf was looked on as a murderer. Antipater having conſidered theſe things, thought his buſineſs was to diſſolve the contracts; but how to effect this was the difficulty; for Herod was of a ſuſpicious nature, of violent paſſions, and not eaſily to be managed by artful contrivance: wherefore Antipater openly requeſted that he would realize the honour of which he had thought him worthy; for as to the reſt, it was but the ſhadow

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without the ſubſtance of a kingdom; which would be particularly the caſe if the ſon of Alexander ſhould have Pheroras for his father-in-law, and Archelaus for his grandfather. Antipater, therefore, moſt earneſtly ſolicited Herod to change the diſpoſition of the marriages, which, he ſaid, might moſt eaſily be done, as the king had ſuch a numerous family.

The wives of Herod were nine in number, and he had children by ſeven of them, viz. Antipater by Doris, Herod by Mariamne, Antipas and Archelaus by Malthace, likewiſe a daughter, named Olympias, married to his brother Joſeph; Herod and Philip by Cleopatra of Jeruſalem; Roxane by Phædra, and Salome by Elpis. He had likewiſe two wives, by whom he had no children, one of whom was his couſin, and the other the daughter of his brother. Excluſive of theſe, the two ſiſters of Alexander and Ariſtobulus were born of Mariamne. It was urged by Antipater that here was ſufficient choice among whom to vary the marriages.

Herod now began to conceive the ſentiments of Antipater towards the children, and became uneaſy, leſt he ſhould murder the ſurvivors, as himſelf had done their predeceſſors. He therefore ſeverely cenſured the freedom of his expoſtulation, and obliged him to leave the apartment: but was afterwards induced, by means of flattery and artful management, to alter his original plan; on which he beſtowed the daughter of Ariſtobulus in marriage on Antipater, and wedded his ſon to the daughter of Pheroras. By this the influence that Antipater had over Herod became evident. But ſimilar arguments could not prevail in the caſe of Salome, though ſhe was ſupported by the empreſs Julia, and was alſo his own ſiſter. Salome wiſhed to be united in marriage with Syllæus, the Arabian, and engaged the empreſs in her favour; but Herod not only oppoſed the plan, but ſolemnly ſwore he would treat her as his worſt enemy if ſhe did not abandon all thoughts of it. After this he compelled her to marry a friend of his named Alexas, and then to cauſe one of her daughters to be eſpouſed to the ſon of Alexas, and the other to Antipater's uncle on the maternal ſide. One of the daughters of Mariamne was likewiſe given by Herod, to Antipater, the ſon of his ſiſter; and the other to Phaſael, his nephew on the brother's ſide.

Every thing being thus altered according to the plan, and ſettled ſo as to ſuit the convenience of Antipater, and of courſe to the perfect excluſion of the orphans, his pride and malignity were encreaſed to ſuch an extravagant degree, that he became perfectly inſupportable. He was ſenſible that as the people hated him, his ſafety could conſiſt only in their fear of him likewiſe: and Pheroras now treated him as a prince already poſſeſſed of ſovereign power.

About this time new diſturbances happened in the court of Herod, owing to a faction among the women: the wife, the mother and the ſiſter of Pheroras, and the mother of Antipater, all behaved in a moſt inſolent manner towards the king's daughters; a circumſtance that gratified the malice of Antipater, who entertained the utmoſt hatred for them: and with regard to the reſt of the women, they were all afraid of the faction, Salome alone excepted, who informed the king of every thing that paſſed in their private aſſemblies, hinting that his intereſt was endangered by their conſultations. When the

women were informed that notice of their meetings had been communicated to the king, and that he was greatly offended at them, they declined aſſembling themſelves together, and began a plan of bickering and quarrelling, even in the royal preſence, as if they were enemies to each other, rather than conſpirators againſt the king: and under this diſguiſe, Antipater ridiculed Pheroras; but their nightly meetings were ſtill held; and the more ſpies were on their conduct, the more they adhered together: but none of their tranſactions could eſcape the vigilance of Salome, who inſtantly acquainted the king with all ſhe knew. Herod was enraged at this intelligence, particularly againſt the wife of Pheroras, who was principally charged by Salome. Hereupon Herod ſummoned a council of his relations and friends, in which he exhibited a complaint againſt her for offending his daughters, engaging the phariſees againſt himſelf, and giving his brother a medicine to make him hate him. Then Herod ſaid to Pheroras, "If you "had your choice of parting from your wife or brother, which ſhould it be?" Pheroras replied, he would rather die than part from his wife. Struck with this anſwer, Herod deliberated awhile, and then ſtrictly enjoined Antipater neither to diſcourſe nor hold connection with Pheroras or his wife, or any of their acquaintance. Antipater appeared to pay a ready obedience to this order; notwithſtanding which they had ſeveral meetings; but in the night to prevent diſcovery. Antipater having many friends in Italy, ſo concerted matters with them, that letters were written to Herod, to ſend Antipater to Rome, to pay his reſpects to the emperor. Hereupon Herod furniſhed him with money and all neceſſaries, with a ſplendid train and ſent him to Rome, with his laſt will, in which he declared Antipater his ſucceſſor, and that he ſhould be ſucceeded by Herod the ſon of Mariamne.

At this time Syllæus, the Arabian, regardleſs of Cæſar's orders, made another journey to Rome, to debate with Antipater the ſame cauſe which he had formerly defended againſt Nicolaus. It was a diſpute likewiſe of great importance which he had with his ſovereign Aretas, having executed ſeveral of his friends, among whom was Sohemus, the moſt eminent man in all the city of Petra for wealth and power. Tabatus, one of Cæſar's governors, was alſo corrupted by him with a ſum of money, to aſſiſt him againſt Herod. But the latter purchaſing his aſſiſtance with a larger ſum, detached Tabatus from the intereſt of Syllæus, and made him receiver of his own duties. Syllæus finding that he did not account to him, complained to Cæſar that Tabatus was Herod's governor, and not the emperor's. Tabatus, highly incenſed at this proceeding, and being in great credit with Herod, betrayed Syllæus to him, informing the king, that he had, by means of a ſum of money, prevailed on Corinthus, one of the guards, to join in the conſpiracy, and adviſing that he might be immediately apprehended. Herod did not heſitate at this; for Corinthus, though educated at court, was by birth an Arabian. Soon afterwards Corinthus, and two Arabians who were with him, were taken into cuſtody; one of theſe was named Phylarchus, and the other was a friend of Syllæus. Theſe being put to the torture, confeſſed,

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while on the rack, that, by means of a large ſum of money, they had prevailed on Corinthus to undertake the murder of the king. The examinations were taken by Saturninus, the governor of Syria, who diſpatched them to Rome.

CHAP. XIX.

Pheroras, refuſing to part from his wife, is baniſhed from the court by Herod, and vows not to return during the life of the king. Herod being taken ill, ſends for him, but he refuſes to attend. The recovery of Herod, and ſickneſs of Pheroras. He is viſited by Herod. His death and funeral. Strong evidence of Pheroras being poiſoned by advice of Syllæus. An agreement among the witneſſes. The rude reflections of Antipater againſt his father. The great ſeverity of Herod. The teſtimony of the widow of Pheroras. The dying declaration of Pheroras. Mariamne's concern in the plot fully proved.

HEROD now finding ample cauſe to hate the wife of Pheroras*, but no means of puniſhing her, daily urged him to turn her away; but this not being complied with, he was ſo incenſed, that he baniſhed both huſband and wife from the court. This misfortune was borne with apparent patience by Pheroras, who repaired to his tetrarchy, and ſolemnly ſwore that he would never return during the life of Herod, for that his baniſhment ſhould be compleated only by his death. Soon after this Herod was taken ill, and ſent repeatedly to Pheroras to attend him, as he had ſomething of importance to mention before he died. Pheroras refuſed to attend, and Herod recovered, contrary to all expectation. Pheroras being now attacked with ſickneſs, Herod gave a proof of his humanity by paying him a viſit, and treating him with ſingular care and affection: but Pheroras ſoon died of the diſorder. The general opinion was, that Herod had a great eſteem for Pheroras to his laſt moments; yet a report was propagated that he had cauſed him to be poiſoned. Be this as it may, the body was conveyed to Jeruſalem, interred in a moſt magnificent manner, and a public mourning appointed. Thus ended the life of one of the murderers of Alexander and Ariſtobulus: but Antipater, the author of it, afterwards experienced the puniſhment of his wickedneſs; and the death of Pheroras gave riſe to his ruin; for ſome of the freedmen of Pheroras, lamenting the loſs they had ſuſtained, went to the king, and informed him that his brother had been poiſoned; for that his wife had given him a kind of food not dreſſed in the cuſtomary way, and that he was immediately taken violently ill after ſwallowing it. Two days before this circumſtance, it had been remarked that a cunning woman had, by the advice of the mother and ſiſter, been brought from Arabia, to prepare a medicine for Pheroras, which proved to be a moſt rancorous poiſon, adminiſtered by the advice of Syllæus, who was well acquainted with the woman.

Preſumptions were ſo ſtrong, and ſuſpicions ſo numerous, that Herod ordered ſeveral perſons, both bond and free, to be put to the torture. Among theſe

* *Vide* Ant. l. 17. c. 3, 5, 6, 7.

theſe was a woman, who in the extremity of her pain, exclaimed, " May " that God who rules heaven and earth avenge both thee and us on the " mother of Antipater, on whoſe account we ſuffer ſuch exceſs of miſery." In conſequence of this hint, Herod traced the diſcovery; and another woman informed him of all the proceedings between the mother of Antipater, and Pheroras, and his women; mentioned their irregular meetings; and that Pheroras and Antipater, when they retired from court, kept them company all night, not a ſervant being admitted to the apartment. This evidence was given by one of the freed-women.

The witneſſes being ſeparately examined, there appeared to be a perfect coincidence in their informations, ſo that no doubt remained of the reality of the charge. Herod now conceived an idea that Antipater's retiring to Rome, and Pheroras having procured (for ſo he thought it) his own baniſhment, were but ſtratagems to retire from danger: for they had been often heard to ſay that Herod would not be content with the death of Alexander and Ariſtobulus; but themſelves and their wives muſt expect a ſimilar fate; ſince no one could hope for moderate treatment at the hands of him who had murdered his wife and children; wherefore the moſt prudent meaſure would be to retreat beyond the reach of his power.

It was farther depoſed by the women, that Antipater would frequently addreſs his mother to the following purpoſe: " While I begin to grow grey-" headed, my father ſeems to grow younger every day; and what certainty " is there that I may not die before I arrive at the throne? Or, as my father " may live a long time, ſuppoſe I ſurvive him, I may by that time be indif-" ferent to the pleaſures of royalty. Beſides, the children of Alexander and " Ariſtobulus are ſo many Hydra heads ſhooting forth: and with regard to " my own children, the will of my father has abridged them of the ſucceſſion, " and made the ſon of Mariamne his heir; if the will of ſuch a dotard may " be allowed to have any validity: but he will provide againſt any diſputes " on this ſcore, by deſtroying every one of his family who might claim the " ſucceſſion. Certainly, of all the parents who ever exiſted, he is the moſt " unnatural and cruel to his ſons; and yet more ſo, if poſſible, to his bro-" thers: an inſtance of this ariſes from the hundred talents which he gave " Antipater, to have no farther connection with Pheroras: and when Phero-" ras demanded, " What injury have we done him?" Antipater replied, that " he only wiſhed he would give them their lives, after ſtripping them of all " they poſſeſſed. But what is to be expected from ſo perfect a ſavage, with " whom it is dangerous to live in the open profeſſion of friendſhip? But " here are we now (continued Antipater) contenting ourſelves with ſtolen " meetings, when we might do ourſelves juſtice in a very different manner, " if we had but the common courage and reſolution of men."

Thus much was confeſſed by the women, and likewiſe that Pheroras had entertained an idea of retiring with them to Petra. This diſcovery ſeemed clear; but the circumſtance that ſtruck Herod in particular was the hundred talents, which he had mentioned only to Antipater. Herod, therefore made Doris, the mother of Antipater, the firſt object of his vengeance, taking from her the ornaments, and valuable trinkets with which he had preſented

her, to the amount of many talents; and he then baniſhed her. When his rage was ſomewhat abated, he relieved the women belonging to Pheroras from the torture: but he was at the ſame time tormented with fear of the conſequence of this mercy; for ſo rigid was he in his cruelties, that, leaſt any of the guilty ſhould eſcape, the innocent were frequently put to the torture.

Antipater, the Samaritan, the deputy of the other Antipater, now gave his evidence; by which it appeared that Antipater had diſpatched a friend of Antiphilus into Ægypt, to procure poiſon for the king. This poiſon was received from Theudion, Antipater's uncle, and by his order, delivered to Pheroras, who had undertaken to perpetrate the horrid deed, while Antipater was at Rome, and conſequently beyond the reach of ſuſpicion: and Pheroras committed the care of the poiſon to his wife.

On receiving this intelligence, the king ſent immediately for the widow of Pheroras, whom he commanded to make an inſtant diſcovery of the ſecret. She had no ſooner received theſe orders, than ſhe retired under pretence of fetching the poiſon; but threw herſelf from the top of the houſe, at once to prevent the diſcovery, and avoid the torture. But Providence would not thus permit the eſcape of Antipater; for not being killed by the fall, ſhe was taken up, and conveyed to the king; and being ſomewhat recovered from the hurt ſhe had received, Herod urged her to inform him what could have tempted her to run ſuch a hazard; ſolemnly ſwearing that, if ſhe diſcovered the truth, ſhe ſhould be no farther puniſhed; but that, if ſhe gave a falſe account, ſhe ſhould be tortured to death, and denied the honours of a funeral.

When her ſenſes were fully reſtored, ſhe exclaimed as follows: "Now "Pheroras is dead, it is not for me to keep ſecrets in favour of Antipater, "who hath been the ruin of us all. Attend to what I ſay, mighty prince, "while I call on that God who cannot be deceived, to witneſs to the truth of "my declaration. When you viſited my huſband in his illneſs, and was "drowned in tears on his account, he called me to him, and declared that "he had been miſtaken in the opinion he had formed of his brother's "kindneſs: for that he hated you, and had meditated your deſtruction; "though you could then evince ſo generous a concern for his unhappy ſituation: whereon he charged me immediately to fetch the remainder of the "poiſon which Antipater had brought, and burn it in his preſence, declaring that he ſhould otherwiſe die with a weight of guilt on his mind. I "fetched it, according to his directions, and burnt the greater part of it before him; reſerving the remainder for my own uſe in a caſe of extremity." Having thus ſaid, ſhe produced a box, with a ſmall quantity of the poiſon in it. The examinations of the mother and brother of Antiphilus were now taken; by which it appeared that Antiphilus had brought the box which contained the poiſon from Ægypt, having received it of a brother of his, a phyſician at Alexandrion. It now ſeemed as if even the ghoſts of Alexander and Ariſtobulus were agents in making diſcoveries, by means of perſons and circumſtances leaſt likely to develope them. It was clear that Marianne, the daughter of the high-prieſt, had a concern in the plot, as was evident from

from the teſtimony of her brothers: but the mother was puniſhed in the ſon; for the king, who had formerly declared Herod, the ſon of Mariamne, the ſucceſſor of Antipater, now obliterated his name from his will.

CHAP. XX.

Bathyllus the moſt material evidence againſt Antipater: he brings with him forged letters againſt the brothers. Antipater alarmed by the death of Pheroras. He proceeds to Sebaſte, where he is univerſally ſhunned. He applies to his father, who orders him to prepare for his trial on the following day. The aſſembling of the court. The witneſſes appear. An artful ſpeech of Herod to Varus. Nicolaus ordered to adduce the proofs. The defence of Antipater. Nicolaus ſevere on him. Evidences of the poiſon produced. Antipater charged with being concerned with Acme, in a plot againſt Salome. Herod reſolves to do juſtice on Antipater; alters his will; ſubſtitutes Antipas in his place; and adjuſts his legacies.

THE moſt material evidence againſt Antipater*, was one of his own freed-men, named Bathyllus, who, juſt at this juncture, arrived from Rome, bringing with him the poiſon of an aſp, and of other ſerpents; that if the former poiſon ſhould fail, Pheroras and his wife might put an end to the life of Herod. Exclufive of this, Bathyllus brought ſeveral letters, which Antipater had forged, to the prejudice of the brothers.

At this time Archelaus and Philip were purſuing their ſtudies at Rome. They were now become young men of great courage and expectation; and being ſons of the king, Antipater conſidered them as obſtacles to his ambition; and had little hope of ſucceſs unleſs he could work their deſtruction. For this purpoſe he forged letters againſt them, in the names of ſeveral of their friends at Rome; in ſome of which their ſuppoſed reflections on their father were mentioned; their exclamations on the death of Alexander and Ariſtobulus, and their regret at being ſent for from Rome; (their father having ordered their return). This laſt circumſtance affected Antipater more than all the reſt.

It was proved that before Antipater left Judæa, he had been guilty of forgery, and procured letters from Rome to Herod on this ſubject: while, to prevent ſuſpicion falling on himſelf, he would apply to his father, and become a ſeeming advocate for his brothers. He uſed to ſay he "Hoped the "repreſentations exceeded the fact; that ſome things urged againſt them "might be falſe; and for the reſt, there might be leſs of malice than incon-"ſideratenes in them." All this time he was at an enormous expence with his agents, to procure the deſtruction of his brothers; and to cover the deceit, he purchaſed variety of rich garments, carpets, gold and ſilver plate, and many other articles of high value, which he placed to the account of the ſuit in which they were engaged with Syllæus.

* *Vide* Ant. l. 17. c. 6.

The leſſer evil ſeemed to have been ſwallowed up by the greater. When the converſation of the whole country turned on the intended murder of Herod, and every letter and witneſs combined to prove and detect the repeated deſign on the lives of the brothers; yet, though it was ſeven months between the proof of the fact and the return of Antipater, not a word was ſaid on the road out of Judæa, of the preſent ſtate of Herod's family: for Antipater was univerſally deteſted; and it ſeems to have been an act of Providence, to prevent that circulation of report which might otherwiſe have prevented the execution of the Divine vengeance.

Antipater now wrote to Herod, that he had been honourably treated and diſmiſſed by the emperor, and was on the point of commencing his journey. Herod, ſtill anxious till he had him in his power, leſt any precaution ſhould prevent his coming, wrote him letters of great apparent kindneſs, familiarly deſiring him to expedite his return; and telling him that, if he made haſte, he might compound for the offence of his mother, whom Antipater knew to be already baniſhed. When he arrived at Tarentum, he received a letter adviſing him of the death of Pheroras, which exceedingly ſhocked him. Some imputed the extremity of his ſorrow to his concern for the death of ſo near a relation; while others attributed it, not to his regard to Pheroras, but to his concern for the loſs of an accomplice and agent in his deteſtable plot, and his fear that what had been already done ſhould be diſcovered, and the whole ſtory of the poiſon revealed.

When he reached Celendris, he began to have certain fore-boding ideas of what might happen, and could not avoid reflecting very ſeriouſly on the ſituation of his mother. Thoſe who were more prudent and cautious among his friends, adviſed him not to go forward to his father, till he received certain information of the cauſe of his mother's baniſhment; leſt he himſelf ſhould be involved in the crime imputed to her: but thoſe of leſs judgment, who wiſhed to reviſit their native place without regard to the conſequence to Antipater, urged his proceeding with all poſſible expedition; ſaying, that his delay might cauſe ſuſpicion, and furniſh arguments for his adverſaries; that if any thing was done againſt him, it would be during his abſence; for that if he were on the ſpot, no man would preſume to oppoſe him. They ſaid farther, that it would be the height of folly to hazard a real advantage for an idle chimæra: that his buſineſs was to make all expedition to his father, to be within reach of receiving a crown that could not deſcend to any other. Theſe arguments had their weight; and Antipater, as if impelled by a fatality, continued his voyage to the port of Sebaſte in Cæſarea.

He was aſtoniſhed, at his arrival there, to find himſelf avoided by the people, no one being willing to come near him. It is true that they hated him as much before, but did not ſhew it ſo openly. Some of them ſtood in fear of the king; the whole diſcourſe was of Antipater; yet Antipater himſelf the moſt ignorant of the ſubject. When he went to Rome it was in a moſt diſtinguiſhed manner; but his return was altogether as contemptibly mean. He was now acquainted in general with the diſturbances and contentions in the family; but he had the ſenſe to diſguiſe his fears, and conceal an aching heart by a ſmiling countenance. It was not now poſſible for him to make an eſcape,

eſcape, or relieve himſelf from his diſtreſs in any other manner. Still he was not abſolutely certain of the particular ſtate of affairs at home; for no one durſt come to inform him of them; ſo that, at times, he had hope, either that his crimes were undiſcovered, or that, by impoſition and confidence, he might acquit himſelf: and in theſe conſolations all his truſt was repoſed.

Antipater advancing towards the palace with his friends, his train was contemptuouſly refuſed admittance at the outer-gate; wherefore he went in by himſelf. It happened that Varus, governor of Syria, was preſent at this juncture. Antipater was no ſooner entered, than he had the aſſurance to addreſs Herod, as in a way of reſpectful duty: but, as he approached, Herod extended his hand to ſtop him; and, with a look of indignation, exclaimed, "Shall I thus ſubmit to the embrace of a parricide? Curſed be that "impiety that prompts thee to approach me till thou haſt obviated the cri-"minal charges againſt thee. For what purpoſe thinkeſt thou that Varus, "thy judge, appears, but to paſs a ſentence agreeable to thy deſerts? There-"fore be gone, and prepare for thy defence againſt to-morrow, for I ſhall "not allow thee a longer period." Aſtoniſhed at theſe words, Antipater was unable to reply, and immediately retired in gloomy ſilence. His mother and his wife going afterwards to him, informed him of every thing that had paſſed; which recovered him from his ſtupefaction, and induced him to conſider what he ſhould urge in his defence.

On the following day Herod aſſembled a council of his friends and relations, and likewiſe of the friends of Antipater; himſelf and Varus preſiding in the court. He immediately ordered all the witneſſes to be brought in, among whom were ſeveral of the ſervants of Doris, (the mother of Antipater) who had been long in confinement. Theſe ſervants produced letters from the mother to her ſon, to the following effect: "Your father is inform-"ed of all that has paſſed; therefore be cautious how you come near him, "unleſs you can abſolutely rely on the protection of Cæſar." Soon after theſe witneſſes were introduced, Antipater came into the court, and throwing himſelf at his father's feet, ſaid, "I humbly entreat you, Sir, to hear "me with impartiality: prejudge not my cauſe; and I have not a doubt of "adducing the fulleſt proofs of my innocence."

Herod, with an air of authority, commanded his ſilence; and then turning to Varus, ſaid, "I am aſſured, Varus, that you, or any other unbiaſſed "judge, muſt be convinced that Antipater is deſerving of death; but, in "the interim, I dread the opinion you may form of my malignant fortune; "as if my being the father of ſuch children had brought ſo ſore a calamity "upon me. Yet ſhall I be deemed entitled to your compaſſion, for the very "kindneſs that I have ſhewn to ſuch abandoned wretches. With regard to "the young men that are now no more, I had intended them for the govern-"ment, and cauſed them to be educated at Rome, in the court, and under "the auſpices of Cæſar, that they might be the better qualified to rule: yet "when I had raiſed them to the envy of other princes, they became the "greateſt enemies of my peace and ſafety. Antipater, however, ſought to "profit by their ruin, by ſecuring the ſucceſſion to himſelf: yet how am I "requited by this monſter of iniquity, who has practiſed againſt my life, in

" return for my kindneſs! He thought, and he was grieved to think, that " I ſhould live too long; nay, that I had already done ſo. He could not be " contented with the poſſeſſion of the crown, unleſs he waded to it through " the blood of his father: and I muſt own that I laid the foundation of this " conduct, by reſtoring him to court from a private condition, and declar- " ing him my ſucceſſor, in prejudice to the ſons born of the queen.

" I muſt freely acknowledge to you, Varus, the error of my proceedings. " It was wrong in me to deprive my ſons of the ſucceſſion, in favour of An- " tipater; nor did I ever ſhew them the favour that I evinced towards him. " He was admitted to a great ſhare in the adminiſtration during my life; " and, at my death, the ſucceſſion was ſettled on him. He had a revenue " of fifty talents, beſides other gratuities; and I likewiſe bore his expences on " all occaſions: when he went to Rome he had three hundred talents, and " carried my warm recommendation to Cæſar as my preſerver. The united " wickedneſs of all the reſt of my family equals not that of Antipater; the " proofs againſt them fell ſhort of what I have againſt him; yet has he the " audaciouſneſs to plead innocence, nor does he deſpair to confound the " truth by artifice. Be guarded, Varus. He will recite his tale with plau- " ſibility; but I know him in all his diſguiſes, and am aſſured of the baſe- " neſs of his heart.

" Not long ſince this man would earneſtly urge me to beware of Alexander, " and be cautious not to expoſe my perſon. Frequently would he come in- " to my bed-chamber, and affect to make a ſearch, as if he expected ſome " treachery. He acted as my guard and protector while I ſlept; conſoled " me in my grief for the loſs of the brothers, and engaged for the duty of " thoſe who ſurvived: in a word, he appeared to be my guard and cham- " pion. When I reflect on his addreſs and hypocriſy, the art of his ſnares, " and the cunning concealment of them, I wonder that I ſhould have eſcaped " him, ſo as to exiſt at this moment. However, ſince my fate has decreed " that thoſe of my family to whom I have been moſt kind ſhould be my moſt " inveterate foes, I can only lament my cruel deſtiny, confine my ſorrows to " my own boſom, and determine that whoever ſhall ſeek my deſtruction " ſhall be condignly puniſhed, though the whole family ſhould fall a ſa- " crifice."

Having ſaid this, and being much troubled in mind, Herod ordered his friend Nicolaus to produce the proofs againſt Antipater; who having been all this time proſtrate at his father's feet, now lifted up his head, and ſpoke as follows: " Your generoſity, Sir, has already pleaded my cauſe. It is im- " poſſible that he could be a parricide whom you have acknowledged as your " preſerver. If my filial piety was pretence only, as you now ſay, it could " not happen that I ſhould be ſo artful in one caſe, and ſo ſtupid in another, " as not to know, though impoſitions may paſs on men, yet that ſuch wick- " edneſs would not paſs unpuniſhed by the Omnipotent Being who ſearches " our hearts. The want of duty in my brothers to you was puniſhed by the " vengeance of Heaven. I could have no temptation to ſeek your life: not " the hope of a kingdom in which I was already in a kind of poſſeſſion. I " could not think you hated me, after ſuch abundant proofs as you had gi-

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" ven to the contrary. I could not fear you, when I knew that the zeal I " entertained for your ſafety, made others ſtand in fear of me. I could not " be in want of any thing, ſince your treaſure ſupplied my demands, even " to profuſion. I muſt therefore have been worſe than the worſt of " men, a perfect brute, to have been deficient in duty to ſo generous a pa- " rent. You acknowledge that you received me to your favour, gave me a " preference to your other ſons, and declared that I ſhould ſucceed to " the throne. Excluſive of theſe favours, all men envied me for your other " acts of kindneſs.

" But I am now moſt wretched! My fatal journey hath afforded time and " materials for the treachery of my enemies to be employed: but for the " ſervice of my father I undertook this voyage, and to prevent Syllæus from " affronting you. My loyalty is well known at Rome, and to Cæſar him- " ſelf, the governor of Rome, and of the world, who has often kindly ſpoken " of my veneration for my father. I entreat you, Sir, to receive theſe let- " ters, which contain more truth than all that has been exhibited to my pre- " judice. Theſe are my juſtification, and afford a full proof of the regard I " have entertained for you. You will recollect, Sir, with what reluctance I " undertook a journey that was likely to expoſe me to the malice of my ene- " mies. Obedience to your orders have been my ruin, by allowing time to " my foes to carry their diabolical plans into execution.

" Either by ſea or land, the wrath of Heaven would have met me before " this time, if I had been a parricide: but I reſt not my innocence on this " argument, aſſured that I am already condemned in your mind. In my " preſent ſituation, all the favour I aſk is, that I may not be puniſhed in con- " ſequence of evidence excited by torture: rather let me ſuffer by fire, racks, " and any other inſtruments of torment: for if I am really a parricide, my " puniſhment cannot be too ſevere." This addreſs was accompanied with ſuch pathetic tears and lamentations, that the whole court, and even Varus, ſeemed to pity the caſe of Antipater: Herod alone remained unmoved; for he knew the ſtrength of the evidence, and was ſo aſſured of his guilt, that his artful tears had no effect.

Nicolaus ſpoke next, and agreeable to the king's orders, prefaced his ſpeech with remarks on the artifice of Antipater; charged him with crimes of a capital nature, and left him no room to hope for mercy. All the public miſconduct was attributed to Antipater; particularly the deſtruction of the brothers, which was evidently the effect of his traductions. He was charged with having practiſed againſt the ſurvivors, who were in the way of his advancement. It was urged that he would not ſpare the brothers, who could entertain thoughts of poiſoning the father. When Nicolaus came to prove the intended poiſoning, he produced the evidences in order, declaimed on the crime of Pheroras, charged Antipater with having promoted the wickedneſs, corrupted the king's beſt friends, and made the palace a ſcene of lewdneſs.

Varus now demanded of Antipater, what he had to urge in his own defence; to which he made no other reply than by a ſolemn appeal to Heaven

that he was wholly innocent. Hereupon Varus called for the poiſon, and giving part of it to a perſon under ſentence of death, he expired immediately. Varus now conferred with Herod in private, ſent the proceedings to Cæſar, and departed the following day. Herod likewiſe ſent an account of the proſecution to the emperor, and committed Antipater to cloſe cuſtody.

After this, Antipater was charged with a treacherous deſign againſt Salome. A ſervant of Antiphilus, on his return from Rome, brought the king a letter from Acme, an attendant on the empreſs, in which ſhe informed him, that having found among the papers of her miſtreſs, a number of letters from Salome to Julia, ſhe thought the receipt of them would be deemed a favour by Herod. Theſe letters, which were the production of Antipater, were filled with the moſt ſcandalous invectives againſt, and reproaches of the king; and Acme was only employed to convey them to Herod, on the promiſe of an ample gratuity. What made the guilt of Antipater yet more evident, was a letter from this very Acme to him, conceived in the following terms: "Agreeable to your commands, I have written to your father, and "have alſo ſent him other letters. You may be aſſured that, on the peruſal "of them the king will be ſufficiently enraged againſt his ſiſter. Now I "have done my duty, let it be your care not to forget the promiſe you have "made me."

When this forgery had been detected, and other practices againſt Salome diſcovered, Herod was alarmed and aſtoniſhed on the reflection, that ſhe had ſo narrowly eſcaped from the ſnare laid by Antipater: and an idea now ſtrongly poſſeſſed his imagination that Alexander himſelf had fallen a ſacrifice to ſome ſuch artifice: wherefore he was now reſolved, without loſs of time, to cauſe juſtice to be executed on Antipater, in the name of all the family: but, juſt at this juncture Herod was prevented from carrying his plan into execution, by a violent fit of ſickneſs: however, he tranſmitted to Cæſar an account of the treacherous practices againſt Salome, with information how far Acme was concerned in the plot. This being done, he altered his will, and ſtriking out the name of Antipater, inſerted that of Antipas in its place, but took no notice of Archelaus and Philip, though they were the elder brothers. To the emperor he bequeathed a thouſand talents, beſides other pecuniary gratifications. To the empreſs, her ſons, friends, and freed-men, he left about fifty talents; and to other perſons, lands, and other legacies. To his ſiſter Salome he likewiſe made a very conſiderable bequeſt.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

The unhappy ſtate of Herod in mind and body. Judas and Matthias head a tumult reſpecting Herod's golden eagle. A report prevailing that Herod was at the point of death, the mob deſtroy the eagle. The guards ſeize the principal agents. The people mitigate the king's wrath. The ring-leaders put to death. Herod grows worſe, and attempts to kill himſelf. Antipater killed by command of Herod, who appoints Archelaus his ſucceſſor. The deceaſe of Herod. A cruel order fruſtrated. Subſtance of Herod's laſt will. The people celebrate the advancement of Archelaus. Account of the funeral ſolemnities.

REDUCED by age, ſickneſs, and vexation, Herod grew every day more weak*. He was now ſeventy years of age, and ſo bitterly lamented the death of his ſons, that, even when in tolerable health, he enjoyed not any ſatisfaction. He was now extremely ill; yet the idea that Antipater ſtill lived occaſioned him the moſt pungent ſorrow: for he had fixed his mind on giving orders for his execution, on the firſt proper opportunity.

At this juncture a new diſturbance aroſe among the people, which was headed by Judas the ſon of Sephoræus, and Matthias the ſon of Margalus, two Sophiſts diſtinguiſhed by their knowledge of the laws, and, of courſe, in high reputation with the people. Theſe men gave daily lectures, which were attended by amazing numbers of young men. When the Sophiſts were acquainted with the languiſhing ſituation of the king, between the violence of his diſorder and the agitation of his mind, they hinted to each other that this was a proper time for vindicating the honour of God, by the deſtruction of ſuch works as had been erected in defiance of his holy laws: and they urged that the placing of images, or the ſimilitude of any living creature in the temple, was poſitively forbidden. This was eaſily underſtood to refer to the golden eagle which Herod had cauſed to be placed on the great gate: and the merit of pulling it down was repreſented to the people, as an object worthy any hazard they could run in defence of their laws and country: death in the attempt was mentioned as an honour, and a circumſtance that would be ſucceeded by eternal felicity. It was ſaid that baſe minded people, and thoſe only who regarded the preſent moment, would wiſh to die in their beds, rather than fall a ſacrifice at the ſhrine of religion. While the people were attending to this doctrine, a report circulated that the king lay at the point of death. This circumſtance inflamed the paſſions of the multitude, ſome of whom aſcending the temple at noon-day, and thence deſcending by means of ropes, cut the eagle in pieces, while an immenſe croud of people attended as ſpectators. Intelligence of this affair being carried to the captain of the guards, he took a party of ſoldiers, who ſeized about forty of the ring-leaders, and conducted them priſoners to the king. Herod aſked them if they had been ſo preſumptuous as to break the golden eagle: they replied in the affirmative: he then demanded by what orders: they ſaid by the laws of their own country. He farther interrogated them how it could happen that they were

* *Vide* Ant. l. 17. c. 8, 9, 10.

were so chearful, when they were certain of death; and to this they answered, that they were assured of a better existence in a future life. Enraged at this apparent magnanimity, Herod seemed to forget his indisposition through the force of his anger: he said that they were a set of seditious and abandoned wretches, who sought to destroy the government under a pretence of law: "But (added he) you shall be punished in a way proportioned to the enor-"mity of the crime of which you have been guilty." It was now thought that the king's anger might urge him to too great severity: the people, therefore, requested that he would be satisfied with punishing the present prisoners, and the two principal agents, and extend his mercy to the others. This he at length complied with, ordering the two ring-leaders, and those who descended by the ropes, to be burnt alive, and the others of the combination to be beheaded by the common executioner.

The illness of Herod now encreased so that he was pained from head to foot; he had a burning fever, an itching all over his body, pain in his stomach, the gripes, and the dropsy; his secret parts were putrified, and infected with worms; he breathed with difficulty; his nerves were contracted, and he was universally convulsed. The superstitious imputed this complication of disorders to a judgment on him for the death of the two Sophists: yet he was still so anxious for life, that notwithstanding his numerous disorders, and extreme torments, he hoped to find a cure. He crossed the river Jordan, and tried the warm baths of Callirrhoe, the waters of which are at once grateful to the taste and medicinal. After this his physicians recommended a bath of warm oil; but on the first trial of it, he lost his senses, and his eyes were fixed. His situation now so alarmed his attendants, that they burst out into an exclamation of grief, and were so loud in their expressions of sorrow, that the very noise of them in some degree recalled his senses. At length, however, finding that his situation was altogether hopeless, he directed that each of his soldiers should receive a gratuity of fifty drachmas, and that a large sum of money should be distributed to his friends and governors.

On his return to Jericho, when there was no longer expectation of his life, he seemed to bid defiance to futurity by one of the most horrid resolutions that can be conceived; for the violence of his disorder seemed only to inflame his rage. He sent an order through all the country of Judæa, that all the nobility should be seized, and confined in the circus, or hippodrome. This order being issued, he addressed Salome, and her husband Alexas in the following manner: "I am very sensible that the day of my death will be cele-"brated by the Jews as a holiday: but if you will pay a proper attention to "my directions, I have made an ample provision of mourners, and my funeral "solemnities shall be properly celebrated. I therefore charge you that, as "soon as I am absolutely dead, you commission the soldiers to enter the cir-"cus, and put to death all who are within it. By this mode of proceeding "my death will be sincerely lamented by the whole province of Judæa, and "every particular family therein."

Herod had no sooner given these directions than his agents arrived from Rome, bringing him letters, which informed him that Cæsar had ordered Acme, the servant of Julia, to be put to death; and that Antipater was likewise

likewiſe condemned to a ſimilar fate: but that the emperor would have no objection to his being puniſhed with baniſhment only, provided this was agreeable to his father. Theſe letters afforded Herod ſome preſent conſolation; but his violent pains ſoon returning, he was tempted to think of deſtroying himſelf. Being at this time afflicted with a violent cough, he took an apple, and aſked for a knife, as if he intended to pare or cut it. Thus provided, he looked around him, to ſee if any one took notice of him, and then lifted his hand as if to ſtab himſelf. This being ſeen by his nephew Achiab, he ran to him, ſeized his arm, and prevented the intended ſuicide.

This circumſtance gave immediate occaſion to the circulation of a report that the king was dead. The news furniſhed great cauſe of joy to Antipater, who hereupon offered his keepers a conſiderable ſum of money to grant him his liberty: but this the principal officer not only refuſed to comply with, but inſtantly went to the king, with an account of the affair. Herod now exclaimed with more ſtrength than could have been expected from one in his ſituation; and gave orders that his guards ſhould go directly and put Antipater to death, and take care to depoſit his body in the caſtle of Hyrcanion. This being done, Herod again altered his will, leaving the ſucceſſion to the eldeſt brother Archelaus, in the ſtead of Antipas, on whom he beſtowed a tetrarchy.

Five days after the execution of Antipater, Herod departed this life, having been thirty-ſeven years declared king by the Romans, and thirty-four years after the deceaſe of Antigonus. He was one of the moſt fortunate of men, the troubles in his own family excepted. From a private ſtation he was raiſed to the rank of a king. He held the government for a long period, and at length bequeathed it to his family.

The military were as yet unacquainted with the death of the king: during which interval Salome and her huſband went to the hippodrome, and gave orders that all the priſoners who had been devoted to deſtruction ſhould be ſet at liberty, and every one permitted to retire to his own habitation; and this under the pretence that Herod had altered his reſolution. The priſoners were no ſooner at liberty than the ſoldiers were informed that the king was dead, and being aſſembled together at the amphitheatre of Jericho, Ptolemy, the keeper of the royal ſeal, addreſſed them in a ſpeech in honour of the deceaſed, whom he mentioned as a prince of ſingular good fortune, and condoled with them on the loſs they had ſuſtained. He then read a letter addreſſed particularly to the military, in which he warmly recommended his ſucceſſor to the affectionate regard of the public. In the next place he read the will; whereby the kingdom was left to Archelaus, Philip was declared heir of Trachon, and its adjacencies; and Antipas, as before-mentioned, was appointed tetrarch. Herod alſo directed, by his will, that his ring ſhould be preſented to Cæſar, that he ſhould be acquainted with all that had paſſed, and nothing ſhould be ratified without his conſent. In other reſpects the former will was to be deemed valid.

Hereupon there was a general acclamation of "Long live Archelaus!" The ſoldiers and common people were equally free of their good wiſhes.

The next care was to bury the deceaſed king, in which Archelaus was at great expence; directing that the funeral ſhould be accompanied with all the pomp of royalty. The hearſe was covered with purple, embroidered with gold, intermixed with precious ſtones. The body being placed herein, was likewiſe covered with purple; a diadem put on the head, and a crown of gold on that. In the right hand was a ſceptre; and the children and near relations ſurrounded the corpſe. The body was preceded by the guards, Thracian troops, Germans and Gauls, who marched in military order. The other troops followed their commanders in a proper manner. The proceſſion was cloſed by five hundred officers, domeſtics and freemen. The body was depoſited in the caſtle of Herodion, agreeable to the deſire of the deceaſed.

END of the FIRST BOOK.

THE

THE

WARS

OF THE

JEWS.

BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Account of the ceremony of mourning and feasting. The royal declaration. The people complain of grievances. A violent tumult. The multitude prevail against the guards; but at length the army routs the whole body. Archelaus goes to Rome, and Philip officiates for him. Sabinus proceeds towards Cæsarea, but is stopped by Varus. Sabinus retires to Jerusalem, and demands possession of some castles and treasure, but is refused. Antipas makes pretence to the succession. Sabinus and Salome bring charges against Archelaus. His defence. Cæsar hears both sides, receives Archelaus graciously, and adjourns the court.

NEW troubles arose from the necessity of Archelaus's* going to Rome on the death of Herod. When the seven days of mourning were ended he advanced to the temple, dressed in white, and was received with all possible respect by the people; to whom, from a throne of gold, he behaved in the most gracious and condescending manner. Having thanked

* *Vide* Ant. l. 17, c. 10.

thanked them for the attention they had paid to his father's funeral, and the honours they rendered to him as the ſucceſſor, he added, "But till Cæſar, "our common ſovereign, has confirmed the ſucceſſion, I ſhall neither claim "the authority, or even the name of king: and for this reaſon I refuſed the "crown, when the army would have beſtowed it on me at Jericho: though "I ſhall ever remember with gratitude the good wiſhes both of ſoldiers and "people, when I am poſſeſſed of ſovereign authority through the favour of "the emperor; and my friends may rely on my promiſe to ſerve them, even "more effectually than my father has done."

This declaration gave great ſatisfaction to the people, who, determined to ſee if he would keep his promiſe, preſented petitions, ſome for the aboliſhment, ſome for the reduction of taxes, and others for the releaſe of priſoners. Archelaus complied with every requeſt, and then retired to ſacrifice and feaſt with his friends.

A number of diſcontented people had now aſſembled, who complained much of the public grievances. They ſaid it was infamous in Herod to ſacrifice his people for cutting down the golden eagle from the gate of the temple. The clamour now grew general: ſome beat their breaſts; and others lamented with violent outcries, the loſs of ſuch a number of good men as had fallen ſacrifices for the religion and laws of their country. They demanded juſtice on the inſtruments Herod had made uſe of to execute his vengeance; and inſiſted that Herod's high prieſt ſhould be deprived of his office, and a more upright man appointed in his ſtead.

This circumſtance tranſported Archelaus with rage: but being in haſte to proſecute his journey, he thought it adviſeable to treat them with mild language, and therefore ſent his maſter of the horſe, to requeſt that they would be at peace: but he no ſooner came to the temple than the leaders of the mob began to aſſault him with ſtones, and would not permit him to ſpeak. Hereupon Archelaus ſent ſeveral other meſſengers, all of whom were treated in the ſame manner; ſo that, numbers excepted, the riot had the appearance of a rebellion.

The feaſt of the paſſover now approaching, great numbers of the Jews reſorted to the city to celebrate their religious rites: among the reſt ſeveral of the faction of the two Sophiſts, who came to lament the death of the pretended patriots; and would not retire from the temple, where they waited in hope of inflaming the paſſions of their party. Archelaus, apprehending a general tumult, had previouſly ſent a band of ſoldiers, and a tribune, with orders to ſeize the ring-leaders, if any irregularities ſhould be committed. Theſe were attacked, ſome of them killed with ſtones, and the tribune dangerouſly wounded; while the inſurgents retired to their devotions, with as much unconcern as if nothing had happened. Archelaus being now convinced that force alone could quell them, ſtationed his infantry in the city, and the horſe before the walls. The infantry attacked them while ſacrificing, and killed three thouſand at the altar; on which the reſt fled to the mountains, and Archelaus ordering proclamation to be made that every man ſhould return home, the feſtival was at an end.

The tumult being thus ſuppreſſed, Archelaus, with his mother, and his friends Poplas, Ptolemy, and Nicolaus, embarked for Rome; but he left Philip to officiate in his abſence. Salome and her children, with the king's nephews, and other relations went with Archelaus, under pretence of aſſiſting his claim to the ſucceſſion; but in reality to procure him to be puniſhed for the violation of the temple.

When they arrived at Cæſarea, they met Sabinus, governor of Syria, who was on his way to Judæa, to take poſſeſſion of the money left by Herod; but he was prevailed on to ſtop his journey, by the influence of Varus and Ptolemy, at the requeſt of Archelaus. Wherefore he remained at Cæſarea, and promiſed neither to ſeize on the caſtles or money, to the prejudice of Archelaus, without the orders of Cæſar. But no ſooner was Varus gone towards Antioch, and Archelaus on his progreſs for Rome, than Sabinus repaired to Jeruſalem, took up his reſidence in the palace, and ſent to the governors of the caſtles, to deliver them into his hands; and to the officers of the treaſury, to account with him for the money: in anſwer to which they ſaid, they were the officers of Cæſar, not of Archelaus.

At this period, Antipas made claim to the kingdom, inſiſting that the former will was moſt valid, by which the ſucceſſion was limited to him; and that he was certain his pretence would be ſupported by Salome, and the other relations who had ſailed with Archelaus. He took his mother with him, and Ptolemy, the brother of Nicolaus, (a firm friend of Herod) which was greatly in his favour, for no two perſons were more eſteemed than they: but his chief dependance was on Irenæus, a man of abilities, and a ſkilful orator. Thus ſupported, Antipas thought himſelf ſo ſure of ſucceſs, that he would not liſten to any one who adviſed him to pay reſpect to the ſeniority of Archelaus, or to the ſecond will of his father. Antipas, on his arrival at Rome, was joined by the enemies of Archelaus, particularly thoſe who wiſhed to ſhake off the yoke of government, or be ruled by a Roman magiſtracy; but if this failed, they were content to acknowledge Antipas for their ſovereign.

Antipas depended on the aſſiſtance of Sabinus, who had heretofore written letters in his favour to Cæſar, and likewiſe complained of Archelaus. Salome and her party ſtated the charge againſt Archelaus, and preſented it to Cæſar: Archelaus, on the contrary, wrote a memorial in his own favour, which, with his father's ſeal-ring, and an account of treaſure left behind him, were preſented to the emperor by Ptolemy. Cæſar reflecting on the importance and revenues of the kingdom, the numerous family of Herod, and the letters of Varus and Sabinus, aſſembled the Roman nobility in council, to try the merits of the caſe.

The cauſe was opened by Antipater, the ſon of Salome, who inſiſted that Archelaus had, in fact, long exerciſed the ſovereign authority, and it was idle now to contend about the name. "Why, (ſaid he) ſhould that man "appeal to Cæſar, who has already denied his judicial authority? Inſtantly "on Herod's death the people were ſuborned to put the crown on his head. "He ſat like a king, in royal ſtate, on a throne of gold; and aſſerted his

" authority by changing the order of the militia; by diſpoſing of places, " by receiving and granting petitions; by ſetting priſoners at liberty, and " aſſuming the power of life and death; all which are royal prerogatives. " If this man, who has thus exerciſed royal power, be permitted to aſk the " title of royalty of Cæſar, he makes Cæſar no more than a ſhadow; a king " in name, and not in reality. Let me farther aſk, why Archelaus makes this " fareical appearance every day of mourning for his father, when he ſpends " each night in feaſting and carouſing? Was not the late ſedition occaſioned " by the deteſtation that the people had for this hypocriſy?"

Antipater proceeded to recount the ſlaughter near the temple; ſaid, " It " was the feſtival day, when the people aſſembling to worſhip were ſacrificed: " that their throats were cut, and ſuch numbers of dead bodies piled round " the temple, as had not been known in the moſt violent of foreign wars. " Now (ſaid he) the implacableneſs of this man's nature was ſo well known " to Herod, that it could not be thought he would demiſe the crown to him " while he was in poſſeſſion of his intellects. The king's conduct juſtifies " this obſervation: when he made the latter will, his mind was more diſor- " dered than his body, and he was not maſter of his own conduct. No de- " fect is charged on Antipas, the ſucceſſor by the former will; on the con- " trary, he is ſpoken of as a prince admirably calculated for government. " But if it ſhould be allowed that Herod was in his right ſenſes, Archelaus, " by ſubverting the laws of the conſtitution, has, in effect, abdicated the " throne: and what miſchief would not this raſh youth do if he had Cæſar's " authority to countenance his cruelties, ſince he has done thus much in de- " ſpite of all authority?"

Much to the ſame purpoſe having been urged by Antipater, and ſeveral of the relations of Archelaus having given evidence againſt him, Nicolaus ſtood up to ſpeak for the defendant. He inſiſted that the ſlaughter committed in the temple was not only abſolutely neceſſary, but that the parties who were ſlain were enemies of Cæſar. He likewiſe proved that the other alledged crimes were adviſed by thoſe who now oppoſed Archelaus. With reſpect to the ſecond will, he obſerved that it ought to be deemed valid, becauſe the teſtator, when he made it, referred the confirmation of it to Cæſar: a plain proof that the man muſt have ſenſe enough to appoint the right heir, who had ſo properly recognized the undoubted ſovereign.

Nicolaus having finiſhed his plea, Archelaus ſuddenly threw himſelf at the feet of Cæſar, who raiſed him ſo graciouſly, that it was thought he deemed him worthy to ſucceed his father; but for the preſent no reſolution was taken. Cæſar now diſmiſſed the council, and deliberated with his friends how he ſhould act. It was doubted if any of thoſe named in the will ſhould be choſen to the ſucceſſion; or whether the principality ſhould be divided among the family; for they were too numerous to be all properly ſupported at a moderate expence.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Malthace, the mother of Archelaus, dies. The Jews continue riotous. The quarrel inflamed by Sabinus. The people resort to the feast of Pentecost. Their mode of assembling. Sabinus applies for relief to Varus. The temple assaulted. A battle ensues. The galleries fired by the Romans. The holy treasure pilleged by the soldiers. The Jews summon the palace, and offer conditions to Sabinus, which are refused. Violent troubles in Judæa. The conduct of Judas, son of Hezekias the robber. The depredations of Simon, a servant of Herod. Astronges, a shepherd, and his four brothers, men of enterprize.

MALTHACE, the mother of Archelaus, died * before Cæsar had come to a resolution respecting the succession. In the interim Varus sent letters from Syria, respecting a revolt among the Jews, which he having foreseen, went to Jerusalem, when Archelaus departed to Rome, to keep the peace, taking three legions with him: but finding his endeavours ineffectual, he left one of the legions in the city, and returned to Antioch.

Sabinus going afterwards to Jerusalem, inflamed the quarrel; for finding the troops left by Varus, besides a number of his domestics, armed, and ready to second his violence, his intention was to take possession of the castles and money of Herod, by menacing the governors, and officers who had them in possession. The feast of Pentecost happening at this time, the people assembled in prodigious numbers, not from motives of religion but of rage: vast multitudes came from Idumæa, Galilee, and Jericho, and the country beyond Jordan, exclusive of the inhabitants of Judæa, who were more courageous and numerous than the rest. Having separated into three bodies, they pitched their tents in different divisions; one to the westward of the palace, one to the north of the temple, and the other to the south of it, towards the hyppodrome; so that the Romans were beset on every side.

The courage of Sabinus began to fail; wherefore he sent repeated messengers to Varus, to bring him immediate relief, or the consequences would be fatal. In the mean time he retreated to the tower of the castle of Phasael, which commands all the rest; and from thence made a signal to his troops to attack the enemy; but he had not courage to lead his men to the attack in person. The Romans now assailed the temple in a furious manner, and a bloody fight ensued; for while the Jews had no assistance from above, either with darts or arrows, the advantage lay with the Romans, from their superior skill: but when the Jews obtained possession of the galleries, they galled the Romans from thence, so that numbers were killed, and their companions too distant to revenge their loss.

Thus pressed, the Romans set fire to the galleries, which were distinguished by the elegance and ornament of their workmanship. Numbers of the Jews were burnt to death; many slain by the enemy when the galleries fell; and some pushed from the battlements; while others destroyed themselves with the sword, chusing rather to perish that way than by fire. Those who attacked the Romans from the walls were easily destroyed; and at length, a com-

* *Vide* Ant. l. 17. c. 15.

compleat conqueſt being obtained, the ſoldiers ſeized the holy treaſure, to the amount of four hundred talents, leaving the reſt to Sabinus, except what had been clandeſtinely carried off.

In conſequence of this loſs, a more numerous and valiant body of Jews aſſembled; and ſetting down before the palace, ſummoned it to ſurrender, threatening to give no quarter on other conditions; but offering Sabinus leave to depart with his troops, among whom were numbers of volunteers, and three thouſand courageous men of Sebaſte: of theſe Rufus commanded the horſe, and Gratus the foot: they were valiant officers, and the favourites of their partizans. The Jews, urging the ſiege, attempted the walls of the caſtle; ſtill adviſing Sabinus to retire, and not provoke his fate, by oppoſing their reſolution to recover their liberties. Sabinus would have retreated, but he was afraid to truſt them, ſuſpecting ſome treachery was intended; wherefore he maintained the ſiege, in hopes that Varus would relieve him.

At this time diſorders were univerſal in Judæa, and many waited an opportunity of inſulting the government. Two thouſand veterans, who had formerly ſerved under Herod, were aſſembled in Idumæa. They were well armed, ſkilfully commanded, and had frequently encountered the king's troops, under Achiah, kinſman to Herod, who was no table to cope with them in open fields, but had ſucceſsfully attacked them in ſallies from fortified towns.

Judas, the ſon of Hezekias (the celebrated captain of robbers formerly made captive by Herod) was now in Sepphoris of Galilee, followed by a number of men who forced the royal magazines, and furniſhing themſelves with arms, &c. ravaged the country without oppoſition.

On the other ſide of the river was Simon, who had been a domeſtic of Herod's. He was diſtinguiſhed by the uncommon ſize, elegance, and ſymmetry of his perſon. He was followed by a ſet of vagabonds, and ranging the country with a crown on his head, burnt and deſtroyed as he went, even to Jericho, where he ſet fire to the palace, reduced to aſhes many adjacent buildings, and obtained a very valuable treaſure. He would probably have reduced the whole country, but that Gratus arrived with a body of the people from Sebaſte, and bowmen from Trachon; on which a battle enſued, when Simon was routed, with the loſs of many men; and while he was flying acroſs a ſteep bottom, Gratus killed him by a violent blow acroſs the neck and ſhoulders. Thus fell Simon: but there was another gang of depredators aſſembled near Amathus and the banks of Jordan, which ravaged all the adjacent country.

At this time one Athronges, a ſhepherd, preſumed on ſovereign authority. He was robuſt of body, of a ſtrength of mind to brave danger or death in any ſhape. He had four brothers who aſſiſted him, and acted as his officers and counſellors. Each man commanded a troop, and with theſe they ravaged the country. When buſineſs of conſequence demanded diſpatch, Athronges ſat on a throne with a crown on his head, iſſuing orders, and pronouncing judgment, in all the ſtate of royalty. Thus the five brothers proceeded for a while, in deſpite of all oppoſition. They attacked the Romans, the king's troops, and even the Jews, when any advantage could be made

by conqueſt. On a time when the Romans were convoying corn and arms to one of their legions, they were met near Emmaus, by the forces of Athronges, who ſlew Arius the centurion, and forty of his beſt troops, and would have deſtroyed them all, if, juſt at the juncture, Gratus had not arrived, with a number of his followers, from Sebaſte. The partizans of Athronges continued their depredations for a conſiderable time; equally attacking natives and ſtrangers, and making great booty: but at length three of the brothers were made priſoners, one of them by Archelaus, and two others by Gratus and Ptolemy; and a fourth ſurrendering himſelf to Archelaus, the confederacy was diſſolved: but in the mean time Judæa was involved in all the diſtreſs conſequent on rebellious proceedings.

CHAP. III.

The Romans are joined by Varus to oppoſe the Jews. The city of Sepphoris burnt. Sappho plundered, and Emmaus reduced to aſhes. The Jews quit the ſiege on the approach of Varus, whom the citizens admit, and diſclaim all ſhare in the ſedition. Almoſt two thouſand of the ring-leaders crucified. The Arabians diſcharged by Varus. His generoſity towards the Jews of Idumæa.

SABINUS * and the principal officers at Jeruſalem having informed Varus that the legion there was in danger of being deſtroyed, he haſtened to their relief, marching with two legions and four diviſions of horſe, to Ptolemais, which he appointed as a rendezvous, for the king's and prince's auxiliaries to join him. On his way he was reinforced by fifteen hundred armed men from Berytus: and when he reached Ptolemais he was joined by a large body of horſe and foot, under the command of Aretas, king of Arabia. Having drawn up his forces near Ptolemais, he diſpatched a diviſion into Galilee, under the care of Gallus, who ſoon encountered and routed a party of the enemy, entered the city of Sepphoris, reduced it to aſhes, and enſlaved the inhabitants.

In the mean time Varus proceeded to Samaria, but did not attack the city, becauſe the inhabitants were unconcerned in the revolt. He next encamped at Arus, a village in the poſſeſſion of Ptolemy, which the Arabians deſtroyed becauſe he was a friend of Herod. The army now proceeded to the fortified town of Sappho, which was taken and plundered. The Arabians deſtroyed as they went. Emmaus being abandoned, they burnt it by order of Varus, in revenge for the death of Arius and his aſſociates.

Varus now proceeded towards Jeruſalem, and the Jews abandoned the ſiege on his approach. Some fled to the woods and fields; but the citizens in general bade him welcome to the town, declared that they were unconcerned in the ſedition, which they attributed to others. They ſaid, that ſo far from joining the inſurgents, they were themſelves as much blocked up as the Romans: but as it was a public day, they could not hinder people from coming into the town. Varus was met on his approach by Joſeph, the ne-

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* *Vide* Ant. l. 17. c. 16.

nephew of Archelaus, Rufus and Gratus, generals to the king, the people of Sebaſte, and the Roman ſoldiers in their military array. Sabinus was afraid to ſee Varus, but had privately retreated to the ſea-coaſt. In the interim, Varus diſpatched troops through the country, in ſearch of the principal authors of the inſurrection, of whom they found great numbers. Varus ordered near two thouſand of the moſt criminal to be crucified, and gave directions that many others ſhould be committed to priſon.

Varus now diſcharged the Arabians, who had not acted like ſoldiers of honour, but devoted themſelves to ſpoil and plunder, and made great devaſtation wherever they came. He now received information that ten thouſand Jews were in arms near Idumæa; on which he put himſelf at the head of his troops, and marched directly to oppoſe them: but before an attack was made, the Jews, adviſed by Achiah, ſurrendered, and laid down their arms. Varus was not ſevere with the common men; but ſent the officers to Cæſar, to anſwer for their conduct. Some he pardoned; but finding ſome relations of Herod among the number, he cauſed them to be treated as traitors to the king. Varus having thus adjuſted affairs at Jeruſalem, returned to Antioch, leaving behind him the legion which had been previouſly eſtabliſhed as a garriſon to the city.

CHAP. IV.

Cæſar being petitioned by the Jews for the free exerciſe of their religion, ſummonſes a council to take their advice. Account of the proceedings. Archelaus defended by Nicolaus. The cauſe heard by Cæſar. He ſettles the government, and adjuſts the will of Herod.

DURING the above-mentioned tranſactions * in Judæa an affair happened at Rome that poſtponed the views of Archelaus. Fifty deputies, with the conſent of Varus, had been ſent from Jeruſalem to Rome, to petition Cæſar, in the names of their employers, that the Jews might be admitted to the free exerciſe of their religion; and this petition was ſeconded by eight thouſand Jews, who were reſident at Rome. Hereupon Cæſar ſummoned a council of his friends among the nobility, to meet him in the temple of Apollo, on Mount-Palatine; a building which he had erected with equal expence and elegance. When the council met, Archelaus and his friends ranged themſelves on one hand, and a great number of the Jews and their ambaſſadors on the other. The relations of Archelaus ſeemed to act a neutral part. The ill-will they bore him would not permit them to eſpouſe his cauſe; and, at the ſame time, they were aſhamed to oppoſe a prince of the blood, by taking part with his enemies. Among others who were preſent was Philip, the brother of Archelaus, whom Varus had diſpatched on two friendly motives: the firſt was, that he might be ready to aid his brother, if his ſervice ſhould be wanted; and the other, that he might obtain a ſhare in the government, if Cæſar ſhould determine to divide it among the children of Herod.

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* *Vide* Ant. l. 17. c. 11.

The firſt queſtion aſked in council was, " What Herod had done contrary " to law." In anſwer to which it was ſaid, that " He had never acted like a " king; but that his whole conduct was that only of a lawleſs tyrant: that " he was guilty of ſhedding innocent blood, and perverting juſtice to ſuch a " degree, that he made his ſubjects covet death rather than life: that he not " only tore their bodies in pieces by violent torments, but pillaged their ci- " ties and towns of every thing that was moſt valuable, which he laviſhed " in an oſtentatious manner on foreigners; and that he even ſacrificed the " lives of the Jews to ſtrangers." It was further urged that " he deprived " his people of their ancient laws and liberties, leaving them only beggary, " and miſery in return; ſo that they had endured more hardſhips ſince his " advancement to the throne, than their anceſtors ever had experienced ſince " their deliverance from Xerxes, out of the Babyloniſh captivity."

" But (it was further ſaid) the Jews had been ſo habituated to ſlavery, " that they were ſo reſigned to the yoke as almoſt to ſubmit to entail ſlavery " on their poſterity, by paying obedience to Archelaus, ſon of the late ty- " rant, whom, on the death of his father, they had hailed as king. They " lamented the death of Herod, and preferred their prayers for the long and " happy reign of his ſucceſſor; who had given full proof that he was the " true ſon of ſo barbarous a father, by murdering three thouſand citizens on " his entrance on his government: that he had amply entitled himſelf to the " ſucceſſion, by offering theſe victims in the holy temple, where the carcaſſes " were piled up at the time of a ſolemn feſtival."

" Is it then aſtoniſhing (ſaid the orator) that men who have ſurvived ſuch " miſeries, and eſcaped ſuch imminent dangers, ſhould declare their averſion " to this man; and if they are deſtined to deſtruction, their wiſh to fall with " their faces to the enemy, like men of honour? The ſole requeſt that the " Jews have to make to the Romans, is that Cæſar will take ſo much pity on " them as to protect them from the cruelty of their oppoſers, annex the " country of Judæa to Syria, and ſubject them to the laws and regulations " of the Roman government: thus, when they come under the dominion of " moderate and reaſonable governors, it will appear whether they are or are " not ſo turbulent and ſeditious a people as they have been repreſented."

In anſwer to all this, Nicolaus extenuated the crimes which had been alledged againſt the kings; and then proceeded to draw the general character of the Jewiſh nation. He inſiſted that they were a people averſe to regal government, and impatient of controul of any kind; and he concluded by remarking on the conduct of the relations of Archelaus, who had taken part with his accuſers.

Cæſar having heard both parties diſmiſſed the council; and, after a few days conſideration, gave Archelaus half the kingdom, with the title of ethnarch, and promiſed him that of KING, if he ſhould appear to merit it. The other half he divided between Philip and Antipas, ſons of Herod, (the latter of whom had diſputed the ſovereignty with Archelaus) and theſe were called tetrarchs. To the ſhare of Antipas fell the country near the river, and Galilee, of the annual value of two hundred talents. Philip obtained Batanæa, Trachon, and Auranitis, with part of the land of Zenon, near

Jamnia, with one hundred talents yearly. The ethnarchy of Archelaus amounted to four hundred talents, and consisted of Idumæa, all Judæa, and Samaria; but to this last was remitted a fourth of its tribute, as a gratuity for not being concerned in the rebellion with their neighbours. To Archelaus's lot there fell Straton's Tower, Sebaste, Joppa, and Jerusalem: but the Greek cities of Gaza, Gadara, and Hyppon were separated from the kingdom, and annexed to Syria. To Salome, exclusive of what the king had left her, Cæsar gave Jamnia, Asotus, and Phasaelis, with a palace at Askalon; all estimated at sixty talents: but the palace was made subject to the dominion of the ethnarchy. When Cæsar had adjusted the affairs of Herod's will, he gratified his two daughters with a present of five hundred pieces of minted money, on their marriage with the sons of Pheroras; and finally, on the divisions of Herod's patrimony, he distributed among the family a thousand talents, which were left to himself; reserving only a few trifling articles, in remembrance of the testator.

CHAP. V.

An impostor personates Alexander. The mode and management of the deception. The impostor detected, and condemned to the galies; and the author of the scheme put to death.

A Certain young Jew *, who was educated at Sidon, with the freedman of a Roman citizen, now undertook to personate Alexander, who had been put to death by Herod; and went to Rome for the purpose of carrying on the imposition. There went with him, in order to advise and support him, another Jew, who was a perfect master of the persons of the court of Herod, and their intrigues. This man instructed his companion to say, that the men who were engaged by his father to put him and his brother Aristobulus to death, had relented in their favour, and having conveyed them out of danger, substituted other bodies in their stead. Many Jews of Crete believing this story, furnished the impostor with abundant necessaries for his support; on which he went to Melos, where he was received and accommodated in the most bountiful manner. His behaviour was so plausible that he prevailed on many friends to attend him to Rome. When he came to Puteoli he was presented with valuable presents by the Jews of that place, while the friends of his supposed father paid him the respect due to a sovereign prince. In fact, there was such an amazing likeness between him and the real Alexander, that those who had seen the latter did not scruple to swear that he was the same. So much credit had this story gained in the world, that the Jews of Rome flocked about him, thronging every street through which he was to pass; carrying him about in a chair of state, and contributing by every instance of respect and munificence, to give an air of reality to the counterfeit.

Cæsar recollected the features of Alexander, whom he had seen when brought before him on the accusation of Herod: however, he sent Celadus, who

* *Vide* Ant. l. 17. c. 12.

who was perfectly acquainted with the deceaſed, to bring this young man to him: not that Cæſar gave any credit to this alledged ſtory; but it was proper that ſomething ſhould be done in a matter of ſo much importance. Celadus had a ſtrong ſuſpicion of his being an impoſtor at the firſt view: and his opinion was confirmed beyond all doubt, when he remarked the coarſeneſs of his ſkin, the inelegance of his ſhape, and the awkwardneſs of his addreſs: but what particularly ſtruck Celadus was the confidence of his manner. Enquiring reſpecting Ariſtobulus, he ſaid, "He was in health, but "lived at Cyprus, to be out of danger: for, if they were together, the con- "ſequence of a ſurprize might be fatal." Celadus now took him aſide, and told him he knew he was an impoſtor; but that if he would give up the contriver of the plot, Cæſar would ſpare his life. This he readily engaged to do, and attended Celadus to Cæſar, to whom he diſcovered the name of the Jew who had put him upon this plan of raiſing money. And, in fact, more money had been acquired from the credulity of thoſe citizens he had viſited, than the real Alexander could have procured. Cæſar could not help ſmiling at the abſurdity of the contrivance; but, in the end, condemned the counterfeit Alexander to the gallies, a ſervice adapted to his athletic frame; and ordered his aſſociate to be put to death. With regard to the people of Melos, he thought them ſufficiently puniſhed in the expence they had incurred.

CHAP VI.

The baniſhment of Archelaus, and ſeizure of his eſtate. A dream, with its expoſition and accompliſhment. A ſtrange dream of the princeſs Glaphyra. Her viſion of her firſt huſband; and her death, two days after relating her dream.

ARCHELAUS was no ſooner ſettled in his ethnarchy, than old animoſities revived in his mind *: and he was very ſevere both on Jews and Samaritans; and theſe joining to ſend an embaſſy to Cæſar againſt him, he was baniſhed to Vienne, a city of Gaul, and his whole eſtate ſeized on, in the ninth year of his government.

A ſtory is related of a dream that Archelaus had, previous to his being ſummoned to attend Cæſar. He dreamt that he ſaw ſome oxen eating nine large full ears of corn: and he applied to divers Chaldæans and magicians for an interpretation. Their opinions were various; but Simon, an Eſſene, interpreted it as follows: "Nine years are meant by theſe ears of corn: the "oxen ſignify overturning, or changing of things, as the earth is overturned "by the plough. You will reign as many years as there were ears of "corn, and die after various changes of fortune." Archelaus was ſummoned to plead his cauſe before Cæſar within five days of this interpretation of the dream.

The princeſs Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and wife of Archelaus above-mentioned, had likewiſe a ſingular dream. She had been firſt married to Alexander, brother of Archelaus, and ſon of Herod,

51

* *Vide* Ant. l. 17. c. 12.

who caused him to be put to death. After his fatal exit she was married to Juba, king of Lybia, and on his demise she went and lived with her father. On the first seeing her, Archelaus, the ethnarch, fell so violently in love with her, that he dismissed his wife Mariamne, and married her. Not long after this she returned to Judæa, where she beheld her first husband in a vision, who reproached her in the following manner: "Abandoned wo-"man! would not one husband after me suffice thee? And art thou shame-"less enough to wed a third, and even under my roof? This third, too, my "own brother? This is an insult not to be borne: but thy conduct will not "avail thee: I will have thee again, in despite of thy will." Glaphyra died two days after she had related this dream to her friends.

CHAP. VII.

Account of the Essenes, Pharisees, and Sadducees. The temperance of the Essenes; their sentiments of marriage. They enjoy their goods in common: their apparel, charity, and mode of living. Their integrity and good faith. Mode of admission into the society. How they punish offenders. Their administration of justice, and observance of the sabbath. Their long and temperate lives, and contempt of death. Their sentiments on the soul. Their prophecies. Account of another set of Essenes. Of the Pharisees. Of the Sadducees. The severity of the Sadducees to each other, and inhumanity to strangers.

THE ethnarchy of Archelaus being reduced to a province*, Caponius, a Roman knight, was dispatched by Cæsar, as the governor of it. During his government one Judas, a Galilæan, incited the people to a revolt, hinting that by acknowledging the sovereignty of the Romans, and paying them tribute, they treated God and man in the same manner. Undoubtedly the sentiments of this man were peculiar to himself.

Among the Jews are three sects of religion: Essenes, Pharisees, and Sadducees; of which the first are most distinguished for their moral and religious conduct. The Essenes are the most friendly among each other of any people existing. They are enemies equally to pleasure and to vice, and deem continence, and the subjection of their passions as the first of virtues. They have no exalted idea of marriage; but are fond of the children of other people, whom they take when young, and educate them as their own. Their objections to marriage do not lead them to wish the extinction of mankind; but they think the women frail, and doubt their fidelity to any single man.

They despise abundance of wealth; and one principal cement of their society is the enjoyment of their possessions in common, so that none of them shall experience the extremity of riches or poverty: but the whole society, like brothers, share in the common bounties of Providence.

They cannot bear that oil should touch their bodies; and if such a thing happens by accident, are uneasy till they get rid of it. They affect great simplicity in their apparel, not regarding how coarse it is, so it be clean and white.

From

* *Vide* Ant. l. 17. c. 21.

From the beſt men of their ſociety they chuſe ſtewards, to whom they commit the receipt and management of their revenues, leaving it to them to diſtribute to the brotherhood, according to their ſeveral neceſſities.

They do not reſide in any fixed habitations, but wander about in different cities, where they are always ready to accommodate ſuch of their party as may happen to come there, though they have been perfect ſtrangers till ſuch accidental meeting.

When they travel they carry nothing with them but arms for their protection. There are always ſome of the fraternity in every city, to accommodate their friends; ſo that they are in no want of lodgings, proviſions, cloaths, or the other neceſſaries of life. Their dreſs is not unlike that worn by children when under the care of their preceptors.

They neither change either their cloaths or ſhoes till they are ragged, or worn out. They neither buy nor ſell one with another; but chearfully ſupply each other with ſuch things as are wanted; and this not in the way of exchange; for their laws compel the one to give, and leave the other at liberty to accept.

They are the moſt conſcientious men exiſting. They will not ſpeak a word of common buſineſs before the riſing of the ſun; but, at that time, uſe traditional forms of prayer, in which they aſk of God that the ſun may ſhine on them. Theſe devotions ended, they engage in their various occupations till eleven in the forenoon, when they again aſſemble, with linen cloaths thrown over them, and waſh themſelves from head to foot with cold water; which being done, they retreat to their cells, where no perſon of any other profeſſion is permitted to come near them. Thence they proceed into a refectory, which they deem almoſt as holy as the temple. Here they remain ſome time without ſpeaking, when the baker brings each man his loaf, and the cook a plate, or meſs of ſoup to every one, and ſets it before them. The prieſt then ſays grace, before which no one muſt preſume to touch his food. After dinner ſolemn thanks are returned, and then they ſtrip off their habits, which they deem ſomewhat ſacred, and proceed to their common employment till evening. When they go to ſupper they ſit at one table, and if they have any viſitors they ſit with them.

No noiſe or diſturbance is heard in theſe houſes. They ſpeak alternately; and their gravity makes them greatly admired by ſtrangers. Theſe are the conſequences of their ſober life, and moderation in eating and drinking. The advice of their ſuperiors is neceſſary to every act they do, except thoſe of charity, in which they are left to their own diſcretion, every man being at liberty to aſſiſt the virtuous in diſtreſs. Yet they are not permitted to give any thing to their relations, without conſent of their governors.

They have great command of their paſſions; are men of firm faith, fond of peace, and deem their word as ſacred as an oath: in fact, they conſider the taking an oath as worſe than perjury; and have no opinion of a man who cannot be credited without calling God to witneſs what he ſays. They are great admirers of ancient wiſdom, as far as it relates to the good of ſoul or body; particularly reſpecting remedies for diſeaſes; and the virtues of plants, minerals, metals, and ſtones.

If a perſon is diſpoſed to enter into their ſociety, they do not haſtily admit him, but keep him on trial for a year. Thoſe thus on probation receive each a pick-ax, a girdle, and a white garment. After a man has given ſome proof of his continence and virtue, his diet is changed, and he is allowed the uſe of the purifying waters: but he muſt be two years on probation before he is admitted to the table in the refectory. After this he is admitted into the ſociety; but not deemed an eſtabliſhed member of it, till he has bound himſelf to the following conditions.

He muſt firſt ſolemnly profeſs to love and worſhip God; to do juſtice to all men; not to injure any one, even if commanded to do it; to abhor all wicked men; to aſſociate with the friends of juſtice and equity; to keep faith with all men, but eſpecially with princes, who are the appointed ſervants of God. He muſt declare that, if he ſhould be promoted above his companions, he will not abuſe his power to the injury of thoſe beneath him, nor by elegance of dreſs diſtinguiſh himſelf from his inferiors: but that he will love the truth, and devote himſelf to it, and puniſh thoſe who ſpeak falſely. He muſt bind himſelf to keep his hands free from theft and falſe dealing, and his ſoul unpolluted with deſire of unlawful gain: not to conceal the myſteries of religion from his brethren of the profeſſion, nor develope them to the prophane, even to ſave his life. With regard to his doctrine, he muſt promulgate only what he has been taught; endeavour to preſerve the doctrine he profeſſes, the books written concerning it, and the names of thoſe from whom he received it. Theſe profeſſions and proteſtations are uſed as a teſt to new members, to bind them ſtrictly to their duty.

When any perſon is detected in a notorious wickedneſs, he is turned out of the ſociety; and theſe generally make an unfortunate exit. The man who is reprobated by theſe ſolemn vows is not permitted to receive a ſingle mouthful of bread from the hands of a ſtranger, even though his life depended on it; ſo that they are driven to graze like beaſts, till the fleſh periſhes from their bones. The ſociety have ſometimes received them again, when they have been in this utter extremity, and at the point of death: conceiving that the puniſhment they had undergone was a kind of atonement for the crime.

They are ſingularly ſtrict in the adminiſtration of juſtice: nothing is determined on without being carried by a hundred voices; and there is no revoking the judgment when it is once paſt.

Second to the authority of God they deem that of their law-givers, to ſpeak ill of, or blaſpheme whom is puniſhed with death. They pay the utmoſt reſpect to their elders, and to the majority of the people; deeming it reaſonable to obey the former, and attend to the opinion of the latter. When ten of them meet in council, no one is permitted to ſpeak if the other nine oppoſe him. Spitting towards the midſt of the company, or on the right hand, they deem an act of immorality.

No Jews are ſo ſtrict obſervers of the ſabbath as theſe people. On the preceding evening they eat a meal to ſuffice for the ſabbath, that they may not kindle a fire on that day, on which they dare not remove a pot or diſh from one place to another, or even relieve themſelves by a natural evacuation. When, on other days, they have theſe neceſſary calls, they dig a hole near a foot

a foot deep with a pick-ax, and having disburthened themſelves, fill the hole again, ſuperſtitiouſly careful that ſuch an object may not pollute the beams of the ſun. Thus they attempt a ſolemn purification, after a common relief of nature.

The perſons profeſſing this way of life, are in four diviſions, agreeable to the reſpective obligations they have taken; and the younger are deemed ſo much inferior to the elder, that if they happen to touch each other, they are compelled to purify, as if they had touched a ſtranger. They live to an advanced age; many of them to more than a hundred years; which may be attributed to the purity of their food, and the ſimplicity of their manners.

They are fearleſs of danger, and deſpiſe torment to ſuch a degree, that they deem an honourable death preferable to life. For proof of this it is only neceſſary to refer to the war between the Jews and Romans. On many occaſions the Jews ſuſtained exceſſive torments; ſuch as burning alive, breaking of bones, and pains of every kind, rather than ſpeak diſreſpectfully of their law-giver, or eat a mouthful of prohibited food. This they did, deſpiſing idle ſupplications, and dejections of mind, but with ſerene and chearful countenances amidſt all their pains, triumphing over their tormentors, and yielding their lives with a reſolution that evidenced their hope of a glorious future exiſtence.

The Eſſenes believe that the body is mortal; and that the ſoul, being no more ſubſtantial than the moſt ſubtil air, is incorruptible and immortal; but that it is incloſed in the body, as in priſon, by a ſort of natural inclination or attraction: and that when it ſhall be ſeparated from theſe bodily ties, as relieved from a long ſlavery, it will aſcend to the regions of eternal bliſs. Theſe ſentiments are not diſſimilar to thoſe of the Greeks, who imagine a place beyond the ocean, where neither rain, ſnow, or extreme heat prevails, but that it is refreſhed by gentle gales. This they deem the ſeat of the happy ſouls: but with regard to the wicked, they hold them ſentenced to regions of violent tempeſts, ſevere froſts, and eternal pains. Nor is the Grecian ſtory of the Fortunate Iſlands unlike this: theſe are deemed places appropriated to the reception of the ſpirits called heroes, and demi-gods. The Greeks have likewiſe their hell, deſcribed as an infernal pit, provided with plagues and puniſhments for ſuch as Syſiphus, Tantalus, Ixion, and Tityus. They deem the ſoul immortal, from its love of virtue and hatred of vice: ſince the hope of future rewards makes virtuous men ſtill better in this world: it likewiſe checks impiety, from the reflection that though men may eſcape the ſtroke of juſtice in this life, yet the Divine retribution will not fail to meet and puniſh them eternally in a future. Similar to all this is the opinion of the Eſſenes on the ſoul; and it rarely happens that any one who has embraced theſe ſentiments is ever induced to change his opinion.

Among the Eſſenes are ſome who pretend to predict future events; grounding their predictions on the prophecies in the ſacred writings, and preparing themſelves by purification for the buſineſs: and it generally happens that their predictions are fulfilled.

There is another ſect of Eſſenes who agree with the former with regard to laws, manners, and food; but not in that of marriage; for they ſay that thoſe who oppoſe this inſtitution are declared enemies of mankind, as they would prevent the propagation of the human race: urging, that if every one held this ſentiment, the world would ſoon be at an end. Theſe latter, however, are cautious; for they ſubject the women to a probation of three years, and if, at the end of that period, they are in health proper for child-bearing, they are then deemed qualified for marriage. Among theſe the women are covered when they waſh, in the ſame manner as the men.

The Phariſees are the moſt eminent doctors of the law, and men of the greateſt learning in all the rites and ceremonies of the Jews. The principal article in their creed is that "Every thing is effected by God and fate;" yet that it is much in our own power to determine whether we will do well or ill; only fate ſometimes interpoſes in particular inſtances. They acknowledge the immortality of the ſoul, and believe that the ſouls of good men are tranſmigrated into other bodies; but that the ſouls of the wicked are ſent into a ſtate of eternal miſery.

On the contrary, the Sadducees abſolutely deny the doctrine of fate. They ſay that "God is incapable of doing evil, but leaves men at liberty to "act as they pleaſe; and that they have their choice of good and evil." With regard to future rewards and puniſhments, they have no idea of them. The Phariſees are a ſociable people, and live in harmony with each other; but the Sadducees are perpetually diſagreeing among themſelves, and are remarkably ſevere in their conduct towards ſtrangers. Thus much with regard to the philoſophy of the Jews. I will now reſume my ſubject.

CHAP. VIII.

The death of Auguſtus, who is ſucceeded by Tiberius. Judæa governed by Pilate. Cæſar's enſigns being conveyed to Jeruſalem, occaſions a tumult. The Jews ſummoned by Pilate, under pretence of hearing them. Pilate prevailed on to remove the enſigns, by the determined behaviour of the Jews. Another contention ariſes, reſpecting the tax on the holy treaſure. Agrippa prefers a complaint to Tiberius againſt Herod. Agrippa made priſoner till the death of Tiberius. Caius Cæſar ſucceeds Tiberius, and promotes Agrippa, to the mortification of Herod and his wife. Herod applies to the emperor for his favour; but the latter gives his tetrarchy to Agrippa. Herod dies in Spain.

HEROD and Philip (named Antipas) now remained in poſſeſſion of their tetrarchies*, the ethnarchy of Archelaus being reduced to a province. Salome died, and left her eſtate to the empreſs Livia, and alſo a nurſery of palm-trees at Phaſaelis.

After a reign of ſomething more than fifty-ſeven years Auguſtus died, and Tiberius, the ſon of Livia, ſucceeded to the empire of Rome. A city called Cæſarea, was built in Paneas, by Philip the tetrarch. It was ſituated at the head

* *Vide* Ant. l. 17. c. 1, 2.

head of the river Jordan. He likewiſe built another in Gaulanitis, which he named Julias. Tiberias in Galilee, and Julias in Pærea, were built by Herod.

At this time Judæa was governed by Pilate; and Tiberius ſending him thither to take charge of his government, he privately conveyed into Jeruſalem, by night, ſome enſigns of Cæſar, with his image on them. Hereupon the Jews grew tumultuous, apprehending the loſs of their religion and liberties, by this inſult on their laws, which ſtrictly forbid the bringing of images into the city. Great numbers of people from all parts of the province ſoon inflamed the uproar in the city; on which the Jews went in a body to Cæſarea, beſeeching Pilate to ſhew his regard to their laws, by directing the images to be removed. Pilate paid no attention to their remonſtrances; on which the Jews threw themſelves on the ground near his houſe, and continued in that poſture five days and nights.

Pilate aſcended a tribunal in the great court on the ſixth day, and ſummoned the Jews, as if to acquaint them with his determination: but, on a ſignal being given, they inſtantly found themſelves ſurrounded by armed ſoldiers three in depth. The Jews were alarmed at this circumſtance, and ſtill more when Pilate declared that, unleſs they received the enſigns into the city, they ſhould all of them periſh; and hereon, he commanded the ſoldiers to draw their ſwords. On this the Jews threw themſelves on the ground before the ſoldiers, and ſtretched out their necks to the ſtroke of the ſword, unanimouſly declaring that they would die, rather than ſubmit to a violation of their laws. This magnanimity of behaviour aſtoniſhed Pilate to ſuch a degree, that he gave immediate orders for the removal of the enſigns.

Another contention immediately followed the above. The Jews poſſeſs a ſacred treaſure, which bears the name of corban; and on this Pilate impoſed a tax towards the expence of bringing water, by means of aqueducts, from the diſtance of three hundred furlongs. This circumſtance ſo enraged the common people, that they freely complained of it to Pilate, while he ſat upon the tribunal. But Pilate had taken care to provide for the conſequences of a riot, by ordering diſguiſed ſoldiers to mix with the mob, and attack them when directions ſhould be given; but they were commanded not to draw their ſwords, but make uſe of cudgels only, in caſe of an inſurrection. The mob growing riotous and ungovernable, Pilate gave the ſignal to the ſoldiers, who obeyed his orders by doing great execution. Many of the Jews were deſtroyed; ſome by the blows they received, ſome were trampled to death in the croud, and others killed in the purſuit. This chaſtiſement affected the multitude to ſuch a degree that they made no more complaints; and thus the riot was effectually quelled.

Some time after this, Agrippa, (the ſon of that Ariſtobulus who was put to death by his father Herod) went to Tiberius with a complaint againſt Herod the tetrarch; but the emperor diſregarding it, Agrippa remained at Rome in the character of a private gentleman; and inſinuated himſelf with perſons of the firſt rank, particularly with Caius the ſon of Germanicus. It happened that when Agrippa was entertaining Caius at his table, he, in the height of his feſtivity, extended his arm, and ſaid, "I ſhould be happy to ſee Caius

"master of the world instead of Tiberius." The emperor being informed of this speech, Agrippa was committed to prison, where he remained, in a shocking situation, till the death of the emperor, which happened at the end of about six months, and in the three and twentieth year of his reign.

When Caius Cæsar was advanced to the throne he released Agrippa, and bestowed on him the tetrarchy of Philip, (lately deceased) with the title of king. Herod, the tetrarch, greatly envied him for this promotion; and Herodias his wife inflamed his ambition to the hope of possessing the kingdom. She used to tell him that he had lost it by his idleness; that he might have had it for the trouble of a journey to Cæsar, and making the request. "Caius, "(said she) would not have made the least scruple of advancing you to the "dignity of a king, from that of a tetrarch, when he could so readily pro- "mote Agrippa to that rank, from that of a private man." Thus stimulated, Herod went to Cæsar, and was immediately followed by Agrippa; but the emperor was so far from complying with the ambitious views of Herod, that he reprimanded him for his avarice, and bestowed his tetrarchy on Agrippa. The expectations of Herod being thus frustrated, he and his wife retired to Spain, where he died.

CHAP. IX.

Caius Cæsar pretends to be a god. His bloody executions. Orders given by Petronius to place Cæsar's statues in the temple. Petronius marches towards Judæa. Particular description of Ptolemais. Account of Memnon's sepulchre. The Jews at Ptolemais petition Petronius for relief. He assembles them at Tiberias, and expostulates with them. He promises his interest with Cæsar in their behalf. He dismisses them, and retires to Antioch. Petronius writes Cæsar an account of the transactions. Cæsar sends an order to put Petronius to death; but his own death prevents the execution of the order.

ANIMATED by success, Caius Cæsar was impious enough to assume the character of a god*, and to demand Divine honours. He caused such numbers of the Roman nobility to be beheaded, that he almost extirpated the order, and debilitated his country by those frequent executions. Nor did his cruelty stop here; but he extended it to Judæa, whither he sent Petronius, with a commission to erect his statues in the temple, to execute every one who might oppose this order, and to make slaves of the rest of the Jews. But Providence mercifully interfered. Petronius hastily marched from Antioch towards Judæa, with three legions, and a number of auxiliary forces from Syria. The Jews were so amazed at the intelligence of this expedition, that few of them could credit its reality; and those who did were unable to defend themselves: and when the army had reached Ptolemais, an universal anxiety ensued.

Ptolemais is a city situated on a large plain, on the coast of Galilee. It is surrounded with mountains to the eastward, distant sixty furlongs. These mountains

* *Vide* Ant. l. 17. c. 13.

mountains belong to the ſouth part of Galilee, with mount Carmel, diſtant one hundred and twenty ſtadia northwards; where is likewiſe a high mountain, called the Tyrian Ladder, which is alſo diſtant one hundred and twenty ſtadia. Two ſtadia from the town is a ſmall river in the neighbourhood of Belus, near which is ſituated the ſepulchre of Memnon, adjacent to a proſpect near a hundred cubits over, which has ſomething very ſingular in it. It appears like a circular valley, yielding a ſort of glaſſy ſand. This ſand is met by ſhips, which carry it away; but a freſh ſtock is ſtill ſupplied by the winds from the top of the mountains. This place naturally turns any thing that comes into it to glaſs; but the moſt ſingular circumſtance is, that when the ſand has been vitrified, it will turn to ſand again, only on its being thrown on the banks; ſuch is the peculiar nature of the ſoil.

In the diſtreſs above-mentioned, the Jews, with their wives and children, repaired to Petronius at Ptolemais, where they entreated him, by every argument reſpecting themſelves and their country, not to urge the violation of the laws, to the deſtruction of ſo many unoffending perſons. So earneſt, and ſo numerous were the petitioners, and ſo unfortunate their ſituation, that Petronius was induced to leave his army, and the ſtatues of the emperor at Ptolemais; and proceeding towards Galilee, he ſummoned the Jews of every denomination to attend him at Tiberias. When he arrived there he repreſented to them the ſtrength and power of Rome, and the threats of the emperor; adding, that the requeſt of the Jews was a kind of affront, ſince they had no right to diſpute the orders for placing the emperor's ſtatues in their temples, among the other gods, as they were ſubmitted to by all the other ſubjects of the empire. He inſinuated that their expoſtulations had the air of rebellion, and himſelf, next to Cæſar, was intereſted in the affair.

The Jews had nothing to urge, but that the erecting images, either of god or man, in any place, ſacred or profane, was altogether contrary to the laws and cuſtoms of their country. "But (ſaid Petronius) ought I not to "keep the laws of my maſter, as well as you thoſe of yours; and if I ſhould "violate them in your favour, ſhould I not deſerve puniſhment? You are "not now oppoſed by Petronius, but by Cæſar; for I am equally a ſervant "with yourſelves." Hereupon all the people made a declaration that they would never ſubmit to a violation of their laws, though their lives were to pay the penalty of their reſiſtance.

The tumult having ſomewhat ſubſided, Petronius aſked if they were determined to take up arms againſt Cæſar. They replied in the negative; and that they offered up daily prayers for him, and for all the inhabitants of Rome: but if that Cæſar perſiſted in his reſolution to place images in their temple, he ſought the ready method to ſacrifice the whole body of the Jews; for that themſelves, their wives, and their children, were all ready to yield up their lives on the occaſion. This united reſolution of ſuch a multitude, all zealous in the cauſe of religion, had ſuch an effect on Petronius, that he broke up the aſſembly without coming to any determination.

On the following day, however, he went privately to ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons among them; and likewiſe, on the ſame day, addreſſed

himself in public to the common people; at one time advising them as a friend; then urging the invincible courage of the Romans, and the danger of incurring the displeasure of Cæsar; and representing likewise the obligations he was under of obeying his commands. When he found that all these arguments were in vain, and that the Jews had already lost the season of sowing their corn (for the controversy had continued near fifty days,) he told them he had determined to run an imminent hazard on their account: "I "will engage (said he) either to satisfy Cæsar, and thereby save both you "and myself; or, if that cannot be done, my life shall pay the sacrifice of "my zeal." The multitude now offered up vows and prayers for his welfare; on which he dismissed them, and retired with his army from Ptolemais to Antioch. From Antioch he dispatched a messenger to Cæsar, with an account of his method of entering into Judæa, where all the people had united in one general request, the denial of which he thought would risk the loss of the whole province. He said they demanded only the protection of their own laws against all innovations. In answer to this letter, Caius gave immediate orders that Petronius should be put to death for not having executed his orders. But contrary winds detaining those who carried this express, it did not arrive till twenty-seven days after news had come, by a shorter passage, that Caius was dead.

CHAP. X.

Claudius declared, by the army, successor of Caius. The consuls meet in the capitol. Claudius and the senate favour Agrippa. He takes part with Claudius, and is dispatched on an embassy to the senate. Agrippa attempts to justify Claudius and the army. The answer of the senate. The return of Claudius to the senate. A soldier asserts the honour of Claudius. The soldiers desert, and their example is followed by the senate. Agrippa prevents the loss of Claudius's party. Claudius becomes popular, and offers regular sacrifices. His princely benevolence to Agrippa and Herod. The riches and power of Agrippa. Account of the walling of Jerusalem. Agrippa dies at Cæsarea, after reigning three years. Account of the family of Alexander and Aristobulus.

AFTER a reign of three years and six months, Caius was treacherously destroyed*; and the army, which was then at Rome, bestowed the government on Claudius. Three companies were appointed as a guard to the city, by Sentius Saturninus, and Pomponius Secundus, the consuls, agreeable to the order of the senate, which assembled in the capitol, and resolved to oppose Claudius, in revenge of the cruelties of Caius, and with a view to reduce the government to an aristocracy, as it anciently had been, when the administration was composed of the most worthy men. Agrippa happening to arrive at this period, the council invited him to a seat in the senate, and Claudius solicited him to side with the army; as he was deemed a valuable acquisition to either party. Agrippa, considering Claudius already in the light

* *Vide* Ant. l. 17. c. 14.

light of an Emperor, made no ſcruple of attaching himſelf to his intereſt, and was by him diſpatched on an embaſſy to the ſenate. His buſineſs was to declare that Claudius having been choſen emperor by the army, it was entirely their act, without any conſent of his own; and as the tranſaction was irretrievably paſt, it was not in his power to recede, conſiſtently either with his ſafety or honour: for, to decline the dignity would appear as if he deſpiſed the ſoldiers; and if he ſeemed inſenſible of the obligation, they would be inſtigated to revenge. Agrippa repeatedly urged, that as Claudius was already choſen, he could not think of reſigning; ſince, even if he did, he ſhould be ſtill envied as the ſovereign of their choice: but that as the eſſential point was gained, and he was in actual poſſeſſion of the government, he was determined to diſcharge the duties of his office, as a prince who had a real affection for his people, and not as a tyrant, ſeeking the gratification of his own will. He ſaid that Claudius would reſt ſatisfied with the name of emperor, but take advice of the ſenate in ſtate affairs: "For (ſaid he) the "ſhocking fate of Caius would make Claudius unaſſuming, if he was not "naturally diſpoſed to temperance and moderation."

Agrippa having delivered his commiſſion, the ſenate (who relied on their own conduct, and their influence with the army) replied that "They were not "men who would ſubmit to voluntary ſlavery." This meſſage was carried to Claudius, who immediately ſent Agrippa back with an anſwer to the ſenate, importing that Claudius was not of a diſpoſition to betray thoſe friends who had advanced him to the empire: that he was diſturbed at the idea of having any diſpute with the ſenate; but that if the affair muſt be determined by force of arms, he wiſhed they would fix on a ſpot without the city for their deciſion; ſince it were pity that Rome itſelf ſhould be made a ſcene of blood, and reduced to aſhes, only to indulge the humour of a few violent men. Agrippa delivered this meſſage to the ſenate, agreeable to his orders from Claudius.

While affairs were in this ſituation, one of the ſoldiers who was preſent advanced, and drew his ſword, ſaying, "Why, my companions, ſhould we "remain thus in rancourous enmity with our beſt friends, and ſtand on the "precipice of a civil war, becauſe we adhere to Claudius, who is an em-"peror of unblemiſhed character, and a prince whom we ought not to op-"poſe with arms, as an enemy, but rather treat him with duty and reſpect, "as our protector?" Having thus ſaid, he proceeded through the midſt of the court, and was followed by the reſt of the ſoldiers. The nobles were alarmed at the probable conſequences of this deſertion; and finding that oppoſition availed nothing, they followed the example of the military, and retired, declaring for Claudius. In the mean time a number of officious ſoldiers were watching under the walls, with drawn ſwords, to kill them as they came out; and all of them would probably have been ſacrificed, before Claudius was acquainted with the affair, if Agrippa had not apprized him of it, in time to prevent the ſlaughter, and expreſſly told him that if he did not reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of the army, particularly towards the nobility, deva-ſtation would ſtalk at large, and, in a little time, he would be reduced to

a prince of a desert only, instead of being the sovereign of a mighty empire.

This advice was followed by Claudius, who brought his soldiers to obedience, treated the senators in his camp with respect and friendship; and then, agreeable to custom, proceeded with them to offer sacrifices and prayers for the welfare of the empire. Claudius now gave to Agrippa not only the whole of his father's kingdom, but likewise those places which Augustus had bestowed upon Herod, viz. Auronitis, and Trachonitis; with a district that bore the name of the kingdom of Lysanias. The emperor ordered the particulars of this grant to be signified to the people, and directed that the senate should have the same engraved in brass, and placed in the capitol. On Herod, the brother of Agrippa, he bestowed the kingdom of Chalcis; this Herod, by marrying his daughter Berenice, being now become his son-in-law.

The wealth and power now possessed by Agrippa exceeded all description; but he did not waste his riches in trifling or idle pursuits. He soon set about the walling of Jerusalem; and if it had been compleated in the manner it was begun, it would never have yielded to the Roman force: but he left this great work unfinished, dying at Cæsarea, after a reign of three years: having governed as a tetrarch three previous years. By his wife Cypris he left three daughters; Berenice, Mariamne, and Drusilla; and a son named Agrippa, who being very young at the time of his father's death, the kingdom was reduced into a province by Claudius, who bestowed the government of it on Cuspius Fadus, who was succeeded by Tiberius Alexander, who held the people in peace, by leaving the laws and customs of the country unviolated. Soon after this, died Herod, the governor of Chalcis, who left two sons, named Berenicianus and Hyrcanus, by Berenice, the daughter of his brother; and Aristobulus, by Mariamen, his former wife. Another brother, Aristobulus, died a private man, and left a daughter, called Jotapa. It has been already mentioned that these were the children of Aristobulus, the son of Herod. But Mariamne bore to Herod two sons, named Alexander and Aristobulus, who were put to death by order of their father. After this the children of Alexander were governors in Armenia the greater.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

The death of Herod of Chalcis. He is ſucceeded by Agrippa. Tiberius Alexander ſucceeds Cumanus. A vile affront to the Jews, and its conſequences. A robbery occaſions a tumult. The books of Moſes torn and burnt by a ſoldier, who is put to death. Account of a quarrel between the Jews of Galilee and Samaria, which occaſions great diſturbance in Jeruſalem. The authors of theſe outrages. Cumanus marches to relieve the country. Complaints of them made to Quadratus. The origin of the tumults charged on the Samaritans, and the conſequences on Cumanus. Quadratus repairs to Jeruſalem for better information. Cumanus and the Samaritans heard at Rome, by Cæſar, who paſſes judgment, and orders execution. The death of Claudius, who is ſucceeded by Nero. The infamous character of the latter.

HEROD of Chalcis being dead, Agrippa, the ſon of Agrippa, was advanced by the emperor to the kingdom of his uncle; and that of Judæa was governed by Cumanus, who ſucceeded Tiberius Alexander. During the adminiſtration of the latter many freſh misfortunes overtook the Jews. While the people were aſſembled in prodigious numbers at Jeruſalem, to celebrate the feſtival of unleavened bread, a guard of ſoldiers was ſtationed at the gate of the temple, to prevent diſorders, according to the uſual cuſtom. Among theſe ſoldiers was one, who, turning up his bare poſteriors in the midſt of the company, made a diſagreeable noiſe, correſponding with the indecency of the action. This inflamed the multitude to ſuch a degree, that preſſing in crowds to Cumanus, they demanded juſtice on the ſoldier for the inſult: and among the reſt, ſome violent young men proceeded to high words, and quarrelling, and ſtruck the ſoldiers, and pelted them with ſtones. Cumanus, fearing the conſequences of a popular inſurrection, ſent other ſoldiers to ſupport the former; which occaſioned ſuch terror to the Jews, that they endeavoured all in their power to get out of the temple; but the throng was ſo great in the paſſages, that near ten thouſand were preſſed or trod to death. This circumſtance turned the Jewiſh feſtival into mourning: there were tears and lamentations in every houſe; for the calamity was ſo general that every family ſhared it.

No ſooner was this misfortune ended, than it was ſucceeded by another. A domeſtic of Cæſar, named Stephen, being on a journey with ſome houſehold-goods belonging to his maſter, was attacked by a ſet of thieves who robbed him, near Bethoron. Hereupon Cumanus ſent a party to ſeize the inhabitants of the adjacent villages, and bring them in bonds to anſwer for not apprehending the robbers. While ſearching for theſe people, a ſoldier happening to meet with the books of Moſes, tore, and threw them in the fire. Affronted by this inſult, the Jews aſſembled in multitudes, and in the hurry of their zeal repaired to Cumanus in Cæſarea, and urged him in the moſt violent manner to puniſh the author of ſo daring an outrage on the law of God. Cumanus, finding that the people would not be appeaſed, or-

dered the ſoldier to be brought forth, and put to death in their preſence: and thus the tumult ſubſided.

At this period an unhappy diſpute likewiſe happened between the Jews of Galilee, and thoſe of Samaria. A Galilean Jew being going to worſhip at a feſtival at Jeruſalem, was killed as he was paſſing through the village of Geman in the plain of Samaria. Hereupon the Galilæans aſſembled in a body, to take vengeance on the Samaritans by force of arms. Thoſe of better rank applied to Cumanus, and adviſed him to go to Galilee before the matter went too far, and do juſtice on the murderers, on a ſtrict ſcrutiny. Cumanus, otherwiſe employed, would not interfere. The report of this violence reaching Jeruſalem, the people were beyond meaſure inflamed, and reſolved to attack Samaria, notwithſtanding all the arguments that could be uſed to reſtrain them. The ringleaders of theſe outrages were Eleazar, the ſon of Dinæas, and Alexander; who making inroads into the diſtrict of Acrabatena, deſtroyed men, women and children, with the ſword, and burnt the country.

Cumanus hearing of theſe ravages, advanced with a party of horſe from Sebaſte, to relieve the country; and deſtroyed and made priſoners many of Eleazar's adherents. With regard to thoſe who had made ſuch ravages in Samaria, the officers and principal people in Jeruſalem went after them in ſackcloth and aſhes, entreating them, by every perſuaſive argument, to abandon their deſign. "Do not (ſaid they) let your rage againſt Samaria "deſtroy Jeruſalem. Pity your country, temple, city, and wives; the "fate of all being at ſtake in this conteſt; not let the idea of avenging one "poor Galilean, coſt you all that you hold dear in the world." The Jews were at length pacified by theſe remonſtrances.

Peace being naturally productive of ſloth, robberies of every kind became now very common; the countries were infeſted with men of violence, and the greater villains preyed upon the leſs. At this time Numidius Quadratus being governor of Syria, was applied to, at Tyre, by the principal of the Samaritans, who repreſented how greatly their country was infeſted by robbers. Jonathan, the ſon of Ananus, the high-prieſt, was preſent, with a conſiderable number of Jews of diſtinction. Jonathan replied to their complaints by blaming the Samaritans, as the authors of the inſurrection, by the death of the Galilean: and likewiſe hinted that Cumanus's neglect of properly puniſhing the offenders had produced all the fatal conſequences.

When Quadratus had heard thus much of the affair, he poſtponed the farther conſideration of it till he ſhould arrive in Judæa, where he might obtain fuller information reſpecting it. He now went to Cæſarea, and ordered the execution of thoſe perſons whom Cumanus had made priſoners; and then proceeded to Lydda, where he again heard the cauſe, and ordered eighteen of the principal Jews, who were proved to have been concerned, to be beheaded. He ſent ſome of the noble Samaritans to Cæſar; likewiſe Jonathan and Ananias, high-prieſts of the Jews, Ananus ſon of Ananias, and other Jews of diſtinction. Cumanus, and Celer the tribune, he alſo ſent to Rome, to anſwer for their conduct to the emperor. Having thus adjuſted affairs, he

went

went to Jeruſalem; but retired to Antioch, on finding that the people were in the peaceable celebration of their feaſt of unleavened bread.

The trial coming on at Rome, Agrippa was an advocate for the Jews, and Cumanus had many friends to ſupport him; but when Cæſar had heard his defence, and that of the Samaritans, he ordered three of the moſt eminent of the latter to be beheaded; Cumanus to be baniſhed; Celer the tribune to be ſent in chains to Jeruſalem, dragged through the city and beheaded, and the Jews to ſee the ſentence executed. This done, he conſtituted Felix, brother of Pallas, Governor of Judæa, Samaria, Galilee, and Peræa. He advanced Agrippa from the kingdom of Calcis to a better government, giving him likewiſe Trachonitis, Batanæa, with the tetrarchy that Varus had held, and the kingdom of Lyſanias.

Claudius died after a reign of thirteen years, eight months and twenty days; and was ſucceeded by Nero, who had been artfully introduced to the government by his wife Agrippina, though the emperor had a lawful ſon named Brittanicus, by his former wife Meſſalina; and Octavia, a daughter, whom Nero married. He had likewiſe a daughter called Antonia, by Æl. Petina.

Nero made a moſt profligate uſe of his power and fortune. He imbrued his hands in the blood of his mother, wife, and brother, and treated other near relations with equal inhumanity. He degraded the character of the emperor by the buffooneries of a ſtage-player. But theſe facts being commonly known, and foreign to my purpoſe, I proceed with my narrative.

CHAP. XII.

Commiſſions granted by Nero. Robbers defeated by Felix, and their captain made priſoner. A ſet of murderers named Sicarii. They kill the high-prieſt, which cauſes great diſturbance. Account of ſome enthuſiaſts. A magician pretends to be a prophet, and advances towards Jeruſalem with thirty thouſand men. He is met and routed by Felix. The magicians and robbers form a plan of total liberty. The Jews and Syrians near Cæſarea quarrel. The elders in vain attempt to appeaſe them. The cauſe referred to Cæſar. Felix is ſucceeded by Feſtus.

NERO beſtowed the government of the leſſer Armenia on Ariſtobulus*, the ſon of Herod, and to Agrippa's territory he added the cities of Tarichæ and Tiberias in Galilee, and Abila and Julias in Peræa. He granted the remainder to Felix, who was no ſooner veſted with his authority, than he made war on the robbers, who had now infeſted the country for twenty years; making priſoner Eleazar their captain, with ſeveral others, whom he ſent to Rome. The number of thieves killed, taken priſoners, or put to death judicially, with thoſe kept in priſon, including the country people who joined them, was incredibly great.

Theſe miſcreants being routed, another ſet of villains appeared, who were called Sicarii, from Sica, the weapon uſed by them. Theſe uſed to commit murders in the open ſtreets of Jeruſalem, particularly when the city was crouded

* *Vide* Ant. l. 20. c. 5, 6, 7.

crouded on public days. They carried ſhort daggers under their cloaths, and privately ſtabbed thoſe they had an enmity to; and when a murder was committed were the firſt to wonder at the crime. This practice was continued ſome time before the authors of it were ſuſpected. Jonathan, the high-prieſt, was the firſt who fell by their hands, and daily murders followed his death. The citizens were ſo alarmed, that their apprehenſions aggravated the reality: for the danger in battle was not greater than in walking the ſtreets: every man at a diſtance was ſuſpected for an enemy, and people were afraid of their approaching friends: yet the murderers were ſo dextrous at their work, that vigilance itſelf could not guard againſt them.

Another ſet now aroſe, whoſe tongues were as miſchievous as the weapons of the former. Though they ſhed no blood, their doctrines were worſe than daggers, utterly contaminating the minds of the people. Theſe enthuſiaſts, under pretence of religion, propagated ſtrange doctrines. They enticed the people into woods and ſolitary places, pretending that God had determined to give them abſolute liberty, of which he would grant them infallible aſſurance by ſigns from Heaven. Felix, foreſeeing that this plan tended only to foment a rebellion, diſpatched a body of troops after the enthuſiaſts, by which great numbers of them were deſtroyed.

This calamity was followed by another, not leſs diſagreeable than the former. An Ægyptian magician, pretending to be a prophet, had collected a body of thirty thouſand men, whom he marched, by the way of the wilderneſs, to Mount Olivet, whence he propoſed to proceed to Jeruſalem, drive off the Roman garriſon, and take poſſeſſion of the city and country; being properly provided for this enterprize with counſellors and guards. Felix, foreſeeing that delay would encreaſe danger, aſſembled his Roman legions, and a body of Jews, and advanced towards the Ægyptian, whom he totally routed, killing numbers of his people, making many priſoners, whom he bound in chains, and diſperſing the reſt. The Ægyptian, and ſome of his friends, ſought their ſafety in flight.

When the body is diſtempered, one diſorder frequently ſucceeds another: and thus it is with nations. The robbers and magicians now concerted with each other how they ſhould engage the people to ſhake off the Roman yoke, and aſſert an abſolute liberty. To effect this they uſed arguments and menaces, threatening with death thoſe who denied their authority. Their view was to reduce thoſe by terror, who would otherwiſe have ſubmitted to voluntary ſlavery. Theſe people were diſperſed through the country, plundering the houſes of the rich, and killing and burning as they went: ſo that Judæa was reduced to the utmoſt degree of confuſion and deſpair.

Some diſorders now likewiſe aroſe near Cæſarea, on a diſpute between the Jews and Syrians, who lived together in a promiſcuous manner. The Jews inſiſted that the city belonged to them, as it was founded by king Herod, who was a Jew. The Syrians inſiſted that it could not have been built by a Jew, but that it had belonged to the Gentiles: for if it were the property of the Jews, they would not have permitted the erection of temples and ſtatues therein. This debate at length grew to ſuch a height, that each party had recourſe to arms, and many violences were daily committed by the moſt ac-

tive disputants of each party. On the one hand the elders gave their best advice, and exerted their utmost authority, to appease the Jews; but they would not submit to reason: and, on the other hand, the Greeks thought it beneath them to yield in any respect to the Jews. It was acknowledged that the Jews were richer and more courageous than the Greeks; but the latter had greater interest with the soldiers: for at this time the Roman army being in Syria, were ready to take part with the Greeks, as their relations and countrymen. The magistrates and officers exerted themselves, by severe discipline, to suppress the disturbances: the most obstinate being imprisoned, whipped, chained and otherwise punished. But though some of them suffered severely, it had no effect on the rest; for they only grew more daring through the exertion of that authority which was used to suppress them.

At length, when Felix found that nothing could reduce the people to reason, he ordered proclamation to be made for the faction immediately to quit the city; but many remaining in contempt of these orders, the governor dispatched a party of soldiers, who killed several of them, and seized their effects. Still, however, the sedition encreased, on which the governor chose and sent some of the leading men of each party, as commissioners, to Nero, to plead their own cause. Felix was succeeded by Festus, who vigorously attacked the robbers who had principally infested the province, many of whom he apprehended, and put to death.

CHAP. XIII.

Festus is succeeded by Albinus, who proves a corrupt and tyrannical governor. He is succeeded by Gessius Florus, who is still more abandoned. A comparison between Albinus and Florus. Syria governed by Cestius Gallus. A complaint against Florus made to Gallus. Florus endeavours to incite the Jews to rebellion. Cæsar decrees in favour of the Greeks of Cæsarea. The origin of the Jewish war.

FESTUS was succeeded by Albinus *, whose government was unlike that of his predecessor. This man was so abandoned as to be equal to every vice. Avarice, corruption, extortion, oppression, public and private, were equally familiar to him. He accepted bribes in civil and personal causes, and oppressed the nation by the weight of arbitrary taxes. If any offender, however atrocious, convicted of robbery or assault by himself, or any other magistrate, was under sentence of the law, a friend and a bribe would ensure his liberty; and this governor never found a man guilty who had money to prove his innocence.

At this time a faction prevailed at Jerusalem; and, wishing a change of government, the most opulent of them previously compounded with Albinus, in case a disturbance should happen. There was likewise a set of men who could not be easy while the state was at peace; and Albinus engaged these in his interest. The leaders of these mutineers were each of them attended by daring fellows of their own turn of mind; but the governor was

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* *Vide* Ant. l. 20. c. 8, 9.

the moſt abandoned villain of the whole, and had guards always ready to execute his orders. The event proved that the injured did not dare to complain; thoſe who were in any danger of loſing part of their property were glad to compound to ſave the reſt, and the receivers proved the worſt of thieves. In fact, there appeared to be no ſenſe of honour remaining; and a new ſlavery ſeemed predicted from the number of tyrants already in power.

Such were the manners and character of Albinus, who was ſucceeded by Geſſius Florus, whoſe principles were ſo much more abandoned, that the former ſeemed innocent on the compariſon. Albinus was treacherous, but obſerved a ſecrecy in his crimes that had the appearance of modeſty: but Geſſius was ſo conſummate in his wickedneſs, that he boaſted of his atrocious behaviour, and declared himſelf the general enemy of the nation. His conduct in his province was more like that of an executioner than a governor; for he treated all the people like criminals, and extended his rapine and tyranny beyond all bounds. He was equally devoid of compaſſion, and dead to all ſenſe of honour; cruel to the unfortunate, and utterly abandoned in caſes ſo enormous that impudence itſelf would bluſh at the recollection of them. He exceeded all the men of his time in making lies and impoſition paſs for truth; and was equally artful in diſcovering new modes of doing miſchief. He could not be contented with the idea of deſtroying a whole nation by ſlow degrees; but his vengeance extended to the ſweeping away whole cities entire, and extirpating the body of the people at once. He gave ſuch encouragement to the ſons of rapine and plunder, that he might as well have proclaimed that every man was at liberty to ſeize whatever he could lay his hands on, provided that he himſelf obtained a ſhare of the plunder. His avarice was carried to ſo extravagant a pitch, that the inhabitants of the province were reduced to a degree of poverty little ſhort of ſtarving; and many of them left the country in abſolute want of the neceſſaries of life.

At this time Ceſtius Gallus had the command in Syria, and it was then deemed dangerous for any Jew to complain of the conduct of Florus; notwithſtanding which, when Gallus went to Jeruſalem, at the feaſt of unleavened bread, a number of Jews, not leſs than three hundred thouſand, applied to Gallus, to have compaſſion on a wretched people, and relieve the province from the infamous government of Florus. This proceeding was immediately made known to Florus, who was ſo far from being concerned at it, that he made a perfect jeſt of the affair. In the interim, Ceſtius, having uſed his utmoſt endeavours to calm the paſſions of the multitude, by aſſuring them that Florus ſhould treat them with more humanity for the future, returned to Antioch. Florus attended Gallus on his journey as far as Cæſarea, recounting many improbable tales to him as they travelled; but, in the mean time, revolving in his own mind the neceſſity of a war with the Jews, as the only method to prevent a rigid ſcrutiny into his actions, and thereby remain unpuniſhed. He apprehended that, if peace ſhould continue, the cauſe would be brought before Cæſar, which might be attended with dangerous conſequences; and, that if he could but incite them to a revolt, the leſſer calamity might be loſt in the greater: wherefore he thought the moſt effectual

effectual method of consulting his own safety, would be by gradually forcing them into a rebellion.

At this time the Greeks of Cæsarea had carried their cause against the Jews before Cæsar, who had pronounced sentence in their behalf; a circumstance that was the origin of the Jewish war. This sentence is dated in the month Artemisius, in the seventeenth year of the reign of Agrippa, and the twelfth of Nero.

CHAP. XIV.

An affront offered to the Jews respecting their synagogue. Florus is bribed, but proves perfidious. A sacrifice in mockery of the Jews. A great uproar ensues. Jucundus in vain endeavours to appease it. The books of the law removed by the Jews. They solicit redress. They are punished by Florus, who continues to foment the dissention. They complain bitterly of his inhumanity, yet seem to pay him respect. Florus treats them with contempt. His threats respecting the Jews; and their moderation. The ill effect of good advice on Florus. His savage orders to destroy. The nobility whipped and crucified. Six hundred and thirty murdered in one day, by the agents of Florus.

REBELLION appeared to be the natural consequence of a tyranny, such as that exercised by Florus: but the Jews bore their insults with patience, and the end was at length accomplished by the affair of Cæsarea.

Adjoining to the place which the Jews used as a synagogue, a certain Greek of Cæsarea had a house, which the Jews wanted to purchase; and frequently treating with the owner of it, offered him more than its value: but he was so far from regarding their offers, that instead of endeavouring to accommodate them, he, in mere malice, crouded a number of small shops into the passage, which almost blocked it up, so that the way to the synagogue was barely sufficient for a single person to pass. Affronted by this insult, some Jewish young men, in the heat of passion, went to the workmen, and warned them to proceed at their peril. This order of theirs was countermanded by Florus, whom the Jews now, therefore, thought it necessary to soften by means of a bribe. Some of the chief of them assembled on this business, among whom was one John, who farmed the royal customs; and these contracted with Florus to forbid the building, on the receipt of eight talents. The governor took the money, and promised to give the necessary directions: but he had no sooner received it than he went from Cæsarea to Sebaste, as if on purpose to encrease the dispute; and as if he triumphed in the opportunity he gave them of murdering each other.

The Jewish sabbath falling on the following day, a malicious Cæsarean placed an earthen vessel before the door of the synagogue, while the people were assembled within at their devotions. This ridicule and mockery of their solemnities had such an effect on the Jews, that they lost all patience at the profane derision. The principal and more moderate men among them were for making an appeal to government for redress of the injury; while the young

young men, of warmer paſſions, were only for verbal diſputes and blows; nor were the Cæſareans leſs forward to come to an encounter; for the previous ſacrifice had been made on purpoſe to produce a quarrel, and the event was as follows.

It happened that Jucundus, a captain of horſe, who had been appointed to keep the peace, arrived at the critical juncture; and having given orders for the veſſel above-mentioned to be removed; he did all in his power to quell the diſturbance. The Jews finding that the Cæſareans were too powerful for Jucundus, took the books of their law, and conveyed them to the province of Narbata, at the diſtance of about ſixty furlongs from Cæſarea. Then twelve of their principal people, attended by John, the farmer of the cuſtoms, repaired to Florus at Sebaſte, complaining of what had happened, and petitioning for redreſs; with a ſlight hint of the eight talents he had received. Florus inſtantly ordered them into cuſtody; and his pretence was their having removed their law from Cæſarea.

The Jews of Jeruſalem were inexpreſſibly aſtoniſhed at this conduct of Florus; but they thought it prudent, at preſent, not to be free in expreſſing their ſentiments. In the mean time Florus continued to foment the ſedition; and that he might do it the more effectually, he ſent and demanded ſeventeen talents out of the treaſury, in the name, and as for the ſervice of the emperor. This circumſtance cauſed great confuſion among the Jews, who ran backwards and forwards about the temple, exclaiming as if they were diſtracted, and calling on the name of Cæſar, demanding a deliverance from the inhumanities of Florus, whom they purſued with curſes, clamour, and every kind of inſult. One of them, in deriſion of the governor, carried a baſket on his back through the ſtreets, begging of alms for the poor unfortunate Florus. Theſe reflections, however, had no other effect on him, than the making him more avaricious, and more malignant Florus, likewiſe, inſtead of ſuppreſſing the ſedition at Cæſarea on its firſt commencement, as it was his duty to have done, marched with a body of horſe and foot to Jeruſalem, where he made the power of Rome ſubſervient only to the gratification of his paſſions of revenge, pride, and avarice; and he filled the minds of the people wherever he went, with terror and apprehenſion.

Notwithſtanding all the indignities that he had offered to the public, the people ſtill continued to pay an apparent reſpect to Florus, going out to meet him in his way, and complimenting him by thoſe honourable marks of eſteem which are cuſtomary in ſimilar caſes. While they were thus diſpoſed to pay him every poſſible honour on his entrance into the city, Florus defeated the compliment by ſending to them a centurion, named Capito, with fifty horſe, to impede their journey. Capito delivered to them a meſſage to the following effect: "In the name, and by the command of Florus, I am to "direct that you return home; and to inform you that the man whom you "have ſo freely treated, partly in a ſerious way, and partly in ridicule, "cannot be induced to form a more favourable opinion of you for your falſe "and complimentary ſpeeches. If you are really men of courage and reſo- "lution, as you would wiſh to be thought, why do you not abuſe, by ſcur- "rilous language, that man to his face, whom you have been ſo free to cen-

" ſure in his abſence; and aſſert, by force of arms, that liberty for which " you have clamoured ſo loudly?" Daunted by this rebuke, and frightened by the ſudden attack of the ſoldiers, the terrified multitude diſperſed, without waiting to congratulate Florus, or to pay thoſe reſpects to the ſoldiers which are uſual on ſuch occaſions. In fact, every man retired to his own habitation, not a little diſturbed by the reſtleſs anxiety of his fears.

At this time Florus reſided in the palace; and on the following day he aſcended the tribunal, attended by the high-prieſt, and the principal perſons of the city. He made many ſevere reflections on the free and inſulting ſpeeches that had been made to his prejudice, and poſitively demanded that the authors of them ſhould be diſcovered, and delivered up; threatening, at the ſame time, that he would be revenged on thoſe in the place, if the guilty were not ſurrendered. To this the Jews replied, that " The majority of " their people were peaceable; and with regard to thoſe who had ſpoken " freely, they entreated pardon for them; ſince it could not be ſuppoſed but " that, in ſuch an immenſe number, ſome raſh and violent men would be " found. Nor was it poſſible clearly to diſtinguiſh the innocent from the " guilty; ſince thoſe who might have repented of what they had done, " would not be free to acknowledge the fact. Wherefore they ſubmitted to " the conſideration of Florus, whether the greateſt ſervice that could, in " this caſe, be rendered to the empire of Rome, would not be to conſult the " ſafety of the city and people, by keeping them firm in their allegiance to " the emperor. They ſaid they would farther adviſe, in caſe matters came " to extremities, that ſome of the criminals might be ſpared, in compaſſion " to ſo many innocent perſons; rather than that the unoffending ſhould be " deſtroyed, in revenge of the inſult of the guilty few."

All the effect this reaſoning had on Florus, was to encreaſe his rage to ſuch a degree, that he ordered the ſoldiers to the great market in the upper town, to pillage the place, and kill all they ſhould encounter. The ſoldiers finding their commander had given them this licence to plunder, not only executed their orders againſt thoſe places and people within their directions; but made equally free with every houſe, and deſtroyed the inhabitants without diſtinction; committing ſimilar violence on thoſe they found on their flight, in bye-ways, and in ſecret places. In a word, they heſitated not to make booty by any means. Several of the nobility being ſeized and conducted to Florus, he gave orders that they ſhould be whipped and crucified. It is eſtimated that ſix hundred and thirty perſons were ſacrificed on that day, including women and children; for even infants at the mother's breaſts were not ſpared. This misfortune, however terrible in itſelf, appeared the worſe for its ſingularity: for before the time of Florus it was never known that the Jewiſh nobility were whipped and gibbetted like ſlaves: for the Roman dignity was held ſacred, though they were Jews by extraction.

CHAP. XV.

Berenice repairs to Jeruſalem to pay a vow. The mode in which that duty is performed. She applies to Florus in behalf of the Jews. The animoſity of the people againſt Florus. They grow more calm; and his concern thereon. His contrivance to foment new troubles. Arguments uſed for a compliance. The ſucceſs of Florus's ſcheme. Florus is repulſed in his attempt on the caſtle. He retreats to the palace. The communication between Fort Antonia and the temple deſtroyed. Florus abandons his deſign, and retires to Cæſarea.

NERO having made Alexander governor of Ægypt, Agrippa was now gone to Alexandria, to pay him a viſit. Berenice, ſiſter of Alexander, was at Jeruſalem, greatly afflicted on account of the tumults which had ariſen, ſo that ſhe ſent ſome of her officers and guards to Florus, to entreat that he would reſtrain his indignation, and ſhed no more blood. But Florus was alike inſenſible of the crime he had been guilty of, or of the honour of the mediatrix. His ſoul was proſtituted to the luſt of plunder, and he deſpiſed all other conſiderations: ſo that the ſoldiers were permitted to continue their maſſacres, notwithſtanding the preſence of Berenice, who would certainly have been ſacrificed if ſhe had not eſcaped from her palace, where ſhe had ſpent a ſleepleſs night, attended by her guards. She now went to Jeruſalem, for the purpoſe of paying a vow to God, as uſual after deliverance from ſickneſs, or other imminent danger. Agreeable to cuſtom, ſhe continued in prayer thirty days, abſtaining from wine, and ſhaving her hair. It was now the ſixteenth of the month Artemiſius, when Berenice was in the daily courſe of her devotion, ſtanding bare-foot before the tribunal, and ſoliciting Florus in behalf of the people: but ſhe had not met with any ſucceſs; and her pious office was undertaken at the riſk of her life.

On the following day the people aſſembled in the market-place of the upper town, exclaiming moſt violently againſt thoſe who had murdered their friends on the preceding day: but Florus was particularly the object of their rage and reſentment. The high-prieſts and men of eminence were ſo apprehenſive of the danger of again inciting the wrath of Florus, that they rent their garments, and going among the people, entreated them not to talk ſo freely, for that every ill conſequence was to be dreaded from the vengeance of Florus. The paſſions of the people now began to ſubſide; partly through reſpect to the mediators, and partly in the hope that the malice of the governor was at an end.

This return of peace was painful to Florus, who began to conſider how he might foment a new diſturbance. With this view he ſent for the high-prieſts, and principal people among the Jews to attend him; and informed them that two companies were coming from Cæſarea, and if the people would go out and meet them on the way, it would be deemed a ſubſtantial proof of their affection to the government. This propoſal being readily acceeded to, Florus gave directions to the centurions, that if the Jews, on their meeting ſhould

treat

treat them with civility and reſpect, they ſhould not pay the leaſt compliment in return: and if this behaviour ſhould be reſented, even in the ſlighteſt degree, that they ſhould immediately have recourſe to arms.

The high-prieſts having aſſembled the Jews in the temple, ſolemnly charged them to go out, meet the Romans on the road, and pay them great reſpect, leſt any ill conſequences ſhould enſue. There were ſeveral raſh people among them who oppoſed this motion; and the reſt of the company, inſpired by ſentiments of revenge for the late ſlaughter of their friends, were ready enough to coincide with them in opinion. At this juncture all the prieſts and Levites arrived, expoſing to view the holy veſſels, and other precious ornaments of the temple: likewiſe the choriſters, and the organiſts with their muſical inſtruments, all addreſſing the people, and earneſtly imploring them to preſerve ſacred the honour of the temple, which would probably be rifled by the Romans, if they ſhould be irritated. Several of the high-prieſts appeared, with aſhes on their heads, their breaſts bare, and their garments torn; who firſt applied themſelves to every perſon of eminence, ſeparately, and then addreſſed the people in general, entreating that they would not permit a ſlight diſagreement to encourage the proceedings of thoſe people who wiſhed the ruin of their country. "In what manner, (ſaid they) will the Romans be "benefited, if you treat them with the ſame degree of reſpect that you have "formerly done; or how can the Jews be ſufferers by refuſing this degree "of reſpect? On the contrary, if you treat them in an honourable manner, "and according to the rules of good breeding, Florus can form no pretence "for moleſting you; and, in the end, this conduct will relieve your coun"try from the calamities that are otherwiſe to be dreaded. You will like"wiſe reflect on the great diſproportion between the peaceable majority of "the people, and a few turbulent incendiaries; and how probable it is that "the ſmaller number ſhould be over-ruled by the greater."

The arguments, and the authority of thoſe who reaſoned, had ſuch an effect upon the multitude, that the moſt violent men among them were at length prevailed on to liſten to the dictates of reaſon. When affairs were brought into this happy way, the principal people attended the prieſts, and marched out to receive the ſoldiers; being followed by the multitude in a regular manner. The Jews being come near enough to pay their compliments, ſaluted the Romans; but their ſalutation being received with ſilent contempt, the more violent among them began immediately to revile Florus, as the author and contriver of all the calamities they had endured. Agreeable to the hint given them, the ſoldiers inſtantly attacked the Jews with clubs, and cudgels, totally routed them, and trampled numbers under the feet of their horſes. Many of them died of the blows they received, others were cruſhed to death in the croud, or ſmothered by ſtriving to get firſt out at the gate, where they only hindered each other; ſo that, on the whole, the ſpectacle was a dreadful one; many being maimed and bruiſed in ſuch a manner, that their bodies were ſo diſfigured, that the ſurvivors could not know their friends, ſo as to afford them a decent funeral. In a word, the enemy deſtroyed all within their reach; but their principal aim was to get between the Jews and the gate of Bezeth, which was a paſſage leading to the

caſtle of Antonia and the temple. In the mean time Florus ſallied from the palace, with all the troops under his command, on the rear of the Jews, with a view of making himſelf maſter of the caſtle: but the Jews rallying, and making head againſt him, his deſign was fruſtrated. By this time many of the Jews had taken poſſeſſion of the houſes, from the roofs of which they aſſaulted the Romans with ſuch violent ſhowers of ſtones and darts, that, unable to make any reſiſtance, or preſs through the crouds of people in the narrow ſtreets, Florus was compelled to retreat to the palace, with the remainder of his troops. As the Jews apprehended Florus would return to the attack, and make an attempt on the temple by the way of Fort Antonia, they immediately cut down a gallery which communicated between that fort and the temple. Florus was ſo mortified by this circumſtance that he abandoned the enterprize, finding his project hopeleſs, and his avarice diſappointed; for his principal view was to ſeize the holy treaſure. He now held a conference with the high-prieſt and the ſenate; informing them that he meant to quit the city, but would leave them ſuch a garriſon as they ſhould require. To this they anſwered, that if no new innovations took place, they thought one company would ſuffice; but hoped it might not be that company with which the people had already quarrelled; for having greatly ſuffered by them, they were prejudiced againſt them. Agreeable to their requeſt, Florus ordered another company, and then returned to Cæſarea with the remainder of his army.

CHAP. XVI.

Florus repreſents the Jews to Ceſtius, as the enemies of Cæſar. Ceſtius takes advice on the ſubject. Politianus fixed on to make the enquiry. He meets, and conſults Agrippa. They are received with reſpect. Politianus is convinced of the havoc made by Florus, and the loyalty of the Jews to their other governors. Politianus returns to Ceſtius. The populace urge a complaint againſt Florus to Nero. Agrippa makes a conciliating ſpeech to the Jews; diſſuades them from ſeditious practices; repreſents the Romans as ſovereigns of the world; that they had been maſters of the Athenians, Macedonians, Lacedæmonians, &c. Agrippa reflects on the war in a religious and conſcientious view: and repreſents that all the Jews are engaged in a common cauſe. Agrippa abates the tumult; but the rage of the people is reinflamed.

AS ſoon as Florus arrived at Cæſarea, he endeavoured to deviſe a new mode of propagating a war, which he communicated in a letter to Ceſtius, governor of Syria, in which he charged the Jews with having revolted; but that was ſo notorious a falſehood, that he himſelf was guilty of the very crimes which he imputed to the Jews. The queen Berenice, and the chief people of Jeruſalem acted nobly on this occaſion; informing Ceſtius of the real matter of fact, and acquainting him with the mode in which Florus had governed. Ceſtius having obtained this information, held a conſultation with his principal people on the moſt prudent mode of proceeding.

ing. Some adviſed the ſending an army immediately into Judæa, to puniſh the offenders, if the account proved true; but wiſhed he would encourage their loyalty, if it was falſe. Ceſtius thought it prudent previouſly to ſend a man of credit and addreſs, to enquire into facts, and give him a faithful account of the ſucceſs of his enquiries. The perſon fixed on was a tribune named Politianus, who meeting king Agrippa near Jamnia, on his return from Alexandria, informed him who was his employer, whence he came, and his buſineſs. At this time many ſenators and perſons of rank, and among them ſeveral high-prieſts, attended to pay their duty to the king. When the firſt reſpectful compliments were paſſed, they gave a melancholy deſcription of the condition to which the inhumanity of Florus had reduced the Jews. Agrippa was of their opinion; but he thought it incompatible with his rank to encreaſe the complaint; and therefore he artfully ſeemed to take part againſt the Jews, whoſe ſituation he nevertheleſs commiſerated: but his wiſh was to moderate, rather than inflame the paſſions, ſince the leſs they appeared to ſuffer, the leſs temptation would they have to ſeek revenge. He thought this conduct would be taken kindly by thoſe who had moſt to looſe, and conſequently the greateſt reaſon to wiſh for peace.

Agrippa and Politianus were met about ſixty furlongs from Jeruſalem, by the people of that city, who conducted them thither with every mark of reſpect: in the interim the women grievouſly lamented the loſs of their murdered huſbands; and all the multitude, as if infected by their ſorrow, burſt into tears and lamentations. Some of them earneſtly ſolicited Agrippa to compaſſionate their nation; and others entreated Politianus to go into the city, and ſee what havoc had been there made by Florus. Hereupon they took him to the market-place, ſhewed him the houſes in ruins, and the devaſtation that had been made. After this, through the intereſt of Agrippa, they prevailed on Politianus to go through the city as far as the pool of Siloah, attended by one ſervant only, whereby he might witneſs the reſpect the Jews paid to the Romans in authority: but they ſaid that the cruelties of Florus were inſupportable.

Politianus having taken a view of the city, and indiſputably convinced himſelf of the loyal diſpoſition of the Jews, he aſſembled the people, and went up to the temple, where he made a ſpeech, in which he highly commended their known fidelity to the Romans; and then, having given them a variety of good council and advice, reſpecting the preſervation of public peace, he offered praiſe and thankſgiving to God, in the place and manner preſcribed by law, and with all poſſible veneration for the rites of religion. This being done he retired to Ceſtius.

No ſooner was Politianus gone, than the people in general made their addreſſes to the king and the high-prieſts, ſoliciting permiſſion to ſend ambaſſadors to Nero, to exhibit a complaint againſt Florus: urging, as a reaſon for this requeſt, that if they ſhould remain ſupine, and not attempt to bring ſo violent an outrage to examination, and make the authors of it abide a ſevere trial, it would appear as if themſelves were the criminals, and therefore durſt not bring the affair to a judicial determination.

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On the one hand it was evident that a refusal of this liberty would be attended with danger to Agrippa; and on the other, he thought it would have the appearance of malice, to permit, under the name of an embassy, such an immense multitude to attack their governor in an inveterate manner. Reflecting on the courageous and martial disposition of the Romans, and on the danger of provoking the Jews to an insurrection, Agrippa summoned an assembly to meet in a large gallery, and having placed his sister Berenice in a chair of state in the Asmonæan palace, which overlooked that gallery from the upper part of the town, (a bridge uniting the temple with the gallery,) he addressed the people to the following effect:

"I should have spared myself and you the trouble of this meeting, if I "had been convinced that a disposition to make war upon the Romans was "general amongst you; but I find the contrary to be the fact, as a great "majority of your people are men disposed to peace and order. To what "purpose would any advice or interference of mine have been to men who "were already predetermined by their own prejudices? Yet as I find that "some entertain a vain and ill-founded hope of obtaining liberty; and that "others, from principles of avarice, have a view to the pecuniary advan"tages which may be made by a general confusion; finding, I say, that sen"timents of these kinds have prevailed amongst you, I have thought fit thus "to assemble you together, to acquaint you what I think are the measures "that ought to be pursued in your circumstances; that I may be the means "of rectifying your errors, and preventing the inconsiderate passions of a "few of your people from bringing down ruin on the heads of the peace"able majority. I now earnestly entreat to be heard with patience and "silence, and that whether you approve of what I say or not, you will at"tend without clamour or complaint. With regard to those who are such "friends to disorder and confusion as to promote them at all events, they "are at liberty to pursue their own opinions, notwithstanding they may to"tally disagree with mine: but it will be altogether in vain for me to at"tempt to speak, unless those who desire to hear me may be at liberty so "to do.

"I am not insensible that men of violent passions are fond of declaiming "on the failings of governors, and the supreme blessings of liberty. Before "I proceed to the consideration of what you yourselves are, and what is the "force which some of you are aiming to encounter, it will be proper to di"vide two circumstances, which you, by uniting them together, have con"founded. If you contend for revenge on your oppressors, (or justice, if "you like the term better) wherefore do you extol liberty at so extravagant "a rate? If subjection be a thing in itself so intolerable, why do you find "fault with your governors? Since, though they may be the most humane "men that ever were born, still this will not alter the nature of subjection, "which will be thought as disgraceful as heretofore.

"Let us now consider things a little more particularly. Let us reflect "what pretence you have for cavil and calumniation, and in what way you "are to conduct yourselves, even if your governors should be culpable. "Your duty and interest are equally concerned that you should endeavour to "accom-

" accommodate matters by reſpectful kindneſs, and not treat your ſuperiors " with abuſive language. When you exaggerate the grievances you com- " plain of, you tempt your governors to be more ſevere than otherwiſe they " would be, and become tyrants, when they were almoſt aſhamed of their " former mal-adminiſtration. Patience is moſt effectual to blunt the edge of " oppreſſion; and reſignation under unreaſonable and unjuſt perſecution, is " the moſt ready road of ſtopping its progreſs.

" Let us for a moment ſuppoſe that the Roman governors treat you with " extreme ſeverity. Can you conceive that this is the act of the Romans at " large, and that Cæſar has ſanctified it by his authority? Yet this is the " ground of your diſpute. You cannot think that the governors are com- " miſſioned to oppreſs you, or that the emperor can at once pervade every " part of his extenſive dominions, when it is ſo difficult for a true account of " what is doing in this place to reach Rome. How abſurd then is it for you " to think of running the hazard of a dangerous war for mere trifles; in fact, " you ſcarcely know for what? Reflect, too, that affairs may ſoon mend: " governors neither rule nor live for ever: they frequently ſucceed each " other; and there is nothing unreaſonable in the ſuppoſition that the next " may be preferable to the former. But if you once commence a war, it is " neither to be abandoned nor continued without the utmoſt inconvenience. " Thoſe who are moſt vociferous for liberty ſhould be very cautious, in the " firſt place, leſt they loſe it by their violence. The utmoſt degree of ſlavery " is indiſputably moſt intolerable; and war may be very juſtly undertaken " to avoid ſuch a yoke. He that is once a ſubject, and departs from his al- " legiance, is from that time rather an obſtinate ſlave, than a manly advo- " cate for liberty.

" Had it been deemed a right thing to oppoſe the power of the Romans, " the proper time was when Pompey broke in upon us: but your anceſtors, " and the princes of thoſe times, though poſſeſſing greater abilities, more " men, and better reſources than you have, found themſelves unable to op- " poſe a ſmall detachment of the Roman power. How then can you think of " bidding defiance to the combined force of the empire? You are now, like- " wiſe, bound by a kind of hereditary allegiance, derived, through many " ages, from your anceſtors.

" What opinion form you of thoſe gallant Athenians, who, fighting for " the liberty of Greece, laid their country in aſhes? Theſe reduced the pride " of the inſolent Xerxes; made him fly to Salamis, and having broken the " power of Aſia, compelled his eſcape in a ſmall boat. That Xerxes who " turned ſea into land, and land into ſea, to make room for his armies, " which appeared as if they would have ravaged all Europe: yet this nation " is now in ſubjection to the Romans, and Italy gives laws to Greece.

" The Lacedæmonians furniſh ſomewhat of a ſimilar inſtance. Notwith- " ſtanding their great actions at Thermopylæ and Platea: notwithſtanding " Ageſilaus carried their conquering arms to the center of Aſia; yet " theſe gallant heroes ſtill own the Romans for their maſters.

" Let me now mention the Macedonians, who, notwithſtanding the con- " duct and courage of their Philips and Alexanders; notwithſtanding even " their preſent view to the empire of the univerſe, have been reduced by for-

" tune to become subjects instead of conquerors, and subjects likewise to the
" same governors. I might mention many other nations, more distinguished
" than you are, who from an ambitious view of liberty have been reduced
" to absolute submission; and ought you alone to be too proud to pay obe-
" dience to the acknowledged lords of the universe? What militia, what
" arms have you to depend on? What fleet to scour the Roman seas? And
" where are the resources to pay the charge of the undertaking? You seem
" to have calculated for an Ægyptian or Arabian war; but you are mistaken
" in your measures; nor seem to have made a comparison of the difference
" between a weak and irregular people, and the power of a mighty empire.
" It has often happened that the Jews have been invaded and insulted by
" their next neighbours, while the Romans have been subduing the world:
" nor was the government of the whole world equal to their ambition; for
" having possessed themselves of the course of the Euphrates to the east, the
" Danube to the north, the Lybian desert to the south, and as far as Cadiz
" on the west, they meditated the conquest of another world beyond the
" ocean, and carried their arms into Brittany, then thought inaccessible.

" But what are your views? Do you wish to be thought richer than the
" Gauls, more hardy than the Germans, and wiser than the Greeks; or
" think you that you are a match for all the rest of mankind? Wherefore
" are you thus confident against the Romans? It may be said that submission
" is disagreeable; but is it less so to the Greeks than to you? And yet they
" live in obedience to the Romans, though they possess ample dominions,
" and are deemed of the noblest extraction of any people. This is likewise
" the case of the Macedonians, whose claim of liberty is preferable to yours.
" What think you of the five hundred cities of Asia, which quietly submit to
" a consul, without even a garrison to keep them in subjection? Need I men-
" tion the Heniochians, the Colchians, the nations near Bosphorus, the in-
" habitants of the coasts of Pontus, and the lake of Mæotis, all of whom
" were anciently so free as not even to have a governor of their own? Yet
" these are kept in subjection by three thousand Romans: and forty gallies
" are deemed sufficient to keep those seas in obedience on which, formerly,
" no person would venture.

" The point of liberty might be contested by the Bythinians, Cappadoci-
" ans, Pamphilians, Lydians, and Cicilians; yet all these pay their duties,
" without military enforcement. A guard of two thousand soldiers keeps all
" the Thracians in order, though their country is seven days journey in
" length, and five in breadth, and much more defensible than yours, being
" almost impassable, through frost and snow. The Illyrians beyond the Da-
" nube, even to Dalmatia, and the Dacians, are guarded by two legions
" only. The Dalmatians frequently contested for their liberty, and as often
" failed; yet a single legion now keeps them in easy subjection.

" After all I have said, if a revolt was defensible on any pretence, the
" Gauls would be best justified in such revolt, from the situation of their
" country, which is bounded on the east by the Alps, on the north by the
" Rhine, on the west by the sea, and on the south by the Pyrenæan moun-
" tains: yet notwithstanding these advantages, three hundred and fifteen na-
" tions,

" tions, united in intereſt, having every convenience within themſelves, and " many from the ſupply of others, ſubmitted, without heſitation, to the au- " thority of Rome, and conceive their own happineſs involved in that of " their ſuperiors. Nor does this ſubmiſſion ariſe from defective courage, or " the want of gallant examples in their anceſtors, who for eighty years main- " tained their liberty; but finding every effort ineffectual againſt the virtues " and ſucceſs of the Romans, the Gauls venerating the former, and dread- " ing the latter, found themſelves obliged to yield to the conquerors; and " almoſt twelve hundred cities of Gaul are at this time held in allegiance by " a guard of nearly an equal number of men.

" What advantage aroſe from the golden mines of Spain, when the Spa- " niards came to contend with the Romans for their freedom? I could men- " tion nations more remote from Rome, both by land and ſea; as the Can- " tabrians and Luſitanians; who could not be protected from the power of " the Romans by courage, diſtance, or ſituation; though their country " borders on ſuch a tempeſtuous ſea, that the thought or mention of it muſt " ſtrike one with horror. Of what avail were the pillars of Hercules, or the " Pyrenæan Mountains; what the diſtance, the difficulty, or the interpoſi- " tion of warlike nations, to ſtop the victorious arms of the Romans? Theſe " countries yielded like the reſt, and held their obedience even without a " guard.

" It would be ſuperfluous to mention the populouſneſs of the German na- " tion, the great extent of their country, the ſize and ſtrength of the inha- " bitants, their proportionable courage, and their reſolute defiance even of " death. Of this you are in ſome meaſure witneſſes, ſince the Romans have, " in all places, ſlaves of that country. Theſe Germans, when provoked, are " more outrageous than wild beaſts. The Rhine is the frontier of their " country. Eight Roman legions form the guard over them, making ſlaves " of as many as they apprehend, while the reſt owe their ſafety to flight.

" With reſpect to thoſe who pride themſelves in the walls of Jeruſalem, " it may not be improper to mention the walls of Britain; ſurrounded as " that country is by the ſea, and forming a new world little inferior to the " old. The Romans have aſſigned only four legions as the guard for this " extenſive iſland. Need I mention the Parthians, a great and warlike " people, who in paſt times gave laws to ſo many nations? How happens it " that theſe people ſend their principal nobility as hoſtages to Rome, but " that they thereby mean to ſue for peace, and acknowledge the Roman " power? Are we, then, the only people in the world to make war on that " empire, in the dread of whoſe valour all other nations have ſubmitted?

" Recollect the fate of Carthage, the inhabitants of which boaſted of be- " ing branches of the noble race of Phœnicians, who were commanded by " the famous Hannibal. Did not the conquering arms of Scipio ſubject " even theſe courageous people?

" The Cyrenæans, of the race of Lacedæmon; the Marmaridans, whoſe " country extended even to the ſultry deſarts; the Syrtes, of whom we form " ſuch horrid ideas; the Naſamonians; the Moors, and the immenſe num-

" bers of the Numidians, have equally ſubmitted to the Roman power. In " a word, they have reduced one third part of the world to their ſubjection, " ſo that the nations are ſcarcely to be counted, beginning from the Atlantic " Sea and the Pillars of Hercules, extending to the Red Sea, and compre- " hending the whole country of Ethiopia. This vaſt diſtrict was conquered " by arms, and out of it was reſerved an annual tribute of corn, ſufficient to " ſupport the people of Rome for eight months; excluſive of other duties " which are readily paid, though there is but one legion in garriſon to col- " lect the ſaid taxes.

" But it is not neceſſary that I ſhould recite theſe diſtant inſtances to prove " the unbounded power of Rome; when we have ſo many nearer examples " to teſtify its reality. Let me mention Ægypt, a kingdom that extends to " Æthiopia and Arabia Felix; that borders on the Indies, and contains an " amazing number of people excluſive of thoſe of Alexandria; yet the inha- " bitants of this wide-extended kingdom ſcruple not to be rated by a poll- " tax, as a contribution to the ſtate, and a tribute due to the Romans. In " fact, they pay the tax chearfully, though there are ſufficient reaſons to be " urged why they might evade it.

" How has it happened that Alexandria has not revolted? It is ſtrong " and rich, extending in breadth ten furlongs, and in length thirty; its in- " habitants are numerous, and it is ſtrongly fortified by nature, on one ſide " by a ſea without ports, and on the other by deep rivers, quagmires, and " deſerts. Yet the Romans ſurmounted all theſe difficulties; and two le- " gions in the city were deemed ſufficient to ſecure the peace of Ægypt, and " keep the Macedonian nobility in ſubjection. Excluſive of ready money, " and four months proviſion of corn for the inhabitants of Rome, this city " paid more tribute in a month than you do in a year.

" But I would enquire to what deſerts you intend to repair to aſſiſt you in " this undertaking; for you will be oppoſed wherever the country is inha- " bited, ſince the inhabitants are in effect Romans; unleſs you expect aſſiſt- " ance from your countrymen the Adiabenians on the oppoſite ſide of the " Euphrates. But acknowledging theſe people ſhould raſhly engage in a " conteſt ſo ill-founded; the Parthians would not give the leaſt ſupport to a " war, which they would deem ſuch an inſult offered to the Romans as muſt " unavoidably produce a rupture. In this caſe you would have no reſource " but in the power of God, in oppoſition to his providence, which is evi- " dently manifeſted in the progreſs and eſtabliſhment of the Roman em- " pire.

" Reflect that, even if you had power to proſecute this war, it would be " contrary to the rights of religion and conſcience. With what face can you " violate your own laws as well as thoſe of God, or how expect that the " bleſſing of Heaven will ſupport you in an act of diſobedience? If you keep " your ſabbath as religiouſly as by law and cuſtom you are bound to do, you " will infallibly be enſnared in the ſame manner as your predeceſſors form- " erly were by Pompey: advantage will be taken of your ſcruples of con- " ſcience, and you will be attacked on thoſe days when you dare not exert " yourſelves in your own defence. But if you make no ſcruple of violating

" your laws, by fighting indifferently on any day, how can it be ſaid that " your battles are undertaken for the ſupport of thoſe laws; or how can you " expect the favour of that God whoſe commandments you break? No peo- " ple ever engage in war without hope of aſſiſtance either from God or man; " and when both are evidently againſt you, what is to be expected but a " ſlavery brought on yourſelves? If you are abſolutely determined, you had " better at once deſtroy your wives and children, and reduce your country " to aſhes: this will ſave them the diſhonour of being conquered by the ene- " my, and the madneſs of the action will be its own apology.

" Believe me, my friends, it is a neceſſary thing, and an evidence of pru- " dent forecaſt, to prepare for a ſtorm while the ſhip is yet in harbour; and, " on the other hand, it is equally dangerous to poſtpone all thought of the " tempeſt till it actually arrives, and you know not how to act. Thoſe are " to be pitied who fall into calamities unforeſeen and undreaded; ſince no " human wiſdom could prevent them: but with regard to thoſe who ruſh " headlong into evident danger, they periſh diſgracefully, and without " pity.

" One would be tempted to think by your preſent conduct, that you had " already agreed with the Romans how they ſhall behave, in caſe they are " ſucceſsful: that is, that they ſhall be humane and moderate; that they " ſhall not follow the cuſtom of other nations, deſtroying you by fire and ſword, " burning your cities, and killing thoſe in the purſuit who eſcape the fury " of the battle: for which way could you fly but among your enemies; " thoſe who are already ſubjected to Rome, or live in daily apprehenſion of " ſuch ſubjection?

" Nor are you to expect that the devaſtation would end here; ſince all the " Jews throughout the earth would be partakers of your fate, and the whole " world would unite in puniſhing ſuch an unprovoked rebellion. What I " now mention to you will be worthy your remembrance, when you ſee your " ſtreets ſtream with blood, to gratify the violence of a few impetuous men. " Nor will the Romans be blamed for doing what you will compel them to " do. Reflect farther, that if they ſhould ſpare you, what crimes you will " have to repent of, in the abuſe of ſuch ſingular humanity and benevo- " lence.

" If after all I have ſaid, you have no compaſſion for your wives and chil- " dren; at leaſt retain ſome regard to your chief city, and its ſacred walls; " ſpare the temple, the law, and the holy ſanctuary, which by your preſent " conduct appear doomed to deſtruction; for after ſo ungenerous an abuſe of " the favours you have received from the Romans, you cannot reaſonably " expect farther obligations from their hands.

" In fine, I implore God, and his holy angels, and all our country, and " every thing that is ſacred, to bear witneſs that I have exerted my utmoſt " abilities to ſave you from deſtruction. If you follow my advice, and do " your duty, you may live in peace: but if you proceed in your late irre- " gular and tumultuous manner, I abandon you to your fate."

Agrippa and his ſiſter Berenice were ſo affected with this ſpeech that they both wept; and the violent paſſions of the multitude were abated: but they

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ſaid one to another that they had no complaint againſt the Romans; they only reſented the indignities offered them by Florus. In anſwer to this Agrippa ſaid, "You have acted as the profeſſed enemies of Rome would have "done. You broke down the Antonian galleries, and refuſe the tribute due "to Cæſar. Your buſineſs then, if you would prevent any farther com-"plaint of your conduct, is to rebuild the galleries, and pay the taxes: for, "this is neither the fort or tribunal of Florus."

The paſſions of the people now ſubſiding, they attended the king and Berenice to the temple; immediately began to rebuild the galleries; and diſpatched officers and agents through the province, to collect ſuch duties as were yet unpaid. Theſe duties, amounting to forty talents, were immediately collected and paid.

The inſurrection having now, in a great degree ſubſided, Agrippa adviſed the people to a patient ſubmiſſion to Florus, till another governor ſhould be appointed by Cæſar. This again inflamed the paſſions of the people, who treated him with the moſt opprobrious language, and pelted him with ſtones, till he was compelled to abandon the city. This contemptuous treatment had a very diſagreeable effect on the mind of the king, who finding the people ungovernable, diſpatched ſeveral men of rank to Florus at Cæſarea, deſiring he would chuſe collectors for the province among them: and Agrippa departed when he had diſcharged his duty.

CHAP. XVII.

The Jews ſurprize Maſſada, and ſlay the garriſon. They reject the cuſtomary ſacrifices of the Romans. The faction headed by Eleazar. A war founded on the above rejection. Perſons of diſtinction adviſe moderate meaſures. The injuſtice of the prohibition. It is deemed an inſult to Cæſar. Precedents produced of former practice. The quality agree to ſend to Agrippa and Florus for aſſiſtance. A force ſent to Jeruſalem by Agrippa. A war commenced in the city. Great ſlaughter. The feaſt called Xylophoria. The royal troops overpowered. The inſurgents quit the upper town, and burn the public buildings. The men of rank ſecrete themſelves. Antonia aſſaulted and taken. The rebels of Jeruſalem headed by Manahem. The defeat of an artful contrivance. The king's ſervants obtain permiſſion to depart.

BY this time many of the factious Jews had privately got into the Roman garriſon named Maſſada, where they ſurprized the ſoldiers, killed every one of the Romans, and in the room of them ſubſtituted a guard of their own people.

About this juncture there likewiſe happened another commotion in the temple of Jeruſalem. A bold and enterprizing young man, named Eleazar, (ſon of Ananias, the high prieſt) who was at that time a military officer, urged a number of his friends among the prieſts, that no offering or ſacrifice might be accepted but from the Jewiſh people. This ſingle circumſtance was the foundation of a war with the Romans; for, in conſequence of this requeſt of Eleazar, when the ſacrifices of Cæſar were preſented, according to cuſtom,

cuſtom, to be offered up for the ſucceſs of the people of Rome, they were rejected. This new and extraordinary proceeding gave offence to the high-prieſts and perſons of diſtinction, who proteſted againſt it, and earneſtly recommended the continuance of ſo reaſonable a cuſtom as that of offering prayers for princes and governors. But the inſurgents were obſtinate for obedience to their orders, relying on the ſtrength of their numbers; for every one was of their ſide who wiſhed for innovation; and they conſidered Eleazar, who was a man of courage and in office, as the head of their party. On this occaſion the princes and high-prieſts, and the moſt eminent of the Phariſees, aſſembled to deliberate on the moſt proper mode of proceeding; for they apprehended that the preſent tumult in the city muſt be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences. Having conſulted for ſome time, they at length reſolved to try what could be done to appeaſe the paſſions of the multitude; and for this purpoſe aſſembled the people before the brazen gate, on the inſide of the temple to the eaſtward. Here they repreſented to them the raſhneſs of the enterprize in which they had engaged, which would involve their country in a ruinous war. They then adverted to the unreaſonable ground of the diſpute, and the evident injuſtice in which it was founded; they ſaid that their anceſtors were ſo far from their refuſing or forbidding the oblations of ſtrangers, (which they would have deemed a kind of impiety) that they conſidered them as, in ſome degree, a part of their own worſhip. They likewiſe mentioned the preſents which they had from time to time made, which were ſtill preſerved as ornaments in the temple, and in remembrance of thoſe who gave them.

They repreſented that the provoking a war with the Romans would be diſgraceful, if not ruinous to Jeruſalem; ſince new modes of religion would be adopted; as nothing leſs could be imported by the interdiction of every ſort of people, except Jews, from offering oblations and prayers to God in his holy temple. It was urged that this was ſuch an inhuman injunction as could not be excuſed in the caſe of a private perſon; but that it was utterly unpardonable to extend it to the whole people of Rome, and, eventually, excommunicating the emperor himſelf. It was aſked what would be the conſequence if this contempt ſhould be returned, and that thoſe who had refuſed others the liberty of offering their prayers and oblations, ſhould themſelves be denied the privilege of public worſhip. It was urged that the city would be left void of diſcipline; and every ill conſequence would happen, unleſs they repented of all the uncharitable things they had done, and made ſatisfaction, before Cæſar was apprized of their tranſactions.

Thus much having been advanced, ſeveral perſons well read in the laws and ceremonies of the Jews produced precedents and authorities from the practice of ancient times, reſpecting the point in diſpute; and they were unanimous in their opinion and declaration that the oblations of ſtrangers had never been refuſed by their anceſtors: but the innovators, who wiſhed for war rather than peace, paid no attention to their authorities; and even the Levites abandoned the altar, as a war was likewiſe the firſt wiſh of their hearts.

The people of rank, finding the populace deſpiſed obedience to law, and that themſelves would probably be the firſt to be cenſured by the Romans, conſulted together, and agreed to ſend deputies to Florus and Agrippa, to repreſent their conduct in its true light. Simon, ſon of Ananias, was the principal of the deputies to Florus; and Saul, Antipas, and Coſtobarus, the chief of thoſe who went to Agrippa; Coſtobarus being a relation of that king. They were commiſſioned to ſolicit forces to be ſent to Jeruſalem, to put a ſpeedy end to the rebellion.

This news was highly agreeable to Florus, whoſe diſpoſition led him to inflame the war, how ruinous ſoever the conſequence might be to himſelf or others. This was evidently evinced by his delay in giving an anſwer to the deputies, on purpoſe to afford the rebels an opportunity of augmenting their forces. On the contrary, Agrippa conſulted only the general welfare, being willing to do all in his power to ſave both parties; the offenders and the offended; and by this means to ſecure Jeruſalem in the poſſeſſion of the Jews, and bind the Jews in ſubjection to the Romans. But as his own intereſt was likewiſe at ſtake in this general confuſion of affairs, he diſpatched two thouſand auxiliary horſe, with Darius at their head, and having Philip, the ſon of Joachim, alſo for a general. The people ſent on this expedition were inhabitants of Auranitis, Trachonitis, and Batanæa.

The high-prieſts, with the princes of the people, and thoſe in general who were diſpoſed for peace, received theſe deputies into the upper town; the inſurgents being already in poſſeſſion of the lower town and the temple. A ſkirmiſh with darts and ſtones now commenced, and then the combatants on both ſides made uſe of their bows and arrows, with which they galled each other inceſſantly; and occaſionally they made ſallies and excurſions on each other, and frequently fought hand to hand. The inſurgents made their attacks in the moſt deſperate manner: but the royal forces appeared to have a ſuperior knowledge of the military art. The principal operation they had in view was to compel the ſacrilegious faction to abandon the temple; while, on the contrary, Eleazar and his adherents laboured with equal zeal, to get the upper town into their poſſeſſion. The conteſt continued, without intermiſſion, for ſeven days, in all which time, though there was great ſlaughter on both ſides, not even the ſhadow of an advantage was obtained by either.

At this period a feſtival approached, which is named Xylophoria, and acquires that denomination from the cuſtom of carrying wood to the temple, to keep the fire throughout the year. Advantage was taken of this circumſtance to exclude the inſurgents from their worſhip: but while a number of the Jews were engaged in this office, the Sicarii (a band of murderers ſo called from their cuſtom of carrying their daggers privately) broke in upon theſe people, and improved the advantage they had gained to ſuch a degree, that the royal troops, equally overcome by ſuperior numbers, and more determined reſolution, were obliged to abandon the upper town; of which immediate poſſeſſion was taken by the rebels. After this exploit they broke into the houſe of Ananias, the high-prieſt, and reduced to aſhes the palaces of Agrippa and Berenice. This being done, they reſolved, in the next place, to ſet fire to the offices of record, and conſume both them and all their contents;

tents; thinking that if they deprived the people of fortune of thoſe papers which might prove their riches, they ſhould bring over to their intereſt the whole body of debtors and beggars; and by that means change the quarrel into a direct war between the rich and the poor, under pretence of aſſerting the liberties of the people. In fact, the perſons who had the care and ſecurity of the public records, were ſo terrified as to abandon their truſt, each man ſeeking his own ſecurity in flight; on which both offices and records were burnt to aſhes. This fatal ſtroke being given to the credit and ſafety of the city, the inſurgents began to conſider the proſecution of the war as the principal object worthy their attention.

While things were in this unhappy ſtate of confuſion and diſorder, the high-prieſts and many of the nobility were compelled to fly for their lives, and ſeek for ſafety in vaults and other ſecret places; while others got into the upper palace, among the royal troops, bolting the door after them, and making the paſſage ſecure from aſſault: and of this number were Ananias, the high-prieſt, his brother Hezekias, and the deputies who had been ſent from Agrippa.

The victory being thus obtained, the inſurgents ſeemed to be contented, for that day, with the miſchief they had done; and paused a while, to reflect on what was paſt: but on the following day, which was the fifteenth of the month Loüs, they made an attack on the caſtle of Antonia, which reſiſted no longer than two days, and was then carried by aſſault; on which the rebels burnt the caſtle, and put all the garriſon to the ſword. They now proceeded to the palace, in which the troops of Agrippa had taken ſanctuary: having divided their force into four bodies, they made an attempt to undermine the walls; while thoſe within were under a neceſſity of remaining inactive, as their ſtrength was inſufficient for them to ſally forth with hope of ſucceſs. In the mean time the aſſailants continued their operations; and ſeveral of them periſhed under the walls of the caſtle, among whom were ſome of the Sicarii. The operations were continued night and day without intermiſſion, the aſſailants hoping to ſtarve the beſieged into a compliance; and the latter, by a conſtant and vigilant attendance to their defence, flattering themſelves that the inſurgents would be fatigued with the attack, and abandon the enterprize.

Among the rebels was a man named Manahem, the ſon of Judas, of Galilee: he was a perſon of great cunning, and an artful orator. He was the ſame perſon who formerly reflected on the Jews under Cyrenius, for acknowledging themſelves as ſubject to the Romans, and at the ſame time profeſſing to worſhip only one God. Now Manahem had formed a deſign on the arſenal of Herod, at Maſſada; on which he induced ſeveral men of quality to join him, and taking them with him, he ſeized the place by force; and then arming a number of low vagabond fellows, which he found there, he took them with him as his guard, and marching to Jeruſalem, entered that city like a petty ſovereign. When he arrived there he put himſelf at the head of the inſurgents, and iſſued out his orders for beſieging the palace in form.

The

The aſſailants were principally in want of machines; for they found it impracticable to work at the foot of the wall, while they were annoyed by an enemy directly over their heads. Hereupon they began to break the ground at a conſiderable diſtance from the caſtle, and having carried on a covered way to the foundation of one of the towers, they ſupported its weight as they worked, by ſeveral props of timber. This being done, they retreated, having firſt ſet fire to the props, which being conſumed, the turret fell to the ground. Now the royal troops, having been apprized of what was going forward, had run up a wall behind the turret, to ſupport the reſt of the building. The aſſailants had reckoned their work almoſt complete; but when one of the towers only fell, the diſcovery of what had been done cauſed an aſtoniſhment and confuſion among them that is not to be deſcribed.

Notwithſtanding the ſucceſs of this counter-ſcheme, the royaliſts who were in the palace, ſent a meſſage to Manahem, and the other chiefs of the oppoſition, requeſting that they might have leave to depart: which requeſt was immediately complied with, as far as it related to the king's people, and others who were of the ſame religion; who accordingly departed without loſs of time.

The Romans who were left behind were quite diſpirited by this circumſtance; for they found themſelves unable to cope with the ſuperior number of the enemy; thought it inconſiſtent with their character to ſubmit to treat with rebels; and dreaded the hazard they ſhould run, when expoſed to the mercy of men totally deſtitute of all faith and honour. Reduced to this extremity, they abandoned the place as not being defenſible, and retired with all expedition to the royal forts of Hippon, Phaſael, and Mariamne. No ſooner did the ſoldiers begin to quit the place, than the rebels under the command of Manahem broke in, murdered every perſon they could ſeize on; and ſtripped the places of all the valuable furniture; and concluded the outrage by ſetting fire to the camp. It was on the ſixth day of the month Gorpiæus that this circumſtance took place.

CHAP. XVIII.

Ananias and Hezekiah put to death. The vanity of Manahem induces him to aſſume the ſtate of a prince. An aſſault made on him in the temple. He is dragged from a ſecret place, tortured, and put to death. The two parties are but factions oppoſing each other. Metilius, a Roman general, capitulates with Eleazar on terms. The treaty ratified on oath, and the articles ſigned. Eleazar's horrid perfidy, and its conſequences. The prelude to the deſtruction of the Jews. A ſhocking execution on the ſabbath.

ANANIAS, the high-prieſt, and his brother Hezekiah were found together, on the day ſucceeding the above-mentioned events, in one of the vaults adjoining to the court, where they had ſecreted themſelves; and being brought forth, they were both put to death by a band of the Sicarii.

The rebels now placed ſtrong guards about the forts, ſo that it was impoſſible for any of the ſoldiers to effect their eſcape.

The ſucceſs which had attended the ranſack of the fortified places, added to the death of Ananias, the high-prieſt, gave Manahem ſo advantageous an opinion of his own importance, that he grew moſt inſufferably vain, ſuppoſed himſelf an oracle in all affairs of government, and became more inſupportable and inhuman than any other tyrant exiſting. The inſolence of his behaviour became the ſubject of converſation between Eleazar and a number of his ſelect friends, among whom one of them ſpoke to the following purport: "Any man who has once aſſumed courage to aſſert his liberty againſt the "tyranny of the Romans, ought to bluſh at the idea of betraying that liberty "again to any private man. He ought particularly to deſpiſe the thought "of ſubmitting to ſuch a maſter as Manahem, who, if his wanton cruelties "had not diſqualified him for government, would have been abſolutely incapacitated by the meanneſs of his extraction. If there ſhould be an unavoidable neceſſity of advancing one man above his companions, Manahem is "certainly the laſt man that ſhould be thought of."

When they had converſed together till they had formed their reſolutions and inflamed their paſſions, they loſt no time in repairing to the temple, where they found Manahem at his devotions, dreſſed in royal robes, with all the pomp of a prince, attended by a train, and having armed guards for his protection. While he was thus enjoying himſelf in all the pride of his newly aſſumed dignity, ſome of the people who had accompanied Eleazar, made a ſudden and violent aſſault on his perſon. Hereupon the people began to pelt him with ſtones, convinced that if he was deſtroyed, things would go on in their proper channel. For ſome little time after the firſt attack, his guards made a faint ſhew of reſiſtance; but when they ſaw that the people in general were his enemies, every man of them ſought his own ſafety by a ſpeedy flight. The adherents of Eleazar deſtroyed as many as they could get into their cuſtody, and purſued the reſt till they effected their eſcape. Some few of them retired in a private manner to Maſſada, among whom was Eleazar, the ſon of Jairus, who was nearly related to Manahem, and lived to exerciſe a tyrannical government in that place afterwards. With regard to Manahem, he was apprehended in a place named Ophlas, where he was ſculking about for ſhelter; and being dragged from his lurking-place, he was firſt expoſed to the public view, and then put to death with circumſtances of aggravated torture. His aſſiſtants, and thoſe who acted by his immediate direction, were treated in the ſame manner; among whom was Abſalom, who had been a principal fomenter of the ſedition.

Thoſe who were in the oppoſition to Manahem found themſelves ſupported by the people in general, who (as hath been heretofore obſerved) thought that this would be a ready method to the bringing about of an accommodation: whereas, in fact, one faction was but acting as an oppoſite to the other, ſince the opponents of Manahem, whoſe view was to eſtabliſh themſelves, did not conſider that they were erecting a new tyranny, on the ruins of the old. The people in general were at this time extremely ſolicitous with thoſe

perſons who had the direction of the faction, not to act with ſuch ſeverity towards the Romans; but rather to raiſe the ſiege, and permit them to depart: but the more this matter was urged on the one ſide, the more obſtinately it was refuſed on the other. The Roman general Metilius, and thoſe who accompanied him, having exerted themſelves to the utmoſt of their power for the defence of the place, and being now reduced to the greateſt extremity, propoſed terms of capitulation to Eleazar, and offered to deliver up the place, together with every thing contained in it, on the ſingle condition that their lives might be ſpared.

Theſe terms were too moderate to be rejected; whereupon Goriah, the ſon of Nicodemus, Ananias, the ſon of Saddaca, and Judas, the ſon of Jonathas, were fixed on as commiſſioners to ratify the treaty on oath, and give validity to the articles, by ſigning and ſealing. No ſooner were the formalities ended, and the agreement properly ratified, than Metilius, fully confiding in the honour of his opponent, drew off his ſoldiers, equally without interruption, and without ſuſpicion of any, while the Romans remained under arms: but no ſooner, in conformity to the agreement that had been made, had the ſoldiers delivered up their ſwords and ſhields, than the troops of Eleazar broke in upon them, ſeized them, and moſt inhumanly murdered them; the Roman ſoldiers neither ſupplicating for their lives, nor making any reſiſtance; only reflecting on their barbarous foes by the pronunciation of the words *oaths* and *articles*. Metilius alone was mean enough to ſolicit his life, which was at length granted to his earneſt prayers, on the condition of his ſolemnly promiſing to turn Jew, and ſubmit to the ceremony of circumciſion.

The Roman power, however, was very little injured by this atrocious outrage, ſince the loſs of the troops that were thus deſtroyed was inconſiderable, proportioned to the vaſt armies of which they were poſſeſſed: but this circumſtance was an evident prelude to the deſtruction of the Jews: for an inevitable war was actually in view, and that founded on a good cauſe: the city, which had taken the principal ſhare in the diſpute, was ſo corrupted by perfidy and rebellion, that admitting it might eſcape the vengeance of the Romans, it was not reaſonable to ſuppoſe but that it muſt fall a ſacrifice to Divine juſtice. The face of affairs was now more mournful, melancholy, and deſponding than it had been at any former period: thoſe who were innocent dreaded to ſhare the fate of the guilty, and feared that they ſhould be made anſwerable for crimes which they had not committed. The above-mentioned aſſaſſination took place on the ſabbath day, which was deemed a great aggravation of the crime; ſince, on that day, all labour whatſoever, even the moſt ſacred, is totally forbidden to the Jews.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

A ſlaughter of twenty thouſand Jews at Cæſarea, on the ſame day. Some Jews ſent in chains to the gallies by Florus. Dreadful havoc made in Syria and its neighbourhood. The miſerable ſituation of Syria. The Jews oppoſe each other. The men of Scythopolis deſtroy thirteen thouſand Jews. The exploits of Simon, ſon of Saul, a man of remarkable courage and ſtrength. His confeſſion and recantation. He deſtroys his father, mother, wife and children, and, at length, rather than ſubmit to the enemy, he puts a period to his own life.

THE Divine Providence ſo directed affairs, that on the very day, and at the ſame hour of the above-recited maſſacre, there was a ſlaughter of the Jews at Cæſarea, in which above twenty thouſand perſons fell a ſacrifice, not a ſingle Jew in the town being left alive. With regard to the few who ſought to eſcape by flight, Florus took care to have them apprehended, and ſent them to the gallies in chains. The whole nation of the Jews became outrageous, on occaſion of this horrid ſlaughter, and dividing themſelves into diſtinct bodies, diſperſed into different quarters. They firſt laid waſte a number of villages of Syria, and then deſtroyed ſeveral of the adjacent cities, among which were Philadelphia, Gibonitis, Geraſſa, Pella, and Scythopolis. This being done, they made their attacks on Gadara, Hippon, and Gaulonitis, proceeding from thence to Ptolemais, Gaba, Cæſarea, and the Tyrian Cedaſa, ſome of which places they burnt, and levelled others with the ground. In the next place they attacked Sebaſte and Aſkalon, which ſurrendered without oppoſition. When they had effectually reduced theſe places, and laid them in ruins, they deſtroyed Anthedon and Gaza, and continuing their ravages, laid waſte a number of villages on the frontiers, putting to death as many of the inhabitants as they could get into their cuſtody.

On the other hand, the Syrians wreaked their vengeance on all the Jews they could find in country places, whom they put to the ſword; and extended the perſecution againſt the inhabitants of the ſeveral cities. This was done not only from motives of policy, in the weakening of a determined enemy, but from thoſe of revenge on an ancient animoſity. At this time the condition of Syria was far more deplorable than language can deſcribe; ſince, in fact, there were in every city two armies; nor was any ſafety to be expected for the one, but in the deſtruction of the other. The whole day was ſpent in ſpilling of blood, and, on the advance of the night, the fears of the parties were worſe than the reality. The Syrians aſſerted that they meant only to deſtroy the Jews; but there being a number of people whom they only ſuſpected to be of the Jewiſh faith, they knew not how to act with regard to them: they were afraid to leave them unpuniſhed, leſt they ſhould be Jews, and yet thought that the deſtroying them on ſurmiſe only would have the appearance of cruelty.

At

At this period many perſons who had been heretofore diſtinguiſhed by their benevolence, became of ſavage and cruel diſpoſitions, from the mere luſt of gain; for thoſe they killed they plundered, and the booty was allowed them as a reward of their courage; that man being accounted moſt valiant who obtained moſt pillage; for in this caſe, the terms victory and robbery were confounded. It was a dreadful ſpectacle to behold the ſtreets filled with the bodies of men, women, and children, who had been murdered, ſtripped, and left, not only unburied, but uncovered. But ſtill more melancholy events were yet to take place.

To this period the Jews had only made war on ſtrangers; but when they approached the confines of Scythopolis, they found the Jews themſelves of that diſtrict to be their enemies; ſo much had the latter preferred the conſideration of their own intereſt to that of their king and country: the Jews of Scythopolis having actually combined with the inhabitants of that place againſt their own countrymen. But the Scythopolitans were ſuſpicious of the good faith of their new allies, who had entered into the agreement with an eagerneſs for which they could not account. They reflected what might be the conſequence, if theſe people ſhould unite againſt them with the other Jews, ſurprize the town by night, and then aſſert that what they had done aroſe from the neceſſity of their ſituation, or was in revenge of their own ſufferings. On this occaſion the citizens propoſed to the Jews of their confederacy, that if they were willing to give a proof of their integrity, and love of juſtice towards ſtrangers, they would, for the preſent, withdraw with their families, into a grove adjacent to the town. The Jews complied with this requiſition, and every thing remained in peace at Scythopolis during the two following days: but on the third night, intelligence being brought of the defenceleſs ſituation of the Jews; that ſome of them were aſleep, others in careleſs poſtures, and all of them off their guard; the people of Scythopolis attacked them unawares, deſtroyed them all to the number of thirteen thouſand; and departed, having firſt ſeized every thing of value in the camp.

Having thus given a general account of this tranſaction, it will be proper particularly to mention the death of Simon, the ſon of Saul, who fell a ſacrifice on the occaſion. He was a man of a diſtinguiſhed family, and very remarkable for the ſtrength of his body, and the dignity of his mind; and theſe advantages he had made uſe of in behalf of the Scythopolitans, to the injury of his own countrymen. The Jews living in the neighbourhood of Scythopolis were almoſt daily the objects of his vengeance; and he would often put whole troops to the rout, for his courage was ſuch that an army ſeemed combined in his perſon. But at length his crimes were puniſhed by an adequate vengeance. Obſerving how the Jews in the grove were ſurrounded by the people of Scythopolis, who plied them inceſſantly with arrows and darts, Simon drew his ſword, and without offering to attack any one, (which indeed would have been a fruitleſs attempt amidſt ſuch a multitude) he addreſſed the Scythopolitans, and, with many lamentations, ſpoke to the following purpoſe: "Behold in me an inſtance of juſt puniſhment for "the evils I have done, in obtaining your confidence and eſteem, by ſacri-"ficing ſo many of my unhappy countrymen. Why ſhould I have expected "a greater

" a greater degree of faith from ſtrangers, than from my own friends and " fellow-citizens? My death is now approaching; and it would ill become " the man who has boaſted of his honour, to fall by the hands of the ene- " my. He ought rather to ſacrifice himſelf: this will be the puniſhment I " have juſtly merited, and conſiſtent with the heroic character I have aſ- " ſumed. It ſhall not be ſaid that I have put it in the power of an enemy " to triumph over me in my calamity, and glory in my deſtruction." Having ſaid thus much, he caſt his eyes, in which were an equal mixture of rage and tenderneſs, on his ancient parents, his wife, his children, and all his family, who now ſurrounded him. Having gazed a while, as in ſuſpence how to act, he ſeized his father by the hair, and placing his foot on him, ſtabbed him through the body: then approaching his mother, who appeared willing to become a devoted ſacrifice, he killed her alſo: he next advanced to his wife and ſons, on whom he likewiſe did execution, while they ſeemed rather to meet than avoid that weapon, which, by putting a ſpeedy end to their lives, would prevent their being ſacrificed by the enemy. Having thus put all his relations to death, he laid their bodies one on another, and then ſtanding upon the deceaſed, he extended his right hand, that he might be generally noticed, and then plunged the ſword into his body. If we reflect on the ſtrength and courage of this extraordinary young man, we ſhall be tempted to lament his fate: but when we conſider how faithful he was to ſtrangers, and how ſeverely inhuman to thoſe of his own nation, it muſt be acknowledged that his fate was ſuch as he had well deſerved.

CHAP. XX.

The Jews maſſacred in ſeveral other places. A journey to Antioch undertaken by Agrippa, who leaves Varus to act in his abſence. Seventy men ſent by the province of Batanæa, to ſolicit for a garriſon. They are intercepted and ſlain by a party ſent by Varus; who is removed from his government by Agrippa. The rebels get poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Cypros. Machæras delivered up to the Jews by the Romans.

THE example of the maſſacre at Scythopolis had ſpirited up the people in ſeveral other places, where alſo the Jews were maſſacred. In Aſkalon two thouſand five hundred fell a ſacrifice; in Ptolemais two thouſand; and many of them were put to death at Tyre, where, likewiſe, ſeveral were impriſoned. All thoſe who were moſt active at Hippon and Gadara were deſtroyed, and the reſt thrown into priſon. In other towns where they were either dreaded or hated they were treated with ſimilar ſeverity; but the Jewiſh inhabitants of Antioch, Sidon, and Apamia, remained in the peaceable enjoyment of their lives and liberties. It is doubtful whether this lenity aroſe from an apprehenſion that they were too weak to be dreaded, or from a generous view to ſpare a body of people who did not appear to harbour any ſiniſter deſign againſt the ſtate; but, in fact, this latter idea ſeems to have the beſt foundation. Thoſe Jews who choſe to remain with the Geraſenes

were permitted so to do; and those who declined staying were safely conducted to the borders of the country.

At this period a singular and unprecedented misfortune attended the Jews in the kingdom of Agrippa. This prince, having resolved to make a visit to Cestius Gallus, at Antioch, commissioned a friend of his, named Varus, who was related to king Sohemus, to transact the public affairs in his absence. It happened at this juncture that seventy persons of the province of Batanæa, distinguished by their rank and wisdom, were sent to request the favour of a garrison, with a view that they might be enabled to suppress any tumult or commotion, if such circumstance should arise. Varus, being informed of this circumstance, sent out a party of the king's troops to destroy them on their approach; which he was rash enough to do, not only without the knowledge, but, as it afterwards appeared, greatly against the opinion of Agrippa. Varus was stimulated by an excess of avarice to this infamous outrage on his countrymen: and having thus began his depredations, he proceeded to debauch the manners of the whole kingdom, by all possible degrees of vice and tyranny. When Agrippa came afterwards to be informed of the depredations that had been made by Varus, he was unwilling to put him to death, on account of his regard to Sohemus; but he gave orders that he should be immediately deprived of his government.

In the interim, the possession of the castle of Cypros, on the frontiers of Jericho, was obtained by the rebels, who destroyed the place, after first putting the garrison to the sword. About the same period the Romans of Machæras were treated with by another large body of the Jews, for the surrender of their garrison; and they accordingly agreed to the terms on which it should be given up, thinking it was better to yield it by capitulation, than to be driven out of it by force.

CHAP. XXI.

The favours heretofore conferred on the Jews by Alexander the great, and afterwards by the Roman emperors. A violent contest in Alexandria between the Jews and Greeks: the place would have been reduced to Ashes, if Tiberius had not suppressed the insurrection. Two Roman legions, and five thousand Libyans commissioned to destroy at pleasure. Fifty thousand Jews killed on the spot, and the rest spared on submission. The Alexandrians are provoked to the utmost rage.

FROM the time of Alexander the great the natives of Alexandria were very averse to the Jews residing in that city. That commander, in consideration of the services they had done him against the Ægyptians, had granted them the freedom of the city, and bestowed on them all those privileges of citizens which were possessed by the Greeks. The successors of Alexander continued these privileges to them, and allotted them a particular quarter of the town for their own residence, where they lived in a great degree separate from all other people; and they were likewise indulged with the favour of beating the name of Macedonians. In process of time, when the Romans came into possession of Ægypt, Cæsar and his successors continued

nued to the Jews their former privileges: but there was a perpetual disagreement between the Jews and Greeks: and although either party was indiscriminately punished for misbehaviour, this served only to inflame the rage that rankled in their breasts.

At this time the general state of the country was extremely confused; but the disorder at Alexandria was greater than at any other place. The Greeks having assembled together, on the subject of dispatching ambassadors to Nero, on a matter of importance, a number of Jews and Greeks rushed together into the amphitheatre. Hereupon the Greeks called out, that "The Jews "were enemies and spies;" and had no sooner spoke those words than they immediately attacked them, when all of them made their escape but three, whom they seized, and dragged them away, with an intention of burning them alive. The whole body of the Jews, inflamed by this circumstance, fled to their rescue, and began the attack by throwing stones at the Greeks; after which they ran to the amphitheatre with flambeaux in their hands, threatening to burn the building and all that were in it: and this would have been certainly done, if Tiberius Alexander, the governor of the city, had not found means to allay the ferment of their rage. This he did not effect by any violent methods; but engaged some of the Jews who were held in the greatest estimation, to use all possible arguments to reduce the people to reason; to advise them to moderate measures, and caution them against provoking the resentment of the Roman soldiers. In the mean time many of the Jews ridiculed this interposition of their friends, and made sarcastic remarks on Tiberius for sending them on such an errand.

Tiberius, finding that the tumult could not be suppressed without mischief, commissioned two Roman legions, which were at that time in the city, and five thousand Lybian soldiers, who happened to arrive at the critical juncture, to bear down on the insurgents. They were commanded not only to destroy all who opposed them, but likewise to seize their goods, plunder their houses, and set them on fire. These orders were no sooner issued than the troops marched to a quarter of the town named Delta, (where the Jews had then assembled in great numbers) and executed their orders with the strictest attention to military severity. Those among the Jews who were best armed were placed in the front, and for some time they made a valiant resistance; but when the ranks were once broken they were soon routed and cut to pieces; and upon the whole, the victory had a most bloody appearance. Never did death and destruction assume a greater variety of forms: all ages and both sexes fell a sacrifice to fire and sword; the whole place streamed with blood, and plunder prevailed in every part. No less than fifty thousand dead bodies lay at once on the spot, and the rest of the Jews would have been reduced to a similar situation if they had not submitted to beg their lives. Thus situated, Alexander gave orders to the soldiers to stop their depredations; which were immediately complied with, through a strict regard to military discipline: but, on this occasion, the animosity of the Alexandrians was such, that it was with difficulty they were prevented from insulting the bodies of the dead.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

Ceſtius, on his march to Ptolemais, is reinforced by the country troops. He is joined by Agrippa. The deſertion, pillaging, and burning of Zabulon. The return of Ceſtius to Ptolemais. The Jews deſtroy near two thouſand of the Syrians. Ceſtius proceeds from Ptolemais to Cæſarea. The inhabitants of Joppa deſtroyed without diſtinction.

CESTIUS remarking the antipathy in which the Jews were every where held, took advantage of this circumſtance to proſecute the war with vigour. On this occaſion he aſſembled his troops, and marched towards Ptolemais; taking with him the whole twelfth legion, which he commanded at Antioch; two thouſand ſelect men from the other legions, and four diviſions of horſe, excluſive of the royal auxiliaries; and theſe laſt conſiſted of two thouſand horſe, and three thouſand foot, belonging to Antiochus, all armed with bows and arrows; one thouſand horſe, and three thouſand foot, of the troops of king Agrippa; and a body of king Sohemus's troops, conſiſting of four thouſand men, about a third part of which were horſe, and the reſt foot, and the greater number of them archers. As Ceſtius continued his march towards Ptolemais, the country people flocked to him as he paſſed. It is not to be ſuppoſed that theſe ſoldiers were equal in ſkill to his own; but their antipathy to the Jews, and their zeal in the cauſe, amply compenſated for what they wanted in judgment and experience.

Ceſtius was aſſiſted by Agrippa both with ſoldiers and inſtructions; and being thus provided, the general proceeded, with part of his army, towards Zabulon, (otherwiſe called Andron) the moſt defenſible city of Galilee, and by which Judæa is divided from Ptolemais. On his arrival at the place, he found that it was amply ſtored with proviſions of all kinds, but not a ſingle perſon was viſible in the town, all the inhabitants having fled to the mountains: on which he gave his ſoldiers permiſſion to plunder the city. The general was aſtoniſhed at the beauty and elegance of the buildings, which bore a great reſemblance to thoſe of Tyre, Sidon and Berytus: yet, notwithſtanding his amazement, he cauſed them to be burnt, and levelled with the ground. This being done, he proceeded to ravage the adjacent country, laying waſte wherever he came. When he had made all poſſible depredations, and burnt the adjacent villages, he left them in that ſituation, and then returned to Ptolemais. On this occaſion the Syrians were ſo intent on the obtaining of plunder, that they could not prevail on themſelves to retire in time; but many of them remained behind: and, on the retreat of Ceſtius, the Jews taking courage, fell on theſe plunderers, and deſtroyed near two thouſand of them.

Ceſtius proceeded from Ptolemais to Cæſarea, whence he diſpatched a diviſion of his army to Joppa, with directions that, if they could get an eaſy poſſeſſion of the place, they ſhould preſerve it; but if they found that the inhabitants made preparation to defend it, in that caſe they ſhould wait for

the arrival of the reſt of the army. However, the Romans attacked the place both by land and ſea, and became maſters of it with very little difficulty: for the inhabitants were ſo far from being able to reſiſt the attack, that they had not even an opportunity of making their eſcape; but all of them, men, women and children, maſters and ſervants, were indiſcriminately put to the ſword; the number of perſons ſlain being reckoned at eight thouſand four hundred; and the city was plundered and reduced to aſhes. A body of Roman horſe made ſimilar deſtruction in the toparchy of Narbatane, not far from Cæſarea, where they ravaged the country, killed great numbers of the inhabitants, took poſſeſſion of their effects, and burnt their cities to the ground.

CHAP. XXIII.

The command in Galilee given to Cæſennius Gallus. Sepphoris and other places take part with the Romans. The rebels by no means a match for the Romans. Gallus retires to Cæſarea, and the army of Ceſtius to Antipatris. The burning of the city of Lydda. The encamping of Ceſtius near Jeruſalem. A furious ſally made by the Jews on the ſabbath-day. The danger of Ceſtius and his army. The Jews are compelled to make a retreat. The Romans retiring towards Bethoron, are attacked in the rear by the Jews.

THE twelfth legion was now ſent into Galilee by Ceſtius, under the command of Cæſennius Gallus, and as many other troops were ſent in their aid as were deemed ſufficient for the reduction of that province. The ſtrongeſt city in this country was Sepphoris, the gates of which were immediately opened to the commander, and the other towns copied the example of Sepphoris. The inſurgents and diſaffected people retired to the mountain of Aſamon, which croſſes Galilee, and is directly oppoſite to Sepphoris. While they were thus ſituated Gallus approached them; but as long as they were able to maintain the higher ground, they were more than a match for the Romans, about two hundred of whom they killed in the attack; but at length the Romans, making a compaſs, ſo as to act on equal terms, the oppoſite party was ſoon put to the rout; ſince the men, being ill-armed, were unable to withſtand the aſſault, and the fugitives were ſoon cut to pieces by the horſe. Some few of them ſaved their lives by hiding in craggs of the rock; but above two thouſand of them were ſlain on this occaſion.

By this time Gallus being convinced that there was no farther neceſſity for his attendance in Galilee, retired with his troops to Cæſarea; and Ceſtius departed with his army to Antipatris; where, when he arrived, he was informed that a great number of Jews had got into the tower of Aphec, whither he ſent a number of his troops to rout them. The Jews finding themſelves totally unable to ſuſtain the ſhock, abandoned the place to the Romans, who firſt ſtripped it of every thing of value, then ſet fire to all the villages in its neighbourhood, and departed as ſoon as they were deſtroyed.

From Antipatris, Ceſtius proceeded to Lydda, in which city he found no more than fifty men, all the reſt of them having gone to Jeruſalem, on occaſion of the feaſt of tabernacles. Theſe fifty Ceſtius cauſed to be deſtroyed, ſet fire to the town, and then proceeded, by the way of Bethoron, to a place named Gabaoh, about fifty furlongs from Jeruſalem, where he encamped.

Convinced of the exceſſive dangers of the war, the Jews abandoned their former ſcruples with regard to their ſacred days, and applied themſelves ſtrictly to their arms. Imagining that their force was now ſufficient to cope with the Romans, they made a deſperate ſally on the ſabbath-day, regardleſs of their ancient prejudices, and, with a furious uproar, attacked their enemies. The rage which on this occaſion inflamed them ſo as to induce them to forget their duty, was advantageous to them in the execution of the projected enterprize: for, on the firſt charge, they put the front of the Romans into great diſorder, and penetrated ſo far into the main body of the army, that if a body of foot had not yet remained entirely unbroken, and a party of horſe arrived to their relief in this critical juncture, it is probable that Ceſtius and all his army muſt have been cut to pieces. On this occaſion four hundred of the Roman cavalry were ſlain, and one hundred and fifteen of the infantry; while of the Jews there fell no more on the ſpot than two and twenty men. Thoſe who were moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed in this action were Monobaſus and Cenedæus, two relations of Monobaſus, king of the Adiabenians: and the valour of theſe chieftains was well ſeconded by Niger of Peræa, and Silas, the Babylonian, the laſt of whom had gone over to take part with the Jews, after having been formerly in the ſervice of king Agrippa.

The main body of the Jews now retreating in good order, went back into the city; and in the mean time the Romans retiring towards Bethoron, they were followed by Gioras, the ſon of Simon, who deſtroyed ſeveral of them, and ſeized a number of carriages, and a quantity of baggage, which he found in the courſe of his purſuit, and which he conveyed to Jeruſalem. Ceſtius remained in the field three days after this action, during all which time a party of the Jews was ſtationed on the adjacent hills to watch his movements; and it is probable that the Jews would have attacked the Romans, if they had offered to depart during that period.

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CHAP. XXIV.

Borcæus and Phœbus ſent by Agrippa to propoſe an alliance with the Romans. Phœbus killed, and Borcæus wounded by the people. The Jews purſued to the walls of Jeruſalem by Ceſtius, who advances to the city with his whole army. An offer made to open the gates to him, but, by delay, he loſes this advantage. The walls defended by the Jews, and the Romans repulſed on their repeated attacks. A contrivance to ſecure the pioneers. The ſiege abandoned by Ceſtius, whoſe rear is attacked by the rebels. The miſerable ſituation of the Romans. The unhappy condition of Ceſtius. The Romans retire towards Bethoron, and are beſet by the Jews. Ceſtius makes his eſcape by a ſtratagem. The Jews follow the Romans as far as Antipatris, and then abandon the purſuit.

AGRIPPA obſerving that the Jews made their appearance in amazing numbers on the hills, and on every elevated ſituation in the neighbourhood, did not think that even the Romans themſelves were ſafe within the reach of an enemy ſo powerful; wherefore he came to a reſolution to try if fair words might not obtain him ſome advantage, flattering himſelf that the oppoſing parties might be reaſoned into a better opinion of each other than they at preſent held; or, at leaſt, that if he ſhould not be able to bring them to terms of perfect friendſhip, he might abate ſomething of their enmity by promoting a change of opinion on either ſide.

Impreſſed with theſe ſentiments, Agrippa diſpatched two of his friends and officers, named Borcæus and Phœbus, men of unſullied honour and reputation, to offer his opponents a league of alliance with the Romans, and full pardon and indemnity for all that was paſt, on the ſingle condition that they ſhould henceforth entertain new ſentiments, and immediately lay down their arms.

This propoſal was no ſooner made, than the leaders of the oppoſition, apprehenſive that the people in general might entertain thoughts of going over to the party of Agrippa, in hopes of the promiſed pardon, reſolved on the immediate deſtruction of the ambaſſadors. Phœbus they killed without permitting him to ſay a word in his juſtification; but Borcæus made his eſcape after being wounded. The atrocious wickedneſs of this action ſo incenſed the multitude, that they purſued the offenders with clubs and ſtones, and in this manner drove them into the town.

In conſequence of this diſturbance Agrippa was furniſhed with the faireſt opportunity imaginable of making his attack on the faction; and hereupon he advanced towards them with his whole army; attacked and routed them, and purſued them even to the walls of Jeruſalem. This being done he retired to a place named Scopus, at the diſtance of about ſeven furlongs from the city, where he pitched his camp, and remained three days and nights, without attempting to make any attack upon the city, flattering himſelf with the expectation that the people would be induced to change their ſentiments. In this interim he did nothing but ſend into the adjacent country for a ſupply of corn, and other neceſſaries.

On

On the following day, which was the thirtieth of the month Hyperberetæus, Ceſtius advanced with his whole army, in a regular manner, to the borders of the city, where the people in general were ſo terrified by the faction, that they were afraid to take any ſtep of conſequence; while the principal promoters of the ſedition were ſo alarmed by the conduct and diſcipline of the Romans on their march, that they retired from the extremities of the city, and took refuge in the temple. Ceſtius proceeded by the way of Bezetha, and as he paſſed forwards burnt Cœnopolis, and a place which was denominated the wood-market. Hence he advanced to the upper town, and pitched his camp at a ſmall diſtance from the palace. If, at this critical juncture, he had made a vigorous attack, he might, with the greateſt eaſe, have made himſelf maſter of the place, and put a period to the war: but he was diverted from this purpoſe by the mediation of two generals named Tyrannus and Priſcus, and ſeveral other officers, with the prevailing argument of ſome of Florus's money: and this unhappy proceeding was the occaſion of the preſent misfortunes of the Jews, and the ſource of many of their future calamities.

When affairs were in this ſituation, Ananus, the ſon of Jonathas, and ſeveral other men of diſtinction among the Jews, called aloud to Ceſtius, making an offer to open the gates to him: but either through diffidence or fear, he was ſo long in conſidering whether he ſhould comply with the offer, that the intention was diſcovered, and the people compelled Ananus and his companions to retreat from the walls of the city, and retire to their own houſes for protection.

After this the Jews, with a view to defend the walls of the city, repaired to the different turrets, and, for five ſucceſſive days, defended them againſt all the efforts of the Romans, though they urged the attack with the utmoſt impetuoſity. Ceſtius, on the ſixth day, made an aſſault on the north ſide of the temple, with a ſelect force choſen from his troops and bowmen; but he was received with ſuch a violent ſhower of ſhot and ſtones from the porch and galleries, that the Romans were not only repeatedly compelled to retire from the ſeverity of the charge, but finally obliged to abandon the enterprize. Having been thus repulſed, the Romans had, at length, recourſe to the following ſingular invention. Thoſe in front placing their bucklers againſt the wall, and covering their heads and ſhoulders with them, thoſe who ſtood next cloſed their bucklers to the former, till the whole body was covered, and made the appearance of a tortoiſe: the bucklers being thus conjoined, were proof againſt all the darts and arrows of the enemy; ſo that the Romans could now ſap and undermine the walls without being expoſed to danger; and the firſt thing they now did was to attempt ſetting fire to the gates of the temple. This circumſtance amazed and terrified the faction to ſuch a degree, that they conſidered themſelves as ruined; and many of them abſolutely abandoned the town: nor were the honeſt party leſs elevated with joy, than the rebels depreſſed by deſpair. The people now demanded that the gates might be opened to Ceſtius, whom they conſidered in the light of a friend and preſerver. Matters having proceeded thus far, the general had nothing more to have done, but to have maintained the ſiege for a very lit-

de time longer, and the town muſt have ſubmitted: but the providence of God would not permit a war which had been undertaken with ſo little provocation to end in ſuch a manner: for Ceſtius, without conſidering the good diſpoſition of the people in general in the town, or reflecting on the deſpair into the which the rebels were thrown, as if he had been infatuated, drew off his men all at once, and contrary to all common ſenſe and reaſon, abandoned the ſiege, at the time when his proſpects were better than they had been at any former period. The revolters were ſo much encouraged by this unexpected departure of Ceſtius, that they attacked him in the rear, and deſtroyed a number both of his cavalry and infantry. On the firſt night he took up his reſidence in a camp which he had fortified at a place named Scopus; and on the following day he continued his march, but was cloſely purſued by the enemy, who annoyed him as he went, and deſtroyed a conſiderable number of his troops. A trench, with palliſadoes on both ſides of the way, having been thrown up by the Romans, the Jews annoyed them exceedingly with their darts and arrows during their march acroſs the paſſage, while the Romans did not offer to revenge this inſult, nor even to look back in the face of their enemies. This was partly in conſideration of their being unable to ſecure their flanks, as their numbers were very conſiderable, and partly in the apprehenſion that the order of their march might be broken, as they were themſelves burthened with very heavy arms, and thoſe of the Jews were remarkably light, ſo that they were enabled to make excurſions and ſurpriſes without any difficulty. On the whole this was a very diſaſtrous attack to the Romans, and not attended with any loſs on the part of the Jews. In fact, the roads were covered with dead and wounded bodies in this retreat. Great numbers of the common ſoldiers were ſlain; and among thoſe of ſuperior rank were Priſcus, commander of the ſixth legion; a tribune, named Longinus; and Emilius Jucundus, a diſtinguiſhed officer of horſe. The Romans likewiſe loſt great part of their baggage; but at length they arrived at Gabaoh, where they had encamped on a former occaſion.

Ceſtius was now greatly diſtreſſed how to act; and, during two days, employed his thoughts on his next operation. On the third day he found that the Jews was ſo greatly encreaſed in numbers, that the whole face of the country was covered with them. He was now ſenſible that danger, as well as a hindrance of time, had ariſen from his delay; and that as his enemies ſtill encreaſed in number, more danger would ariſe from a farther delay.

Hereupon he iſſued orders that the army ſhould be eaſed of all their incumbrances, that they might march with the greater expedition: he likewiſe directed that all the mules, aſſes, and other beaſts of burden ſhould be killed, except only as many as might be neceſſary to carry ſuch weapons and machines as would, probably, be hereafter wanted: and this was done likewiſe from motives of policy, to prevent their coming into poſſeſſion of the enemy, and being employed to his diſadvantage. This was the ſituation of the army during its approach towards Bethoron, Ceſtius marching at their head. While the troops continued in the open country they did not receive the leaſt interruption from the Jews; but as they advanced into hollow ways

and defiles, the enemy charged them in front and rear, to feperate fome divifions of them from the reft of the army, and force them farther into the valley: and in the interim the Jews difcharged fhot on the heads of the Romans, from the rocks and craggs. While the infantry were thus diftreffed, and in doubt how they fhould act, the fituation of the cavalry was ftill more deplorable; for it was impoffible for them to advance againft the Jews in the mountains, or fecure themfelves in the vallies: nor could the order of the troops be maintained amidft fuch a fhower of arrows as defcended on them. Many perifhed by falling from precipices, and by other accidents: in fact, they were in fuch a diftrefsful fituation, that they could neither fight nor fly. Reduced to this fhocking extremity, the Romans gave vent to their paffion by tears, groans, and lamentations; while, on the other hand, the Jews made the rocks and vallies refound with their tranfports of joy, triumph and exultation. In fact, fuch was the fituation of affairs, that if day-light had continued fome time longer, the whole army of Ceftius muft have been cut to pieces; but the Romans with difficulty crept to Bethoron, under cover of the night; all the paffes near which place were immediately fecured by the Jews, to prevent the retreat of their adverfaries.

Ceftius finding in what a difagreeable manner he was furrounded, and that it would be impoffible to retreat within fight of the enemy, devifed a fcheme to favour his efcape. Having ftationed near four hundred of his moft gallant troops on the tops of the houfes, he ordered that they fhould act the part of centinels, calling as loud as they were able to the watches and guards, as if the army was ftill in its encampment. While this plan was going forward Ceftius collected his troops, and, during the night, marched to the diftance of about thirty furlongs. In the morning, when the Jews came to find that the place had been deferted by the main body of the army during the night, they were fo enraged that they immediately attacked the four hundred Romans who had acted as centinels, flew every one of them, and then inftantly marched in purfuit of Ceftius: but his troops having obtained a whole night's march on them, and proceeding with the utmoft rapidity on the following day, it was not poffible to overtake them. Such were the hurry and confufion in which the Romans had fled, that they dropt in the road all their flings, machines, and other inftruments for battery and attack: and thefe being feized by the purfuers, they afterwards made ufe of them againft the Romans. The Jews purfued their enemies as far as Antipatris: but finding it in vain to continue the chace, they carefully preferved the engines, ftripped the dead, collected all the booty they could, and then returned towards Jerufalem, finging fongs of triumph for fo important a victory, obtained with a lofs perfectly inconfiderable. In this conteft there fell, of the Romans and their auxiliaries, three hundred and eighty cavalry, and four thoufand infantry. This event took place in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, and on the eighth day of the month Dius.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

Jeruſalem abandoned by the Jews. Ceſtius ſends an account of his misfortune to Nero, and attributes the fault to Florus. The people of Damaſcus confederate to deſtroy the Jews. The throats of ten thouſand cut in one hour. The civil and military eſtabliſhment of the Jews. Eleazar makes himſelf popular. Joſeph, the ſon of Matthias, governor of the two Galilees. His ſentiments and diſpoſition. His order and method of governing. He chuſes a council of ſeventy. He builds walls round the defenſible cities. He adopts the Roman mode of diſcipline. An account of Joſeph's army.

AFTER the above-mentioned misfortune had happened to Ceſtius, the principal of the Jews in Jeruſalem abandoned the city, as a place devoted to deſtruction. The two brothers, Coſtabarus and Saul, with Philip, the ſon of Jacimus, who had formerly been general to Agrippa, privately withdrew to Ceſtius; but Antipas, who was impriſoned with them in the palace, diſdaining to owe his ſafety to flight, received his death from the hands of the faction. The mode of his execution will be hereafter related. At this period Ceſtius commiſſioned Saul and his aſſociates to repair to Nero, in Achaia, with a recital of his miſcarriage, the whole of which he attributed to the bad conduct of Florus. Ceſtius proceeded in this manner, by way of directing on the head of another, the ſtorm which might otherwiſe have fallen on himſelf.

Intelligence of this defeat had no ſooner arrived at Damaſcus, than the inhabitants of that place combined to deſtroy all the Jews reſident there; which they thought they might eaſily effect, if they could meet with them in a body at the baths, or any other public place: but they were in fear leſt their wives, moſt of whom were Jews, ſhould get intelligence of this intention. The inhabitants, however, ſeized a proper opportunity, when the Jews were ſo aſſembled, in a confined place, and unarmed; and, in the ſpace of an hour, cut the throats of ten thouſand of them, almoſt without oppoſition.

By this time the Jews who had obtained ſo compleat a conqueſt over Ceſtius were returned to Jeruſalem; and uſed every means, to bring over to their intereſt as many of the Romans as they poſſibly could. On this occaſion they held a meeting in the temple for the election of officers for the management of the war: and they made Joſeph, the ſon of Gorion, and Ananas, the high-prieſt, governors in civil affairs, and to ſuperintend the city; particularly deſiring that they would pay a proper attention to the re-edification of the walls. With regard to Eleazar, the ſon of Simon, though he was poſſeſſed of an immenſe booty which had been taken from the Romans, and had obtained a large ſum of money from Ceſtius, excluſive of a vaſt public treaſure which he had appropriated to his own uſe; yet they did not think proper to confer any honour or employment on him, as they deemed him a man of a haughty and tyrannical diſpoſition; and thought thoſe who aſſociated with him were rather as guards than friends and companions. But Eleazar was not prevented by this from ingratiating himſelf into the affec-

tions of the people, which by means of complaiſance, money, and popular management, he did ſo effectually, that they thought him the moſt proper man to act as governor.

The people now ſent Jeſus, the ſon of Sapphas, one of the high-prieſts, and Eleazar, the ſon of the new high-prieſt, as commanders into Idumæa; directing that their orders ſhould be ſtrictly obeyed by Niger, the preſent governor of that province. This Niger was likewiſe denominated Peraites, becauſe he came from beyond Jordan.

Similar care was likewiſe taken by the people with regard to the other governments. To Jericho they ſent Joſeph, the ſon of Simon; Maneſſes went beyond the river, and John, the Eſſene, was diſpatched to Thamna. To theſe governments were added Lydda, Joppa, and Emmaus, which were to be held as toparchies. The government of Gophnitis and Acrabatene was given to John, the ſon of Ananias, and that of the two Galilees to Joſeph *, the ſon of Matthias, to whom was likewiſe ſubmitted the government of Gamala, the ſtrongeſt place in the country.

Each of theſe governors diſcharged his truſt with pleaſure, and managed with great prudence. With regard to Joſeph, as ſoon as he arrived in Galilee, he ſought to ingratiate himſelf into the affections of the people, as an intereſt which would amply atone for any trivial errors he might fall into. He alſo reflected that the admitting perſons of rank to a ſhare in the government was the ready way to make them his friends; and that the moſt effectual method of obliging the people at large, would be the employing ſuch of the natives as were popular, in all popular buſineſs. The method Joſeph took was as follows: he ſelected a council of ſeventy from among the oldeſt and wiſeſt men of the nation. To this council he deputed the government of Galilee, reſtraining them in a few particulars only. Theſe ſeventy judges were diſtributed, ſeven in each city, and empowered to hear and determine all common affairs, agreeable to a plan which was preſcribed to them: but the determining in capital caſes, and matters of great conſequence, Joſeph reſerved to himſelf.

The council of ſeventy thus diſpoſed of, and domeſtic affairs regulated, Joſeph began to conſider how moſt effectually to ſecure himſelf from foreign attacks. He had no kind of doubt but that the Romans would make irruptions into Galilee, and therefore immediately cauſed walls to be built round the defenſible cities, viz. Jotapata, Berſabee, Selamis, Pereccho, Japha and Sigoh, Taricheæ and Tiberias, and alſo the mountain called Itabyr. In the lower Galilee he fortified the caves near the lake of Genezareth: in the upper Galilee, Petra, of the Achabarians; Seph, Jamnith and Mero; with Seleucir, Soganes and Gamala, in Gaulanitis. But the Sepphorites, who were a rich people, and naturally of a martial turn, were permitted to build their own walls. Giſchala was walled in, by Joſeph's command, by John, the ſon of Levi. All the reſt of the caſtles were fortified by Joſeph's immediate aid and direction.

Having obtained upwards of one hundred thouſand men in Galilee, he ſupplied them with old arms which he had collected in various places. He next

* The author of this hiſtory.

next reflected on the amazing power of the Romans, and what it was that contributed to render those people so invincible; and he was of opinion that it was owing to their strict discipline and regular obedience. As it was not in his power at present to discipline his people as he wished, he determined to secure their obedience in the best manner he could; and for this purpose he thought the Roman method of multiplying officers would be effectual, dividing and subdividing offices of command beneath each other; and this method he adopted. He appointed officers over tens, hundreds and thousands, all of them still subject to the superior command of others. He caused his forces to be instructed to understand signals; to know the points of war by the sound of trumpet; distinguishing an alarm, a charge, or a retreat, by the different sounds; to comprehend the mode of fighting, and the form of battle; the method of attack and retreat; and how to second the distressed, and relieve those that might be fatigued. He instructed them in the virtues of fortitude, to sustain mental or bodily distress, admonishing them to shew themselves equally proof against trouble and danger. He made use of the Roman discipline in all his warlike instructions, as what might produce an equal force of authority and example. He told his soldiers that if their wish was to obtain his good opinion of their obedience in time of war, it would become them previously to decline every act of unlawful violence; to avoid all fraud, pilfering and robbery: that they should be strictly just in their dealings with every one; and not think that what arose from the defraud of another, could produce any advantage to themselves. "Is it possible (said "he) for a war against the rights of conscience to prosper, when it is evi-"dent that both God and man must be our professed enemies?" In this manner did Joseph continue to admonish and instruct his people, till he had formed an army agreeable to his own wish. He was now at the head of sixty thousand infantry, two hundred and fifty cavalry, and six hundred select men for his body guard, exclusive of four thousand five hundred mercenaries, on whom he placed the utmost reliance. The expence of these men to the country was not considerable; for all of them, except the mercenaries, were supported by cities. These cities, while one half of the men were engaged in the wars, employed the other half to provide necessaries for their associates; so that the men were mutual assistants to each other, as those who were in arms served to protect those who provided for them.

CHAP. XXVI.

The ſingular impoſtures of John of Giſchala. Account of his character, his making a friend of Joſeph, and his abuſe of his friendſhip. He endeavours to inflame the people againſt Joſeph. The ſtrict juſtice of the latter. Great exclamations againſt Joſeph. He ſtands the teſt with great preſence of mind. He gives an artful hint to the Tarichæans. The people appear to take his part. He is involved in great difficulties, but extricates himſelf by a ſtratagem. John being diſappointed, has recourſe to other treacherous practices. Information hereof given to Joſeph by Silas. Joſeph haſtens to Tiberias. John pretends to be ill. An attack on Joſeph, who has a narrow eſcape. Joſeph's moderate behaviour. The people incenſed againſt John, and almoſt all Galilee eſpouſes the cauſe of Joſeph. The latter propoſes terms of accommodation, which are accepted and carried into execution. Plots and contrivances againſt Joſeph. The cities of Sepphoris, Gamala, Giſchala, and Tiberias, take part with the enemy.

DURING the above-mentioned adminiſtration of Joſeph in Galilee, a moſt extraordinary impoſtor engaged the attention of the public. His name was John, he came from Giſchala, and was the ſon of a man named Levi. He was diſtinguiſhed by his uncommon craft and ſubtilty, but had heretofore been ſo poor as not to be able to carry his wicked deſigns into execution. He was a moſt egregious liar, and equally fond of liſtening to, as of circulating falſe reports. He was ſo abandoned as to deem fraud a virtue, and ſeemed particularly fond of cheating his beſt friends. He made great pretentions to good-nature, but, when his intereſt prompted him, was ſavage and cruel in the higheſt degree. He poſſeſſed the moſt unbounded ambition, yet had no proſpect of diſtinction but what was founded in his crimes. A diſpoſition to defraud ſeemed ſo rooted in his nature, that he wanted no inſtructor in the art of theft: he began by himſelf, and continued encreaſing his companions by degrees, till their number amounted to four hundred. Among all theſe there was not one man but of approved courage, and of good ſkill in the uſe of arms: ſo careful was the leader to chuſe men of reſolution and addreſs. The majority of this band were ſelected from among the villages of the Tyrians. With theſe banditti John made incurſions into Galilee, laid the country waſte, and put to the ſword many of thoſe who had retired in the fear of a war. The leader, however, had ſtill greater deſigns in contemplation, and would have put himſelf at the head of an army, had he not been prevented by the want of money.

Finding that Joſeph had formed a favourable opinion of him as a man capable of the diſpatch of buſineſs, he made ſufficient intereſt with him to prevail on him to commit to his care the rebuilding the walls of Giſchala: and on this occaſion he procured large ſums of money from people of fortune, to carry on the intended work. This device was ſucceeded by another, more extraordinary than all his former contrivances. He procured an injunction from Joſeph to the Jews in Syria, ſtrictly forbidding them to ſend any oil into

Josephus recovering his Liberty by the goodness of Vespasianus lately Crown'd as Emperor.

the adjacent countries but such as was made by their own people. This prohibition being issued, John engrossed all the oil, and sold it at eight times its original cost. This year being uncommonly plentiful, and much oil being produced in Galilee, John gained an incredible sum of money by the monopolizing of it, and sending it abroad, to places where it was remarkably scarce: and the money thus obtained he afterwards employed to the injury of his benefactor. After this, reflecting that he had a good prospect of the government, in case Joseph should happen to be dispossessed of it, he laid strict injunctions on his followers to harrass and torment the inhabitants to the utmost of their power; that so the people might be exasperated to acts of desperation against the governor if he presumed to controul them; or to complain against and accuse him if he left them unmolested. Preparatory to this design, he caused a report to be propagated that Joseph was concerned in a scheme for betraying the province to the Romans; and he promoted the circulation of other reports, equally calculated to inflame the passions of the multitude against Joseph.

At this juncture there were a number of young men of Dabarith, who kept guard in the great plain; and while Ptolemy, who was steward to king Agrippa and queen Berenice, was travelling through those parts, they attacked him, and robbed him of six hundred pieces of gold, and all his boxes and baggage, containing silver plate, and costly robes, to a very large amount. This booty was too considerable for them to think of concealing it; wherefore they carried the whole of it to Joseph at Tarichæ, who reprimanded them for the insult they had offered to the king's servant, and directed that the whole prize should be left in the care of Æneas, a man of distinction in the city, to be produced whenever it should be demanded. The life of Joseph was greatly endangered by this his regard to the laws of justice; for when the plunderers found that they were not likely to obtain any share in the booty, they took it for granted (as was really the case) that Joseph had reserved the whole for the use of the king. Enraged at this circumstance, they repaired to all the adjacent cities and villages, making violent exclamations that they had been betrayed by Joseph. These complaints caused a general insurrection, so that by day-light on the following morning, a hundred thousand people had assembled together, numbers of whom repaired to the circus at Tarichæ, exclaiming against Joseph, some of them demanding that he should be burnt as a traitor, others that he should be deposed, or stoned to death; and the insurrection was encouraged by John, and Jesus, the son of Sapphas, who were the magistrates of Tiberias. The tumult, and the great numbers of insurgents, so affrighted the guards and friends of Joseph, that they all fled except four persons. At this time he was in a profound sleep, but was awakened by his four friends, just as the insurgents were about to set fire to the house. Notwithstanding this sudden alarm, Joseph retained his presence of mind, and did not seem in the least surprized that his friends had left him, or that his enemies were so numerous: but cloathing himself in sackcloth and ashes, having his hands tied behind him, and his sword about his neck, he immediately presented himself to the people. This magnanimity had so great an effect on his friends, particularly those of Tarichæ,

that

that they felt the utmoſt compaſſion for his ſituation: but the unfeeling mob and the borderers, who thought their taxes were too high, curſed and reviled him for his oppreſſion and treachery, and repeatedly demanded that he would confeſs the fact, and reſtore their money. In truth, they thought, from his preſent behaviour, that he was now diſpoſed to confeſs the truth, in conſequence of which he would be at once pardoned and pitied. Thus ſituated, he imagined he could not act a wiſer part than to divide the ſentiments of his enemies, and make them become enemies to each other. Having conceived this idea, he engaged to make a full confeſſion of the whole affair: on which the people very readily liſtened to what he had to ſay, and he ſpoke to the following purpoſe: "It is impoſſible that I ſhould have entertained a thought "either of delivering up this treaſure to Agrippa, or retaining it for my own "emolument. Be aſſured, moſt generous people, that I ſhould diſdain to "ſolicit the friendſhip of any prince who is your enemy; or ſeek to make "the leaſt advantage of any thing that might prejudice you. But (ſaid he, "addreſſing himſelf to the Tarichæans), having conſidered how deſolate your "city looks without walls, and that you are not in circumſtances to conſtruct "them; and having reflected how anxious the inhabitants of Tiberias and "ſeveral other cities are, to poſſeſs this prize, I was the more determined to "preſerve it for the purpoſe of building your walls. If your opinion ſhould "coincide with mine, you are in honour bound to ratify my proceedings; "but if you are of contrary ſentiments, I am content to deliver up the whole "treaſure to you, to be diſpoſed of as you may think proper."

This addreſs was extremely grateful to the Tarichæans, but quite otherwiſe to the Tiberians, as was evident by their mutual calumnies and reproaches. Their rage and envy became more implacable than at any former period; and while they were thus divided in ſentiments, their general quarrel with Joſeph ſubſided, and their animoſities were ſolely directed againſt each other.

As the number of the Tarichæans was almoſt forty thouſand, Joſeph, finding himſelf ſupported in ſuch an effectual manner, had confidence to ſpeak his ſentiments freely. He repreſented the impropriety of the conduct of the people, and ſaid it was his wiſh to employ the treaſure in his poſſeſſion towards the fortifying of the town. "Be it my care likewiſe (ſaid he) to take care of "the other cities, and to ſee that nothing is wanting to your general expen"ces. Only obey my directions, and be not too forward to abuſe him who "wiſhes to ſerve you all." This behaviour had ſo plauſible an appearance, that many of the malecontents retired; but at this inſtant a body of two thouſand armed men ruſhed violently towards Joſeph, who retiring into his houſe, barricadoed the paſſages. Joſeph was now at a loſs for a ſecond invention; and having reflected awhile, went to the top of the houſe, whence he made ſigns to the people to keep ſilence; and, when the clamour had in ſome meaſure ſubſided, he addreſſed them in the following manner: "I am at a "loſs, good people, to underſtand what you wiſh me to do; nor is it poſſi"ble that we ſhould comprehend the meaning of each other during this con"fuſion: of this, however, I am certain; that I would wiſh to grant all your "reaſonable requeſts; wherefore ſend ſome proper perſons to me, that af-

"fairs

" fairs may be adjuſted in an amicable manner." Hereupon ſeveral of the principal magiſtrates went to Joſeph. They were received into his houſe, and the doors being made faſt, they were conducted to a remote place, where they were whipped with rods, till their ribs, and even their bowels were viſible. All this time the multitude waited at the gates, thinking the iſſue of the debate was very tedious, but imputing this delay to the difficulties of the caſe: when, on a ſudden, the gates were thrown open, and the magiſtrates turned out in the above-mentioned deplorable condition. The people were ſo ſhocked and intimidated at this ſight, that thoſe who had been foremoſt in their complaints, were now the moſt ready to throw down their arms, and conſult their own ſafety.

John was ſo exaſperated by this diſappointment, that his envy againſt Joſeph encreaſed, and tempted him to other practices. He now pretended to be in a bad ſtate of health, and requeſted Joſeph's permiſſion to uſe the hot baths of Tiberias for his recovery. Hereupon Joſeph recommended him by letters to the governors of the city, deſiring they would furniſh him with the requiſite aſſiſtance, not ſuſpecting any treachery in this ſcheme. John being poſſeſſed of theſe recommendations, immediately began to corrupt the citizens, by promiſes and money, to abandon the intereſt of Joſeph. Information of this proceeding being given to Silas, who was at that time governor of the city, he immediately communicated it to Joſeph, who received his letter late at night, but inſtantly haſtened away to Tiberias, where he arrived early in the morning. All the people except John and his adherents (who had a ſuſpicion of what had happened) received him with reſpect. John ſent a friend with his compliments, excuſing a perſonal attendance, as he was ill in bed, and unable to wait on him. By this time the people of Tiberias were aſſembled in the great place, by the command of Joſeph, who intended to inform them of the intelligence he had received. John, apprized of this meeting, ſent a gang of ruffians to deſtroy Joſeph; but in the moment they were drawing their ſwords, which alarming Joſeph, even when the weapons were at his throat, he leaped from the ſtation he had mounted to addreſs the people, which was ſix cubits high, and eſcaped into a ſmall boat on the lake, having only two of his guards to attend him.

The ſoldiers inſtantly fled to arms, to avenge the cauſe of their general: but Joſeph was ſo apprehenſive of the conſequences of a civil war, and ſo cautious not to injure the city by a private quarrel, that he ſent a poſitive command to the people not to puniſh the traitors, farther than might be neceſſary for their own preſervation; and this order was punctually obeyed.

An account of this treaſon, with the plot itſelf, and the author of it, being reported through the country, the people aſſembled in great numbers, and marched in ſearch of John; but before they could come up with him he had eſcaped into his own country of Giſchala. On this occaſion there was ſcarce a city in Galilee but what eſpouſed the intereſt of Joſeph; and thouſands of armed men joined in offering ſervices againſt John, whom they called a traitor, and the common enemy of mankind; expreſſing their wiſhes to burn him, and the city which afforded him ſhelter. To theſe zealous pro-

ſeſſions Joſeph replied, " I am ſenſible of your kindneſs, but would adviſe " moderate proceedings in every poſſible inſtance; ſince I would rather ſpare " an enemy by forbearance, than compel him to his deſtruction. I own I " ſhould be glad if a decree was publiſhed, enacting, that if any man, in any " city, who has abetted John in the rebellion, do not, within five days after " the publication of ſuch decree, abandon the party and intereſt of John, and " return to his allegiance, he ſhall be excepted out of the general pardon, " his houſe burnt, and his family deſtroyed." The leading people of the ſeveral cities were fully of opinion that ſuch a decree ſhould be publiſhed, that a proclamation ſhould be made in form, and ratified in all its particulars. In conſequence of ſuch a proclamation three thouſand of the rebels abandoned the intereſt of John, and repaired to Joſeph, to whom they ſubmitted and laid down their arms. But about a thouſand Syrian fugitives ſtill adhered to John; who finding he could no longer act openly, had recourſe to ſecret plots and contrivances. He employed private agents in Jeruſalem, to traduce the character of Joſeph, on a charge of his having made extravagant levies, with a deſign to obtain the government of the place, which he would have obtained if he had not been deterred by a ſuperior power. Thoſe who were acquainted with facts paid no regard to theſe inſinuations: but there were a number of malicious people, and ſome even among the magiſtrates, and other principal inhabitants, who ſupplied John with money, to enable him to ſupport a war againſt Joſeph; nay, they even went ſo far as to frame a public act for the removal of him from his government. Nor did even this content them; for they ſent two thouſand five hundred warlike men, with four perſons celebrated for their eloquence and knowledge of the law, whoſe buſineſs it was to ſupplant Joſeph in his credit with the people. If they found he would not depart through their perſuaſions, they were not to offer him any violence, but to conſider him as an enemy on ſuch his refuſal. The names of the perſons thus commiſſioned, were Joazar, Ananias, Simon, and Judas.

The friends of Joſeph gave him information that a body of troops was ſent towards him, but the counſels of the enemy were ſo ſecret that they could not acquaint him with particulars. Thus ſituated, Joſeph knew not how to take his meaſures, and the cities of Sepphoris, Gamala, Giſchala, and Tiberias, immediately went over to the enemy; but he ſoon poſſeſſed them again without bloodſhed. He ſent to Jeruſalem four of his principal priſoners both in courage and advice; againſt whom the people were ſo violently enraged, that they would have utterly deſtroyed them all, if they had not ſaved themſelves by a timely eſcape.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

The revolt of Tiberias, which is recovered by a ſingular device, executed by Joſeph and ſeven unarmed men. The ſubmiſſion and ſurrender of the Tiberians. They ſend hoſtages for the performance of the articles. Clitus blamed for the whole proceedure, and juſtice on him demanded. Clitus ſentenced to cut off one of his own hands.

IN the mean time John was ſo much afraid of Joſeph, that he could not prevail on himſelf to make his appearance beyond the walls of Giſchala. Within a few days the citizens of Tiberias revolted, and acknowledging Agrippa for their king, invited him to come and take poſſeſſion of the city. The time of appointment arrived, but Agrippa did not make his appearance; and ſome Roman cavaliers only coming, the inhabitants abandoned the intereſt of Joſeph. Information of this circumſtance arriving at Tarichæ, at a time when Joſeph had ſent his troops on a foraging party, he was at a loſs how to act; for he was afraid to venture alone amidſt the whole number of deſerters, nor did he dare to truſt himſelf in the town, leſt the king's ſoldiers ſhould ſurprize him; beſides, as their ſabbath would fall on the following day, no public buſineſs could be tranſacted.

Joſeph had now no other mode of conſulting his ſecurity, but by an artful deception of the revolters, and on this occaſion he planned a ſcheme which ſucceeded as he could have wiſhed. He gave directions that the gates of Tarichæ ſhould be all ſhut and guarded, to prevent the Tiberians receiving any information of what was going forward. This being done, he ordered all the boats on the lake, amounting to two hundred and thirty, to be aſſembled, and that each boat ſhould be manned by four perſons. Thus provided, the veſſels ſailed early in the morning towards Tiberias: and when they were come ſo near the place that the people therein might eaſily judge of the number of the fleet, without diſtinguiſhing how many men were on board, he commanded that all the veſſels ſhould be brought to an anchor, and remain in their preſent ſtation; while himſelf, attended only by ſeven of his guards, and all of them unarmed, rowed up almoſt cloſe to the town. At this juncture there were numbers of men on the walls, venting exclamations againſt him after their accuſtomed manner: but when they beheld him in the ſituation above deſcribed, they had no doubt but that all the ſhips they beheld were filled with ſoldiers. Terrified by this idea, they immediately threw down their arms, and behaving in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner imaginable, humbly entreated him to have mercy on a wretched city and people. Joſeph paid a proper attention to what they ſaid, and then addreſſed them to the following purpoſe: "Is it not enough that you are engaged in a war with the "Romans, but you muſt ſeek, at the ſame time, the injury of each other, "by the devaſtations of civil war? What your enemies wiſhed to befal you "ſeems to be accompliſhed; and you are now anxious to deſtroy even him "who has been your preſerver. Do you not bluſh to engage thoſe walls which

" I cauſed to be erected for your defence to my deſtruction? Yet this crime, " aggravated as it is, ſhall not prevent my inclination to pardon all your paſt " faults, nor my engaging in a ſincere and laſting friendſhip with you, pro- " vided you will agree to ſend ſuch deputies as I may approve to requeſt the " favour."

Hereupon the citizens commiſſioned ten of their principal people to wait on Joſeph on this buſineſs; and theſe he immmediately directed to be put on board a fiſhing-veſſel, and conducted to a little diſtance from the ſhore. In the next place he demanded fifty of the principal ſenators to be delivered to him, as a farther ſecurity for the performance of conditions; and thus proceeded, with one pretence after another, till he had all the ſenate in his hands, and of the whole number of inhabitants about ſix thouſand. Theſe were ſent in boats to Taricheæ, and there detained priſoners.

The people in general now exclaimed againſt Clitus, ſaid that he was the principal promoter of the tumult, and requeſted that Joſeph would make an example of him, and accept his puniſhment as an atonement for what had happened. Joſeph was unwilling to take away any man's life; but, on the requeſt of the people, directed Levi, one of his guards, to cut off both the hands of Clitus. The ſoldier was afraid to execute this ſentence amidſt ſuch a number of enemies, which ſo enraged Joſeph, that he was on the point of going on ſhore, to be himſelf the executioner. This coming to the knowledge of Clitus, he applied to Joſeph, requeſting that one hand only might ſuffice; which Joſeph complied with, on condition that he ſhould cut off his own hand: whereupon Clitus drawing his ſword, chopped off his left hand with his right: ſuch was the influence Joſeph had over theſe people. Thus was Tiberias recovered by Joſeph and ſeven ſoldiers only, with a number of boats almoſt unmanned.

A few days after this Sepphoris and other cities revolted; on which Joſeph gave permiſſion to his ſoldiers to plunder Sepphoris and Giſchala: but, on the petition of the inhabitants, he gave orders that all which could be recovered ſhould be reſtored; for it was his wiſh to puniſh and oblige them at the ſame time.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Galilee remains quiet, and the people of Jeruſalem prepare for war. The devaſtations committed by Simon, the ſon of Gioras.

AT this period all was peaceable in Galilee: but the people of Jeruſalem were no ſooner at peace with each other than they concerted the means of freſh contentions with the Romans. The high-prieſt Ananias, and other men of rank who were enemies to the Romans, hurried the rebuilding the walls, the procuring military machines and weapons, with darts, arrows, &c. while every hand was engaged in martial preparations, and the youth trained to the exerciſe of arms. Affairs were now in great confuſion: moderate and thoughtful men wept at the ſuppoſed approach of public calamities. The melancholy proſpect afflicted every one of a peaceable diſpoſi-

tion,

tion, while the incendiaries, triumphed in the general confuſion. In a word, the city bore a moſt diſmal aſpect, even before the Romans approached it. At this time, Simon, the ſon of Gioras, headed a band of free-booters, who ſubſiſted on their plunder in the toparchy of Acrabatena, where they not only pillaged the houſes of all the men of eminence; but likewiſe made perſonal attacks on them, aſſaulting them with cudgels, and treating them more ignominiouſly than ſlaves: thus exerciſing their tyranny in the moſt open manner. Simon proceeded in this way, till Ananus and the magiſtrates ſent troops, which compelled him and his ſmall party to take refuge among the thieves of Maſſada; and with them he continued till the deſtruction of Ananus and ſome other of his enemies. His ravages in Idumæa and its neighbourhood were ſuch, and his bloody outrages ſo enormous, that the government was obliged to garriſon even the villages, for the protection of the country. Thus were affairs ſituated in Judæa at that period.

END of the SECOND BOOK.

THE WARS OF THE JEWS.

BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

The ill ſucceſs of his troops in Judæa greatly alarms the emperor Nero: but he pretends that the event gives him but little concern. A powerful army raiſed by Veſpaſian and Titus. The Jews, being greatly elated by the advantage gained over Ceſtius, proceed towards Aſcalon, and ſuffer a defeat. A ſecond engagement, wherein eight thouſand Jews are ſlain. The providential eſcape of Niger.

UPON receiving intelligence of the defeat of Ceſtius in Judæa, the emperor was thrown into the moſt terrible conſternation: but he diſſembled his alarm, oſtentatiouſly aſſerting that it was to the miſconduct of his general, and not to their own valour, that the Jews were indebted for victory; for he imagined that it would be derogatory to the ſovereign ſtate of the Roman empire, and to his ſuperiority to other princes, to betray

betray a concern at the common occurrences of life. During this contention between his fear and his pride, he induſtriouſly ſought for a man qualified to aſſume the important taſk of chaſtiſing the revolted Jews, preſerving the eaſt in tranquillity, and the allegiance of ſeveral other nations who had manifeſted a diſpoſition to free themſelves from the power of the Romans. Upon mature deliberation, Nero, at length, judged Veſpaſian to be the only man poſſeſſed of abilities adequate to the important enterprize. Veſpaſian was now arrived to an advanced age, and from his early years he had been engaged in a continued ſucceſſion of military exploits. The empire was indebted to him for the eſtabliſhment of a peace in the weſt, where the Germans had revolted; and he compleated the conqueſt over Britain, attributing to the emperor the glory of triumphing over that country, which had not before been entirely ſubdued. The years and experience of Veſpaſian, and his approved courage and fidelity, his having ſons for hoſtages of his loyalty, who, being in the vigour of youth, might execute their father's commands, and his appearing to be favoured by the providence of the Almighty, determined the emperor to appoint him to the command of his army in Syria. Immediately upon receiving the commiſſion from Nero, who accompanied it with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of friendſhip, he commanded his ſon Titus to lead the fifth and the tenth legions into Alexandria, and he himſelf departed from Achaia, and croſſing the Helleſpont, proceeded by land into Syria, where he aſſembled all the Roman forces, and the auxiliaries which the princes adjacent to that province had ſupplied.

In the interim the Jews, being tranſported to the moſt exceſſive degree of extravagance by the conqueſt they had gained over the Roman army, under the command of Ceſtius, determined to proſecute the war with the utmoſt vigour. They formed their beſt troops into a body, and marched againſt the ancient city of Aſcalon, ſituated at about the diſtance of five hundred and twenty furlongs from Jeruſalem, determining firſt to attempt the reduction of that place, againſt the inhabitants of which they had ever entertained an implacable enmity. The Jewiſh army was under the command of Niger, of Peræa; Silas, a Babylonian; and John, an Eſſene; who were men equally celebrated for valour and ſkill in the management of war.

Aſcalon was ſurrounded by a wall of ſurprizing ſtrength: but the whole garriſon conſiſted only of a troop of cavalry and a company of foot, under the command of Anthony. Being impatient to encounter the Romans, the Jews marched with great expedition, intending to attack them by ſurprize: but Anthony gaining intelligence of this deſign, ſtationed his cavalry without the town, in order to repulſe the enemy. The Roman army was compoſed of veteran troops, compleatly armed, well diſciplined, and perfectly obedient to order. The Jews had conſiderably the ſuperiority in point of numbers: but they were precipitate and wholly ungovernable, but indifferently equipped for, and by no means expert in the art of war; and the army conſiſted entirely of infantry. Anthony received the charge with great reſolution: his troop of horſe broke the firſt ranks of the adverſe army, which was immediately put to the rout; great numbers being cruſhed to death by

their

their own people, and others diſperſed over the plain, and wherever they fled they were oppoſed by the Romans. The Jews exerted their utmoſt endeavours to rally their forces; but this the Romans prevented; for during the greateſt part of the day they, without intermiſſion, purſued the advantage they had gained, till ten thouſand of the enemy were ſlain; in which number were the two generals, John and Silas: Niger, the ſurviving general, with the reſt of the Jews, moſt of whom were wounded, eſcaped to a town in Idumæa, named Salis. In this action the Romans ſuſtained no other injury than that of having an inconſiderable number of men wounded.

The reſolution of the Jews was not abated by the terrible defeat they had ſuſtained: but, founding the hopes of ſucceſs on the recollection of former victories, they were animated to a more violent deſire of vengeance. Without allowing time for the wounded men to recover, they collected a much more numerous army than before, and determined to make a ſecond attempt againſt Aſcalon, notwithſtanding their want of military ſkill and diſcipline; the fatal effects of which they had already experienced. They were ſurprized by an ambuſh which Anthony had ſtationed on the way they were to paſs, and entirely routed, without being able to form themſelves into the order of battle: eight thouſand Jews were ſlain upon the ſpot; and the reſt, with Niger, their general, put to flight. On this occaſion Niger afforded many proofs of his being a courageous and ſkilful ſoldier. Being cloſely purſued, the Jews ſought refuge in a caſtle belonging to the village of Bezedel, which was ſuppoſed to be impregnable; and therefore, as the only effectual means of deſtroying both Niger and the caſtle, the Romans ſet fire to the fort; and after this departed, triumphing in the idea that the leader of the Jews muſt inevitably periſh in the flames. Niger threw himſelf from the top of the caſtle into a vault of conſiderable depth, where, after three days, he was found alive by his friends, who were ſearching for his remains, in order to give them interment. This happy and unexpected event tranſported the Jews from a ſtate of deſpondency into the contrary extreme of joy; and the preſervation of their general, whom they conſidered as an inſtrument eſſentially neceſſary in the proſecution of the war, they attributed to an interpoſition of the Divine providence.

Upon the arrival of Veſpaſian with his army at Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, which, on account of its extent, beauty, ſituation, and other advantages, was conſidered as one of the three principal cities of the Roman empire, he found the king Agrippa, attended by his troops, waiting to receive him. Hence he proceeded to Ptolemais, where the people of Sepphoris, a city in Galilee, had aſſembled on occaſion of his expected arrival. Theſe were a well-diſpoſed people; and being conſcious of the great power of the Romans, and deſirous of making proviſion for their own ſafety, they acknowledged Ceſtius Gallus as their governor, previous to the arrival of Veſpaſian, binding themſelves to act in perfect obedience to his commands, even againſt their own countrymen, and at the ſame time declaring their allegiance to the ſtate of Rome. They received a garriſon from Ceſtius Gallus, and ſolicited Veſpaſian to grant them a number of cavalry and infantry

ſufficient for their defence, in caſe of being attacked by the Jews: with this requeſt he readily complied; for Sepphoris being the moſt extenſive and the ſtrongeſt city of Galilee, he judged it expedient to keep ſo important a place in a proper ſtate of defence.

CHAP. II.

Deſcription of the upper and lower Galilees, and of Samaria. The ſituation of Jeruſalem. The diviſion of Judæa.

THE upper and the lower Galilees are ſurrounded by Phœnicea and Syria: on the weſt they are bounded by the city and territory of Ptolemais, and by Mount Carmel, which place was formerly the property of the Galileans, but is now in poſſeſſion of the Tyrians; and adjoining to this is Gaba, which received the name of the city of Horſemen, on occaſion of Herod, upon the diſmiſſion of his horſemen, having appointed that place for their reſidence. The ſouthern boundaries are formed by Samaria and Scythopolis, extending as far as the river Jordan; thoſe on the eaſt by Hippene, Gadaris, and the borders of the kingdom of Agrippa; and the city of Tyre and the Tyrian frontiers form the limits on the north.

The lower Galilee extends, in length, from Tiberias to Zabulon, near Ptolemais on the coaſt, and in breadth from Zaloth, which is ſituated on the great plain, to Berſabe; from which place to the village of Bacca, is the breadth of the upper Galilee; the length of which is from a village near the Jordan, called Thelta, to Meroth. The Galilees are exceedingly populous, and the inhabitants being naturally of intrepid diſpoſitions, and trained from their infancy to the practice of arms, they have, on all occaſions, bravely defended themſelves againſt the ſurrounding nations. They contain a great number of cities and villages, and the ſmalleſt of the former is computed to have fifteen thouſand inhabitants. The lands being ſurprizingly fertile, prove a moſt powerful incentive and encouragement to the practice of huſbandry. Though theſe provinces are not ſo extenſive as the country beyond the Jordan, they are greatly ſuperior to it both in ſtrength and riches; for excluſive of the natural fertility of the ſoil, the grounds are cultivated to the utmoſt advantage: but the moſt conſiderable part of the immenſe tract of land beyond the Jordan is dry and barren: at Peræa, however, and ſeveral other parts of this country, the earth is exceedingly prolific, abounding in vines, olive-trees, palm-trees, and divers other articles in the greateſt perfection; and theſe places are refreſhed by the waters which fall in torrents from the mountains, and in the exceſſive heats continually watered by innumerable ſprings. This country extends, in length, from Machærus to Pella, and in breadth from Philadelphia to the Jordan; and the boundaries are formed by Pella on the north, the river Jordan on the weſt, the country of the Moabites on the ſouth, and Arabia, Philadelphia, and Geraſa on the eaſt.

Samaria is situated between Judæa and Galilee; it extends from the village of Ginæa, upon the plain, to the toparchy of Acrabatane. This country, like that of Judæa, is mountainous and rich; the grounds are easily cultivated, and they produce abundance of both wild and domestic fruits; the land is naturally dry, but that disadvantage is compensated for by frequent rains; no part of the globe is supplied with more excellent water; and the pastures are so remarkably fine that no other country affords so great an abundance of milk: but the most important advantage of these two provinces is the surprizing number of their inhabitants: they are both terminated by the village of Annath, otherwise called Borcæus.

Judæa is bounded on the north by the same village: the length of this province runs from the south-side to a village called Jardan, situated upon the borders of Arabia; and the breadth is from the river Jordan to Joppa. Jerusalem is situated in the middle; and it is, therefore, by many not improperly distinguished by the appellation of the Navel, or the centre of the province. This delightful country is remarkably prolific, and all the way to Ptolemais there is a most pleasing prospect of the sea. It is divided into eleven districts, the principal of which is Jerusalem; the other ten are the toparchies of Gophna, Acrabatane, Tamna, Lydda, Ammaus, Pella, Idumæa, Engedi, Herodion, and Jericho. Jamnia and Joppa, which have jurisdiction over the neighbouring counties, are not included in the above account; nor are Gamalitis, Gaulanitis, Batanæa, and Trachonitis, which are comprized in the kingdom of Agrippa. This country is inhabited in common by the Syrians and Jews; the breadth is from Mount Libanus and the sources of the river Jordan to the lake of Tiberias; and it stretches in length from the village of Arphas to Julias.

CHAP. III.

By the command of Vespasian, Placidus leads an army to the relief of Sepphoris. Great devastation in Galilee. The martial discipline of the Romans. The limits of the Roman territories.

VESPASIAN dispatched a thousand cavalry and six thousand infantry, under the command of Placidus, the tribune, in order to afford relief to the people of Sepphoris. After these troops had been drawn up on the great plain, the foot, for the security of the city, were quartered within the walls, and the horse were ordered into the camp. The Roman troops made daily excursions into the neighbourhood, whereby, though they committed no actual hostilities, they greatly incommoded Joseph and his friends: not satisfied with ravaging the country, they made booty of whatever they could obtain from the towns, and treated the inhabitants with so much severity that they were under the necessity of remaining within their walls.

Matters being thus circumstanced, Joseph exerted his utmost efforts to render himself master of Sepphoris; but he found that before his deserting the Galileans he had so strongly fortified the city that it now appeared to be impreg-

impregnable; and despairing of success, either by stratagem or force, he abandoned all further thoughts of the enterprize. This conduct so violently irritated the Romans, who have naturally an aversion to every species of treachery, that they subjected the people to the most terrible calamities of fire and sword, putting those who attempted resistance to instant death, reducing the rest to slavery, and making booty of all the property they could find. In this deplorable situation the people of Galilee had no security but the towns which had been fortified by Joseph.

In the mean time Titus repaired to Vespasian, his father, at Ptolemais, with much greater expedition than it was supposed a winter-march would permit; and he there joined the fifteenth, the fifth, and the tenth legions, which were esteemed to be the best disciplined and most courageous of the Roman troops. These were followed by eighteen companies, besides five companies, and a troop of horse, from Cæsarea, and a troop of Syrian cavalry. Ten of these cohorts were composed of a thousand men each, and the rest of six hundred and thirteen foot, and an hundred and twenty horse; and the army was strengthened by auxiliaries supplied by neighbouring princes; Antiochus, Agrippa, and Sohemus, furnished each two thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry; Malichus, king of Arabia, sent five thousand foot, most of whom were provided with bows and arrows, and a thousand horse. The army amounted to sixty thousand horse and foot, exclusive of the train of baggage, and a great number of domestics, most of whom, having been trained to the practice of war, were but little inferior to their masters in courage and dexterity.

We cannot sufficiently admire the wise policy of the Romans in so managing their domestics as to make them useful in the common offices, and, at the same time, capable of rendering very essential service in times of war: and if we consider their admirable military discipline, it will appear that it is not to fortune, but to their natural courage and excellent policy, that they are indebted for the sovereignty of the world. In peaceable times the Romans are kept in the continual practice of the art of war; so that they are ever expert in the management of their arms, and prepared to engage in hostilities. It is the daily and invariable custom for the soldiers to go regularly through their exercises; and their very trials of skill have the appearance of actual combats. Though no blood is spilt in these exercises, they effectually serve to preserve the martial spirits of the men, and to enable them to bear fatigue. Thus are they rendered so familiar to the art of war that an undisciplined enemy cannot withstand them. Upon entering the territories of an enemy their first precaution is to guard against surprize. They pitch their tents in an advantageous situation, level the uneven ground, and form the camp in the figure of a quadrangle. The army is attended by smiths, carpenters and other artificers. The interior part of the camp is divided into quarters for the officers and soldiers; and the outside resembles the walls of a fortified city, turrets being erected at equal distances, and the intermediate spaces being supplied with machines for casting stones, darts and arrows. Within the camp, which has four doors, sufficiently large for foot and horse to pass with ease, there are regular streets, and in the middle of them are

lodgements for the principal commanders, and a tent, bearing the appearance of a little temple, for the general; there are alſo ſhops for artificers and traders, and tribunals for determining military and civil cauſes. The orders are given with ſo much preciſion, and executed by great numbers of experienced men with ſuch quickneſs, that the forming a Roman camp affords an idea of a city being erected in the ſpace of a few hours. If any further ſecurity is judged to be neceſſary, the work is compleated by ſurrounding the camp with a line of circumvallation, and a trench of four cubits in depth, and of an equal meaſure in breadth. Unanimity and good order prevail among the ſoldiers, who live in a kind of brotherhood: they have their weapons continually at hand; and for ſupplying the camp with forage, wood and water, rhey go out in detachments; they are not permitted to take refreſhment as they might be promiſcuouſly inclined, but regular hours are eſtabliſhed for their meals; and the times of going to reſt, of riſing, and of ſetting the watch, are ſignified by the ſound of the trumpet: and, in ſhort, rules are eſtabliſhed for regulating the conduct of the ſoldiers in every reſpect, whereby the camp is kept in the moſt perfect order. Every morning the ſoldiers wait upon the captains, and the captains upon the tribunes, and then the captains and the tribunes repair to the general, who gives to them the word or ſignal, and all neceſſary orders, which it is their buſineſs to communicate to their ſubordinates, ſo that all the ſoldiers are inſtructed when they are,to attack and when retreat, and in every other part of their duty. The ſignal for decamping is given by the ſound of the trumpet; and when this is heard they take up their tents, and pack up their baggage convenient for removal; upon the ſecond ſound of the trumpet they take up their baggages, and wait the ſignal for marching with as much attention as it is uſual for people to ſhew when they expect the ſignal for horſes ſtarting at a race; and they now ſet fire to the camp, leſt it ſhould be made advantage of by the enemy. When the trumpet ſounds a third time the ſoldiers begin their march, and the utmoſt care is obſerved that none are left behind, and that the men preſerve their ranks and proceed with regularity.

The herald is ſtationed on the right hand of the general, and with an audible voice he proclaims, "Are you prepared for battle?" The ſoldiers reply, "We are prepared for battle." By ſtretching forth their right-hands and other ſigns intimating their impatience to engage, they frequently prevent the queſtion from the herald. The army now advance with manly gravity, reſolution and compoſure. The ſoldiers are provided with helmets and breaſt-plates; and each man has two ſwords, that worn on the right ſide being about the ſize of a dagger, and therefore rather deſerving to be called a poinard. Thoſe who are ſelected for the general's guards carry javelins and targets; and the others have pikes and long bucklers, beſides which each man is provided with a baſket, a pick-ax, a hatchet, a ſaw, a rein, a ſcythe, a chain, and a quantity of bread ſufficient for three days; ſo that each ſoldier carries a burthen nearly ſufficient for a horſe. Each of the horſemen bears a lance in his hand, a long ſword on his right ſide, and acroſs the horſe's ſide hangs a buckler in a ſcarf containing three or more broad-pointed darts, rather ſhorter than the uſual length of a javelin: the breaſt-plates and helmets

of

of the cavalry reſemble thoſe of the infantry. The company appointed to attend on the perſon of the general enjoys a right of precedence; but they are armed in the ſame manner as the other troops.

The Romans are exceedingly careful to avoid all raſh and inconſiderate proceedings; and all their martial operations are the conſequence of deliberate conſideration; and therefore their miſcarriages are leſs frequent, and thoſe that happen are redreſſed with greater eaſe, than they would otherwiſe be. They are more ſatisfied with the failure of a well-concerted enterprize than with a caſual advantage; for in the firſt caſe they enjoy the conſolatory reflection of having done all that prudence required, and in the other they are inſtructed to make proviſion againſt ſimilar misfortunes.

The bodies of the Roman ſoldiers are rendered more athletic, and their minds more firm and intrepid by the continual practice of arms; and the dread of puniſhment keeps them in the moſt exact regularity and order; for deſerters and all others who are not rigidly obſervant of their duty are conſigned to death by the martial law. This inexorable law is moſt rigidly enforced by the officers, who imagine that by conferring honourable rewards upon men of merit they make ample compenſation for inflicting a ſeverity of puniſhment upon criminals. The military diſcipline is obſerved with ſo perfect an obedience, that the troops perform their operations with the moſt exact regularity, and from the harmony of their motions they all appear to act under the influence of the ſame mind. Their ears and eyes are continually attentive to the word of command, and to the ſignals given by their ſuperiors; and regardleſs of every danger and difficulty, they are ever prepared to execute their orders with the greateſt alacrity. Having once formed the reſolution to engage, neither the ſuperior number and ſtrength of the enemy, nor any other obſtacle, can depreſs their ſpirits: they cut paſſes through foreſts, croſs rivers and mountains, and vigorouſly endeavour to ſurmount every impediment to victory, in deſpite even of the malice of fortune, which would prove ſufficiently diſcouraging to people of leſs determined and enterprizing tempers.

If the policy of their counſels, and vigour with which they are carried into effect, be taken into conſideration, it will not appear extraordinary that the Romans have obtained the ſovereignty of the univerſe, and that they have extended the boundaries of their empire to the Euphrates on the eaſt, the ocean on the weſt, Africa on the ſouth, and the Rhine and the Danube on the north. But notwithſtanding their great extent of territory it is ſtill too ſmall for the capacious ſouls of the people.

My deſign was not to write a panegyric upon the Romans: but what I have aſſerted I meant as a conſolation to thoſe who have been ſubdued by, and as a means of diverting factious innovators from revolting againſt, that enterprizing and unconquerable people. And this diſcourſe will perhaps gratify the curioſity of thoſe who are deſirous of gaining a knowledge of the particular government and diſcipline of the Romans.

CHAP. IV.

An incurſion into Galilee by Placidus, who afterwards leads his army againſt Jotapata: but he is repulſed.

DURING the time that Veſpaſian reſided with his ſon Titus at Ptolemais, he ordered every neceſſary meaſure to be purſued for the regulation and proper ſupply of his army: and in the mean time Placidus made an incurſion into, and over-ran the whole province of Judæa, where he took a great number of priſoners, moſt of whom he put to death: theſe were people deſtitute of courage, and conſequently incapable of making a ſucceſsful reſiſtance: ſuch of the inhabitants as poſſeſſed a greater ſhare of intrepidity took ſhelter in the cities and other places of ſtrength which had been fortified by Joſeph. Placidus determined to direct his arms againſt thoſe places where the Galileans had fled for ſanctuary; and Jotapata being the ſtrongeſt hold they poſſeſſed, he reſolved that his firſt exploit ſhould be to attempt the reduction of that place: and he flattered himſelf in the full confidence of ſucceſs, the expectation of acquiring great fame among the other generals, and of ſpreading terror and conſternation in the reſt of the cities, the conqueſt of which would thereby be rendered leſs difficult. The inhabitants of Jotapata, however, gaining intelligence of the deſign of Placidus, and that he was already upon his march, ſallied from the town in order to give him battle: they attacked the Romans by ſurprize, and as the fate of their wives, children and country, depended on the iſſue of the conteſt, they fought with aſtoniſhing bravery, and effectually repulſed the enemy. The Romans being well armed, and preſerving a proper diſcipline in their retreat, only ſeven of them were ſlain. The Jews not being ſo well armed as their adverſaries, declined a cloſe combat, but at a diſtance annoyed the Romans with lances and darts: only three of the Jews were ſlain, and a ſmall number were wounded. After this defeat Placidus drew off his army.

CHAP. V.

Veſpaſian leads an army into Galilee. Upon gaining information of his approach, Joſeph's people deſert. Joſeph retreats to Tiberias.

HAVING formed the reſolution of making an incurſion into Galilee, Veſpaſian iſſued marching orders to his troops, according to the military diſcipline of the Romans, and departed from Ptolemais. The auxiliary forces being more lightly armed than the reſt of the troops were ordered to march firſt, in order to reconnoitre the woods and other places where it was ſuppoſed ambuſhes were ſtationed, and prevent ſurprizes from the enemy: they were followed by a party of infantry and cavalry, to which ſucceeded a detachment formed of ten men from each company: next came pioneers to level and make good the ways, cut down trees, and remove other obſtructions; and then followed the general's baggage, and that of his principal

officers, under the convoy of a ſtrong company of horſe; after theſe Veſpaſian marched, attended by a choſen body of cavalry and infantry, a number of men provided with lances, and an hundred and twenty of his own men, ſelected from the ſame number of ſquadrons of horſe: the next in courſe were the engineers, with their various implements and machines of aſſault; and they were followed by the tribunes and other officers, eſcorted by a ſelect body of troops: the imperial eagle, preceding the reſt of the Roman enſigns, came next: the figure of the eagle was conſidered as an omen of ſucceſs in war, and as an emblem intimating that, as the eagle was the ſovereign of all other birds, ſo were the Romans ſuperior to the reſt of mankind: the enſigns of the Romans, which were deemed ſacred, were followed by the performers on martial inſtruments of muſic, to whom ſucceeded the body of the army, drawn up ſix in front, the officers attending to keep the men in rank and file, and preſerve a regular diſcipline in every other reſpect: the domeſtics belonging to the ſeveral legions marched with the infantry, and it was their buſineſs to take the neceſſary care that the baggage was ſafely conveyed; and the proceſſion was cloſed by artizans, purveyors, and other mercenaries, who were eſcorted by a company of infantry and cavalry.

Having marched in the above order to the frontiers of Galilee, Veſpaſian there encamped his army: he might have advanced farther, but his deſign was to inſpire the enemy with terror by the formidable appearance of his army, and, by affording time for their paſſions to operate, to render them leſs capable of reſiſtance before proceeding to an encounter: and in the mean time he cauſed every neceſſary preparation to be made for a ſiege.

Veſpaſian was not deceived in his conjecture; for the news of his approach threw the Jews into the moſt terrible conſternation; and Joſeph's followers, who were encamped in the neighbourhood of Sepphoris, deſerted their leader, even before the enemy came in ſight. Being thus abandoned, and finding that the ſpirits of the Jews were entirely depreſſed, that the majority of his people had already joined the enemy, and that the reſt ſeemed inclineable to follow their example, he declined all thoughts of proſecuting the war, and retreated to Tiberias, accompanied by a few of his people who ſtill maintained their fidelity.

CHAP. VI.

Gadara ſubdued, and the inhabitants put to death without diſtinction. The purport of Joſeph's letter to the council of Jeruſalem.

VESPASIAN attacked Gadara, and as that city did not contain a ſufficient number of inhabitants to make a ſucceſsful defence, he, with little difficulty, ſubdued it on the firſt aſſault. The enmity they entertained againſt the Jews, and a principle of revenge for the defeat of Ceſtius, induced the Romans to put the inhabitants of the town promiſcuouſly to the ſword: and, not ſatisfied with ſetting fire to the conquered city, they burnt and utterly laid waſte the neighbouring ſmall towns and villages, and ſubjected the inhabitants to ſlavery.

The

The appearance of Joſeph greatly alarmed the people of Tiberias, who were convinced that he would not have fled to them for ſanctuary had not his caſe been deſperate. Joſeph was now convinced that ſubmitting to the power of the Romans and acknowledging their faults were the only means by which the Jews could inſure their ſafety. As to himſelf, he was conſcious that if he ſhould ſolicit it, the Romans would readily grant him a pardon: but he would with greater ſatisfaction have ſuffered the moſt terrible death than have violated the confidence repoſed in him, by ſeeking his ſafety among the people againſt whom he was entruſted to proſecute the war. He tranſmitted to the principal people of Jeruſalem a plain narrative of the caſe; neither repreſenting the power of the Romans greater or leſs than it was in reality, leſt, on the one hand, he ſhould incur the charge of cowardice, or, on the other, encreaſe the raſhneſs and temerity of the Jews. Joſeph diſpatched his letter by an expreſs to Jeruſalem; ſubmitting the matter entirely to the council; requeſting that, if they ſhould reſolve to negotiate a treaty, they would ſend him immediate advice thereof; or ſufficient reinforcements to enable him to encounter the enemy, if they ſhould determine to proſecute the war.

CHAP. VII.

From Tiberias Joſeph eſcapes to Jotapata, which circumſtance is related to Veſpaſian by a deſerter. Jotapata beſieged. An engagement maintained during a whole day. A battle continued for five ſucceſſive days. Account of the ſituation of Jotapata. The ſiege and defence. The diſappointment of the Romans by a ſtratagem of defence invented by Joſeph.

VESPASIAN determined that his next expedition ſhould be againſt Jotapata, which was the ſtrongeſt city in Galilee, and the place where the Jews in their utmoſt diſtreſs fled for refuge. Preparatory to the intended exploit, he diſpatched a company of horſe and foot, and pioneers, to croſs the mountains and form a paſſage, the road being at that time wholly impaſſable for horſe, and extremely difficult for foot. In the ſpace of four days a paſſage was cut ſufficient to admit the whole army to march without obſtruction or inconvenience.

Joſeph eſcaped from Tiberias on the fifth day, being the twenty-firſt of the month Artimiſius, and retreated to Jotapata, which proved an encouraging circumſtance to the Jews. Joſeph's retreat was ſoon communicated to Veſpaſian by a deſerter, who adviſed the beſieging Jotapata, urging that if Joſeph could be taken in the ſnare he had fallen into, the war muſt inevitably terminate to the diſadvantage of the Jews. The information of the deſerter ſo rejoiced Veſpaſian that he attributed to the Providence of Heaven the circumſtance of delivering into his power the moſt formidable of his enemies: and he diſpatched Placidus with a thouſand cavalry, and Æbutius, (one of the moſt celebrated men of the army for bravery and military ſkill) commanding them to environ the city with all poſſible expedition, and prevent the eſcape of Joſeph.

The

The following morning Veſpaſian iſſued orders for his whole army to march; and in the afternoon he arrived at Jotapata. He eſtabliſhed his camp on a hill at about ſeven furlongs to the north of the city, intending to alarm the enemy by the formidable appearance of his army. The people of Jotapata were ſo terrified that they dared not venture beyond the city walls. The Romans being greatly fatigued by their march, attempted no exploit on the day of their arrival. Veſpaſian ordered two ſtrong companies to inveſt the city, and he ſtationed another troop at ſome diſtance, thereby effectually precluding the enemy from all opportunity of communication. The deſperate ſituation to which they were reduced ſerved to inſpire the Jews with additional courage.

On the following morning the Romans began to aſſault the city, which was defended with great bravery: but when Veſpaſian ordered the bow-men and ſlingers to compel the Jews to deſert the walls, and he himſelf with a body of infantry began an aſſault from an eminence convenient for battering the city, Joſeph, at the head of the Jews, made a furious aſſault upon the enemy, and compelled them to retreat; and the loſs on each ſide was nearly equal. The preſſing neceſſities of the Jews provoked them to deſperate acts of valour, and the Romans were no leſs enraged to find the defence ſo reſolutely maintained. On one ſide courage and military ſkill were oppoſed to a ferocious and ungovernable rage on the other. The battle continued till night, when the combatants were neceſſarily obliged to ſuſpend the conteſt. The Romans loſt thirteen men, and ſeveral were wounded; and ſeventeen of the Jews were ſlain, and about ſix hundred wounded.

The next day the beſiegers renewed the aſſault; and in this action both parties diſplayed ſtill more extraordinary inſtances of valour than in the preceeding encounter. The Jews were encouraged by the undaunted firmneſs and reſolution with which, contrary to their moſt ſanguine expectations, they had ſuſtained the firſt aſſault; and the ſhame of having been repulſed invigorated the ſpirit of the Romans, who conſidered the delay of victory almoſt as fatal as a defeat. Notwithſtanding the great danger and difficulty of the enterprize, the Romans continued to purſue their attacks with ſtill encreaſing vigour; and the Jews did not act merely the defenſive part, but made frequent ſallies againſt the aſſailants, regardleſs of their great numbers and ſtrength. Thus was the conteſt obſtinately maintained for five ſucceſſive days.

The city of Jotapata is built on a rock, and on three ſides are vallies of ſuch ſurprizing depth that a man cannot look down from the precipices without being ſeized with giddineſs. It is abſolutely inacceſſible but upon the north, where a part of the city ſtands upon the brow of the mountain; but this quarter Joſeph cauſed to be ſtrongly fortified and taken into the city, thereby precluding the enemy from taking advantage of another mountain, by which it is overlooked, and which, with other mountains ſo entirely encloſe the place that it can be ſeen but at a very ſmall diſtance.

Finding the place ſo admirably ſituated for defence, and that he had to contend with an intrepid and determined enemy, Veſpaſian aſſembled a council of his principal officers to debate on the means of obtaining victory. The

iſſue of the deliberations was that a large terras ſhould be raiſed on that ſide of the city which appeared to be the leaſt capable of reſiſtance. Immediately upon this reſolution being taken, Veſpaſian ordered his whole army to employ themſelves in procuring materials for the intended work. Immenſe quantities of timber and ſtone were conveyed from the adjacent mountains: and hurdles were formed to protect the Romans from the darts and other weapons that were thrown from the city. Thus defended, they continued to proſecute their deſign, in defiance of the innumerable darts, arrows, lances, and large ſtones which were continually thrown from above. What earth they had occaſion for was procured in the neighbourhood, and handed from one man to another. The whole army being engaged, the work was continued without intermiſſion, and advanced with ſurprizing rapidity; and the utmoſt efforts of the Jews to annoy the enemy proved ineffectual.

The Roman army had now ſixty machines employed in throwing lances, excluſive of larger engines for caſting arrows, javelins, ſtones, fire, &c. and theſe were managed by Arabian and other ſkilful engineers. The operations were purſued with ſo much vigour that the ſpace between the city wall and the mount could be no longer occupied. The Jews, however, made frequent ſallies by ſurprize, deſtroyed the defences, ſet fire to all the combuſtible materials they could find, and, in ſhort, did all poſſible damage to the works of the enemy. To remedy the inconvenience that he ſuſtained from the repeated ſallies made by the Jews, Veſpaſian cauſed his works to be advanced upon the interval between the walls and the terras, and connected his troops into a cloſe body, which anſwered the deſired end.

The terras being now raiſed nearly to a level with the city-wall, Joſeph conſidered that it would reflect diſhonour upon him if he ſhould omit to engage in as arduous a taſk for the defence of the place as the enemy had undertaken for its deſtruction; and therefore he ordered the wall to be raiſed in proportion to the advancement of the enemy's work, and to be kept at a ſufficient height above the ſummit of the mount. The workmen declined the undertaking, urging the impoſſibility of purſuing their buſineſs, ſince they ſhould be continually expoſed to the enemy. However, Joſeph ſuggeſted the following invention as a defence againſt fire, ſtones, and other weapons: he cauſed large ſtakes to be fixed into the ground, and the raw hides of beaſts lately killed to be ſtretched upon them: on account of the yielding quality of the ſkins, they ſcarcely received any impreſſion from the lances and ſtones, and their moiſture damped the fire of the enemy. The workmen being perfectly ſecured through Joſeph's contrivance, continued indefatigably induſtrious both by day and night; and they ſoon erected a wall twenty cubits high, on which were formed towers and ſtrong embattlements. The Romans who had entertained the utmoſt confidence of ſubduing the city, were equally aſtoniſhed and confounded by the depth of policy and invincible reſolution of their adverſaries.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Vespasian endeavours to starve the people of Jotapata. The city being distressed by a scarcity of water, Joseph adopts a stratagem to conceal the want of that article; and at length contrives a means of supply. Joseph meditates an escape; and the Jews supplicate that he will continue his protection to them. Joseph assaults the enemy. Vespasian orders his troops to decline the contest.

GREATLY encouraged by the success of Joseph's stratagem, the Jews suffered not a day to escape without making incursions upon the enemy, and seizing all the property they could find. Vespasian now relinquished the hopes of subduing the place by storm, and entirely blocked it up, flattering himself in the expectation that by cutting off all communication the consequent necessities of the people would perform the business of the sword, or, at least, render them incapable of resistance. There was an abundant supply of corn and all other necessaries in the town, excepting only water and salt. There being neither spring nor fountain about the city, the people had no water for their common uses but what descended in rain. The prospect of a scarcity of water proved exceedingly alarming in that hot country: but having a plentiful stock of other necessaries, and the men being in good spirits, Joseph was determined not to abandon himself to despair: in order, as long as possible, to procrastinate the threatened danger, he limited each man to a daily allowance of water. Hereupon the people became outrageous, and absolutely refused to continue their work. The discontent now prevailing among the Jews could not be concealed from the Romans, who, from an adjacent hill being able to discover all that passed in the city, observed the people assembled to receive their respective portions, and the dissatisfaction that they expressed; and at this time several of the Jews were destroyed by the weapons discharged from the quarters of the enemy. The pit-water being nearly exhausted, and Vespasian being in continual expectation of becoming master of the town, in order to amuse the Romans Joseph adopted the following stratagem: he caused great numbers of wet cloths to be hung upon the battlements; whence, concluding that a scarcity of water could not prevail in the town, since that element was used in so profuse a manner, the Romans no longer entertained the hope that the enemy would surrender through a want of the necessaries of life: and therefore Vespasian had again recourse to arms; which proved a circumstance highly agreeable to the Jews, who, being reduced to the most extreme distress, entertained the most terrible apprehensions of falling miserable sacrifices to famine, to which they infinitely preferred a glorious death in the field.

Joseph recollected that on the west-side of the city there was a hollow or gutter in a place so little frequented that it was not likely to have been observed by the enemy. He wrote to the Jews without the city, to cause water and other necessaries to be conveyed to him through this passage, enjoining them to be careful that the messengers were covered with the hides of beasts,

and inſtructed to walk upon their hands and feet, that, in caſe of being obſerved by the watch, they might be miſtaken for dogs or other brutes. An intercourſe was maintained till the Romans diſcovered and blocked up the paſſage.

Joſeph now conceived that it would be fruitleſs to attempt a longer defence of the city, and therefore he joined with ſeveral of the principal men in ſuggeſting the means of eſcape. Suſpecting on what ſubject they had met to deliberate, the people repaired in great multitudes to Joſeph, earneſtly ſupplicating that, as he was the only man from whom they could expect relief, he would not deſert them in their preſent extremity; urging that while he was ſecure they could not deſpair of ſucceſs, and declaring that they could not die more honourably than while acting in obedience to his commands: they ſaid that if it ſhould prove their misfortune to fall into the power of the Romans, he would acquire the immortal fame of having equally ſcorned to fly from the enemy, or deſert the people under his protection; that by now leaving them, he would manifeſt a conduct ſimilar to that of a man aſſuming the command of a ſhip in temperate weather, and abandoning it in a ſtorm; they added, that after loſing the only man in whom they could place a confidence of ſucceſs, they could no longer cheriſh the hope of relieving their country. Being unwilling to have it believed that his intention was engroſſed on the means of providing for his own ſafety, Joſeph, in a public addreſs, repreſented, that if they were compelled to ſurrender, his remaining could not poſſibly operate in their favour; whereas if he obtained his liberty he might be able to draw an army out of Galilee ſufficiently early to raiſe the ſiege; and that his continuing in the city would be productive of unfortunate inſtead of happy conſequences, ſince the expectation of making him a priſoner would induce the Romans to continue a vigorous proſecution of the ſiege, which they might probably decline, if he could effect an eſcape.

Inſtead of reconciling the multitude to the meaſure he had propoſed, Joſeph's diſcourſe rendered them ſtill more importunate: people of all ages and both ſexes threw themſelves at his feet, and with the moſt bitter lamentations urgently ſupplicated that he would ſtill continue his protection to them. Impreſſed with tenderneſs and gratitude towards the people, Joſeph conſidered that if he remained in the town they would attribute his compliance with their requeſt to the influence they had over him, and that if he perſiſted in a refuſal they might probably detain him by force; and therefore, reſolving to ſhare the common danger, he thus addreſſed the multitude: "My dear "friends and faithful countrymen, the period is arrived when we are required "to exert our utmoſt bravery, ſince in that alone we can place our hopes of "ſafety. If we loſe our lives, our rewards will be a large ſhare of honour, "and our names will be endeared to the lateſt poſterity." Immediately after this addreſs, Joſeph, at the head of the moſt courageous of the Jews, aſſaulted the enemy's guards, whom he compelled to deſert their trenches, and retreat to the camp; he then deſtroyed the ſkins put up for defending their works, to which he ſet fire; the ſame conduct was purſued with invincible bravery and indefatigable labour for three or four ſucceſſive days and nights.

When the Jews gained advantage the Romans poſſeſſed too high a ſpirit to retreat, and the weight of their arms prevented them from purſuing when the Jews retired. Veſpaſian obſerving the diſadvantages under which the Romans laboured, commanded them to decline a further conteſt with an enemy driven to deſperation and wholly regardleſs of life, whoſe rage, like flames wanting a ſupply of fuel, muſt neceſſarily ſubſide: he remarked that the Romans engaged in war for the purpoſe of extending their empire, and therefore it was neceſſary that diſcretion ſhould temper their valour. The Arabian and Syrian archers, ſlingers, engineers, &c. were, however, conſtantly employed, and their weapons made great havoc among the Jews who reſolutely defied all danger, and continued to fight with aſtoniſhing bravery.

CHAP. IX.

Veſpaſian endeavours to deſtroy the walls of Jotapata by means of a battering-ram, the effect of which engine the Jews defeat. The works of the Romans deſtroyed by fire. A remarkable exploit performed by Samæas. The heroic behaviour of Netiras and Philip. Veſpaſian is wounded. A terrible ſlaughter.

THE ſiege being ſo long protracted, and the repeated ſallies of the Jews, rendered Veſpaſian's ſituation nearly as bad as if he had been actually beſieged himſelf. The terras being now raiſed almoſt to the height of the city-wall, he determined to make uſe of the battering-ram, which is an engine of immenſe ſize, reſembling the maſt of a ſhip; it has an iron head formed like that of a ram, and when uſed, its motion is ſomewhat ſimilar to the butting of the animal whoſe name it bears. It is ſuſpended by large cables affixed to croſs-timbers cramped together and ſtrongly ſupported; it bears on the middle, and hangs on the ballance like a ſcale-beam; and when put in a ſwinging motion it ſtrikes with ſuch ſurprizing violence, that the ſtrongeſt wall muſt inevitably yield to its repeated attacks.

Conſcious that the longer the ſiege was delayed the difficulty of conqueſt would be encreaſed, ſince the enemy would be afforded leizure to make preparations of defence, Veſpaſian ordered the ſlingers, archers, &c. to advance with their ſeveral machines nearer to the town, in order to beat off the Jews who defended the walls. This buſineſs being executed, the ram was brought forward, being covered with hurdles and the hides of beaſts, for the purpoſe of preſerving the machine from damage, and defending the men who were appointed to conduct its operations. The firſt ſtroke of the engine threw the Jews into a moſt terrible conſternation: and Joſeph knowing that the wall could not poſſibly long withſtand repeated batterings in the ſame place, ordered a number of ſacks filled with chaff to be lowered by means of ropes; and though the aſſailants frequently changed the direction of the machine, its intended effects were conſtantly defeated by means of the chaff-ſacks which were interpoſed to defend the wall. At length the Romans affixed ſharp curving-irons to the ends of long poles, and therewith cut the ropes which

ſuſpended the ſacks. The wall being newly repaired, had not yet acquired a hard conſiſtence ſufficient to reſiſt the ram, which now performed its office without impediment. The Jews, who had now a moſt alarming proſpect of ſpeedy deſtruction, collected a quantity of pitch, ſulphur, and other combuſtibles, which they ſet fire to in three ſeveral parts of the enemy's works, and the flames inſtantly communicating to the habitations, implements of war, &c. of the Romans, the whole were conſumed in a very ſhort time.

An heroic exploit performed by Samæas, who was a native of Paab in Galilee, and the ſon of Eleazar, deſerves to be tranſmitted to poſterity. He caſt down a ſtone of great bulk with ſuch ſurprizing force as to break off the head of a ram, and then leaping into the midſt of his enemies, he ſeized the head of the machine, which he carried to the foot of the wall, where he remained till five arrows were fixed in his body; in this condition he remounted the wall, and without betraying the leaſt ſymptom of an abatement either of conſtancy or courage, he remained ſome time an object of public admiration, till at length he fell, ſtill graſping the trophy he had ſo heroically acquired.

Netiras * and his brother Philip, of Ruma, in Galilee, diſplayed a degree of intrepidity that could not poſſibly be exceeded. They attacked the tenth legion, and fought with moſt irreſiſtible fury, diſperſing all who oppoſed them. At the ſame time Joſeph with a numerous company of men provided with firebrands burnt the works and engines of the tenth and fifth legions.

The Romans having repaired the ram, towards the evening of the ſame day employed it againſt that part of the wall which had already received damage; and at this time Veſpaſian was ſtruck on the ancle by an arrow diſcharged from the town. The force of the arrow being nearly exhauſted before it reached the general, his wound proved but ſlight: the officers, however, quitted their ſtations, and repaired to the head-quarters, to learn whether the rumour of the general's being wounded was founded in truth; and among the firſt of theſe was Titus, who was greatly apprehenſive for his father's ſafety. The diſorder among the multitude ſubſided upon Veſpaſian's convincing them that the injury he had received was of little conſequence. Veſpaſian expoſed his wound to the ſoldiers, who were thereby inflamed with additional courage, each man conſidering it his particular duty to avenge his general, in deſpite of all oppoſition and danger.

Great numbers of the Jews fell by the arrows and ſtones thrown by the enemy; but they ſtill continued to defend the walls with undaunted bravery. But they fought under great diſadvantages; for the town being illuminated by the fire which they uſed to annoy the enemy, they were expoſed to open view, while they could not diſcern even the engines from which the Roman weapons were diſcharged. The ſtones, &c. thrown by the machines, at length made breaches in the battlements and the corners of the towers, and committed great ſlaughter among the Jews. A judgement may be formed of the dreadful effect of the engines by conſidering the havoc that was made on this occaſion. A ſtone thrown by one of the machines ſtruck off the head of one of Joſeph's

* Or Neritas.

Joſeph's friends, who was fighting upon the wall, and carried it to the diſtance of three furlongs with as much velocity as if it had been caſt by a ſling. Another ſtone ſtruck a woman, and carried the infant with which ſhe was pregnant a furlong from her body. The violent noiſe occaſioned by the engines, the dead and wounded falling from the walls, the ſhrieks and diſmal lamentations of men and women both within and without the town, were rendered ſtill more horrible by the continual echo of the mountains: the town ditch was running with human blood, and crouded with carcaſſes heaped high enough for an enemy to have mounted thereon and made an aſſault. An immenſe number of the Jews were killed and wounded; notwithſtanding which the defence was ſuſtained during the whole night with aſtoniſhing bravery, in defiance of the enemy's machines, which were kept inceſſantly at work: at break of day the wall gave way: but even in this dreadful extremity the Jews perſevered in their generous endeavours to preſerve the liberties of their country, by expoſing themſelves in the breach to prevent the enemy croſſing the ditch and purſuing the advantage they had obtained. To give an adequate idea of the horrors of the night ſurpaſſes every power of deſcription.

CHAP. X.

Preparations for renewing the aſſault. Joſeph gives inſtructions to the people. The city thrown into conſternation on the approach of the Romans. A terrible engagement. The enemy having advanced to the walls, have ſcalding oil poured upon them by the Jews. The courage of the Romans. Veſpaſian's platforms are raiſed, and turrets erected thereon. The Jews quit the breach, but ſtill make a vigorous reſiſtance.

THE Romans having received ſome refreſhment after the extreme fatigue of the night, early on the ſucceeding day Veſpaſian iſſued orders for every preparation to be made neceſſary for renewing the ſiege, and for purſuing meaſures for deterring the Jews from appearing in the breach. He cauſed a party of the moſt courageous cavalry to diſmount, and drew them up in three diviſions; theſe men, being compleatly armed, and carrying pikes in their hands, were firſt to enter the town; and they were ſeconded by a choſen body of foot. The reſt of the horſe were ordered to inveſt the mountainous parts of the city, to prevent the eſcape of the Jews after the conqueſt of the place. The archers with their bows and arrows, and the ſlingers and engineers were the next in order. A number of men provided with ladders were ordered to attempt ſcaling parts of the wall which had not been injured, with a view, by making a diverſion, to weaken the force by which the breach was defended.

Being apprized of the enemy's deſign, and conſcious that little danger was to be apprehended from the Romans employed with the ſcaling-ladders, Joſeph oppoſed to them only ſuch men as were either enfeebled by age, or ſuch as had not recovered from the fatigue of the preceding night: but in places where

where the wall had ſuffered even in but a very ſmall degree, he ſtationed ſuch ſoldiers only as were of approved fidelity and reſolution; and he put himſelf, with five of his moſt intrepid followers, at their head, in order to receive the firſt aſſault. He injoined his people to diſregard the ſhouts of the enemy, and either to defend themſelves from the arrows ſhot by the Romans, by means of their ſhields, or to retire a little till their quivers were exhauſted. He informed them that if the enemy ſhould proceed to advance their bridges, every poſſible effort of valour muſt be exerted, ſince all conſiderations for preſerving the country muſt then give place to the noble ardour of wreaking vengeance upon the conquerors: he added that if the Romans proved ſucceſsful it muſt be expected that the fathers, wives, children, and the other deareſt friends and relations of his ſoldiers, would fall miſerable victims to their cruelty and rage.

The common people, women and children obſerving the adjacent mountains glittering with arms, the town ſurrounded by three armies, the enemy marching with drawn ſwords to the weakeſt part of the wall, and the archers preparing to diſcharge their arrows, joined in lamentations that could not have been exceeded had the place been actually ſubdued. The outcries of theſe people greatly affected Joſeph; and leſt they ſhould diſpirit the ſoldiers, he ordered them to their reſpective habitations, under a ſtrict injunction of ſilence. He then repaired to the ſtation he had choſen, totally regardleſs of the ſcaling-ladders, his attention being engroſſed on the manner of the enemy's aſſault.

Upon the trumpet being ſounded, the Roman troops united in martial ſhouts, and no ſooner was the ſignal given than ſuch an immenſe number of arrows was diſcharged as to obſcure the ſky. In obedience to their inſtructions the Jews gave no attention to the clamours of the enemy, and defended themſelves with their ſhields. When the enemy brought their bridges forward, the Jews attacked them with ſurprizing fury, with equal ſkill and intrepidity throwing them off as faſt as they mounted, and they became more undaunted in proportion as the danger encreaſed.

They were under a great diſadvantage by being kept to hard duty without any intervals of relief; while the Romans had a conſtant ſupply of reinforcements to take the places of thoſe who were either fatigued or repulſed. The Romans collected themſelves as cloſe as poſſible together, and throwing their long bucklers over them, they proceeded to the wall of the town, appearing to be an entire and impenetrable body.

The extremity to which he was now reduced ſuggeſted to Joſeph a new means of defence. He cauſed a large quantity of oil, of which there was a plentiful ſupply in the town, to be boiled, and, with the veſſels in which it was heated, caſt from the walls upon the Roman ſoldiers beneath. The ſcalding fluid paſſing through the interſtices of their armour occaſioned the Romans moſt exquiſite torture, it having the quality of long retaining heat, and threw them into the greateſt diſorder. This armour being buckled and braced, they were unable to relieve themſelves, and the oil flowing from head to foot conſumed their fleſh like fire. Some were thrown into the moſt violent contortions, others were drawn nearly double by their pains, and many

fell from the bridge to the ground, and thoſe who attempted to eſcape were prevented by the Jews.

During the above calamity the Romans diſplayed a wonderful degree of intrepidity, nor was the policy of the Jews leſs remarkable. The former, notwithſtanding their miſerable condition, engaged in a competition for ſurpaſſing each other in preſſing upon their adverſaries, who availed themſelves of another project for impeding their progreſs. They poured boiled fenugreek upon the bridge, which rendered the boards ſo ſlippery that the Romans were neither able to ſtand to their arms or retreat: ſome of them fell upon the planches, and were trampled to death by their own people; and others, falling ſtill lower, were expoſed to the weapons of the Jews. Many of the Romans being ſlain and a greater number wounded, towards evening Veſpaſian ſounded a retreat. Only ſix of the Jews were killed, but the number of wounded amounted to upwards of three hundred. It was on the twentieth day of the month Deſius that this action took place.

The Roman general was deſirous of complimenting his ſoldiers for the bravery they had ſhewn, and conſoling them for the ill ſucceſs they had experienced: but inſtead of finding their ſpirits depreſſed, as he expected, they expreſſed the utmoſt anxiety for proceeding again to action; and therefore he ordered his platforms to be raiſed ſtill higher, and towers fifty foot in height to be erected thereon, and, for the purpoſe of keeping the towers ſteady by their weight, and defending them againſt fire, that they ſhould be entirely covered with iron. The moſt ſkilful markſmen and engineers, provided with machines, darts, and other implements, were ſtationed in the turrets, whence they greatly annoyed the enemy, who were clearly expoſed to their view. The Jews being unable either to avoid the weapons, or diſcern the people by whom they were diſcharged, were under the neceſſity of quitting the breach: but they ſtill continued to maintain a moſt reſolute defence, though the loſs they daily ſuffered conſiderably exceeded that of the Romans.

CHAP. XI.

Veſpaſian diſpatches Trajan againſt the city of Japtha. The inhabitants quit the town in order to engage Trajan, who puts them to flight. A terrible ſlaughter. Titus with a body of troops diſpatched to Japtha. The Romans ſcale the walls, and put all the people, excepting women and children, to the ſword.

THE reſolute defence made by the people of Jotapata encouraged thoſe of an adjacent city, called Japtha, to reſiſt the power of the Romans. Upon gaining information of this deſign, Veſpaſian diſpatched Trajan, the commander of the tenth legion, with an army of a thouſand cavalry and two thouſand infantry, to aſſault the place. Japtha was fortified with uncommon ſtrength, ſurrounded by a double wall, and ſo advantageouſly ſituated that it appeared to be wholly impregnable. The inhabitants quitted the town in order to encounter Trajan, who, after a ſlight reſiſtance, put them to flight, and purſued them into the firſt encloſure. The people within the town now

cloſed the gates of the inward wall, leſt the Romans, as well as their own people, ſhould gain admittance. Thus were the Galileans, as if by the providence of Heaven, delivered into the power of the Romans. The Romans kept one gate and the people in the city the other; and the Jews confined in the encloſure, earneſtly, but in vain, ſupplicated to be admitted into the town; but being refuſed, many deſtroyed themſelves, and great numbers fell by the hands of the enemy, without having power to offer the leaſt reſiſtance, ſo aſtoniſhed were they at being deſerted by their friends. On this occaſion twelve thouſand periſhed, venting imprecations againſt their cruel and treacherous countrymen.

Trajan imagining that the majority of the military people were deſtroyed, and that thoſe who remained would not venture to make a reſiſtance, ſent to Veſpaſian, requeſting that Titus might be diſpatched to reap the honour of finally conquering Japtha. Suppoſing that ſome important exploit was yet to be performed, Veſpaſian ſent a force of five hundred cavalry and a thouſand infantry under the command of his ſon. Upon his arrival, Titus divided his army into two wings, giving that on the left-hand to Trajan, himſelf retaining the command of that on the right. The Romans, by means of ſcaling-ladders, mounted the walls on all parts, and, after a ſlight reſiſtance, deſcended into the town, where a deſperate ſtreet-battle enſued. The moſt reſolute and powerful of the Galileans attacked the Romans from ambuſhes and in the narrow paſſes, and even the women annoyed them from the tops of the buildings. The conteſt was maintained for the ſpace of ſix hours: but, at length, the moſt courageous of the Galileans being cut off, a terrible ſlaughter enſued, all the male inhabitants who were able to bear arms being put to death either in their houſes or in the ſtreets, the women and infants being only ſpared, and they were carried away captives, being in number two thouſand one hundred and thirty. The ſlain in the firſt encounter added to thoſe who fell by the Romans when they entered Japtha, on the twenty-fifth of the month Decius, amounted to fifteen thouſand.

CHAP. XII.

Cerealis diſpatched to prevent a revolt of the Samaritans upon Mount Garizim: he offers them an indemnity, which being rejected, they are all put to the ſword.

THE terrible calamities of the war were extended to the Samaritans, who aſſembled upon Mount Garizim, which they held in high veneration, eſteeming it to be a holy mountain, and meditated a revolt againſt the Romans. Their meeting and general behaviour ſeemed to indicate their intention. Without properly reflecting on their inferiority to the great and encreaſing power of the Romans, they were haſtening to a rebellion; and Veſpaſian judged it neceſſary to oppoſe their proceedings at an early period; for though great numbers of garriſons were eſtabliſhed in Samaria, he conſidered that there was ſufficient reaſon to apprehend danger from a conſpiracy formed by ſo numerous a body of diſaffected people; and therefore, to prevent the conſequence that he feared might enſue, he diſpatched a tribune of

the fifth legion, named Cerealis, with six hundred cavalry, and three thousand infantry.

Upon his arrival at the mountain, Cerealis found the Samaritans collected in an immense body; and judging it not prudent to attack them in their present situation, he environed them with a retrenchment at the foot of the mount. Some days having elapsed, the Samaritans were greatly distressed for water, it being the height of summer, and a remarkably hot season, and they having neglected to provide for a supply of that element: their drought encreased to so intolerable a degree that some perished daily, and others deserted to the Romans, preferring slavery to the miserable situation to which they were reduced. The deserters having communicated to Cerealis that the Samaritans who remained were wholly dispirited, he advanced his troops up the mountain, and after surrounding the enemy, offered to grant them life and liberty, on the condition of their laying down their arms, earnestly exhorting them to return to their duty, and giving the strongest assurances that, if they complied, the proposed indemnity should be fully ratified and confirmed. The Samaritans rejected all terms of accommodation; and therefore, on the twenty-seventh of the month Decius, Cerealis attacked them, and not one escaped the sword. The number of slain was eleven thousand and six hundred.

CHAP. XIII.

The Romans raise their platforms above the wall of Jotapata. A deserter relates the state of the town to Vespasian. The Romans enter Jotapata, and commit terrible havoc. Anthony treacherously murdered. A slaughter of forty thousand men. The city laid in ruins.

THE people of Jotapata continued to defend themselves against the power of the Romans with astonishing constancy and resolution. The platforms were now raised higher than the city wall; and on the forty-seventh day of the siege a deserter communicated to Vespasian the state of the town, representing that through the loss of men, and the hard duty which the survivors were obliged incessantly to perform, the garrison was so reduced that it must necessarily surrender to a vigorous attack, and more especially if advantage was to be taken of a favourable opportunity for making the assault by surprize; and he advised the Roman general to attempt the enterprize about day-break, when the Jews would be unapprehensive of danger, and unprovided for defence, and the vigilance of the guard abated by fatigue and an inclination to sleep. Being sensible that the Jews possessed a remarkable fidelity to each other, which the most excruciating torments could not force them to violate, Vespasian put no confidence in what the deserter had related. He had been witness to a recent instance of the amazing constancy and resolution of the Jews, in the case of one of Joseph's people, who being made a prisoner and interrogated respecting the state of the city, refused to divulge a single circumstance, and persisted in that resolution till his death, notwithstanding the application of crucifixion, and other excessive torments. Considering,

dering, however, that the information of the deſerter might poſſibly be founded in truth, and that no ill conſequences were likely to enſue from his appearing to believe that to be the caſe, he ordered the man to be ſecured, and every neceſſary preparation to be made for the attack.

The Roman army began a ſilent march at the appointed hour, and proceeded to the walls of the town, being led by Titus, accompanied by Domitius Sabinas, and ſome choſen men from the fifteenth legion. They put the centinels to death, cut the throats of the guards, and entered the city: they were followed by the tribune Sextus Cerealis and Placidus, with the troops under their command. Notwithſtanding it was open day when the Romans gained poſſeſſion of the fort and made themſelves maſters of the town, the garriſon was ſo exhauſted and fatigued by inceſſant labour and watching, that they entertained no idea of their danger till the enemy had actually gained their point; and even thoſe who were awake were almoſt equally ſtrangers to the misfortune; for they could not clearly diſtinguiſh objects on account of a thick fog, which then prevailed, and continued till the whole Roman army had gained admittance to the city. The recollection of their ſufferings in the ſiege ſuppreſſed every ſentiment of humanity and compaſſion in the breaſts of the conquerors, who threw many of the Jews from the top of the fort; others who had courage and inclination to offer reſiſtance were either preſſed to death by the immenſe crowds of the enemy, or forced down precipices, and killed by the ruins which fell from above. Many of Joſeph's particular friends being unwilling that the Romans ſhould acquire the reputation of taking away their lives, retired to a remote part of the city, where they died by the hands of each other.

Such of the guards as firſt obſerved the city to be taken fled to a turret towards the north, where they were attacked by the enemy, againſt whom they for ſome time made a good defence; but being oppreſſed by numbers, they offered to capitulate: their propoſals, however, were rejected, and they died with great reſolution. The Romans might have valued themſelves on gaining the victory without the loſs of blood on their ſide, had it not been for the fate of Anthony, a centurion, who was treacherouſly murdered in the following manner: a number of Jews having fled for refuge to the caves, one of them called to Anthony for quarter; the centurion immediately ſtretched forth his right-hand, thereby indicating his compliance, when the Jew baſely ſtabbed him in the groin with a dagger, and cauſed his death.

Every Jew who was met by the Romans on that day was put to inſtant death; and during ſome following days they carefully ſearched the ſubterraneous and other ſecret places for the ſurvivors, all of whom, excepting women and children, they deſtroyed. The whole number of Jews ſlain amounted to forty thouſand, and the priſoners were twelve hundred. In obedience to the orders of Veſpaſian the caſtles were burnt, and the city was entirely laid in ruins. The Romans became maſter of Jotapata on the firſt day of the month Panemus, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

The Romans engage in a ſearch after Joſeph, who being betrayed by a woman is found in a cavern. Veſpaſian ſends Paulinus and Gallicanus, and afterwards Nicanor to induce Joſeph to ſurrender: his refuſal irritates the ſoldiers, who are appeaſed by their general. Joſeph recollects former dreams and revelations. He ſurrenders. Joſeph expoſtulates with his companions, repreſenting the horrid guilt of committing ſuicide, but finds them irreclaimable. Joſeph and his companions draw lots for their lives. Joſeph conducted to Veſpaſian, who orders him into cloſe confinement. A private interview between Joſeph and Veſpaſian. Joſeph predicts the ſucceſſion of Veſpaſian and his ſon Titus. The prophecy confirmed. Veſpaſian returns to Ptolemais, and thence repairs to Cæſarea.

PARTLY induced by perſonal enmity, and partly by an officious zeal to ingratiate themſelves into the favour of their general, the Romans aſſiduouſly employed themſelves in ſearching every part of the country, where it ſeemed probable that a man might be concealed, and among the carcaſſes of the ſlain, in order to find Joſeph, either dead or living. It was Joſeph's fortune to eſcape through the midſt of his enemies, and to find a deep pit, having a paſſage leading to a ſpacious cavern, wherein he found forty diſtinguiſhed Jews had taken ſanctuary, having a ſupply of the neceſſaries of life ſufficient for ſeveral days. The enemy being in poſſeſſion of the whole adjacent country, Joſeph judged it unſafe to venture abroad by day, and therefore he left his retreat only by night, with a view to diſcover if there remained a probability of effecting an eſcape: but finding the guard extremely vigilant, he returned to the cavern, deſpairing of ſucceſs. Upon the third day he was betrayed by a woman; immediately upon which Veſpaſian diſpatched Paulinus and Gallanicus, two tribunes, authoriſing them to aſſure Joſeph that, on condition of his leaving his retreat, he ſhould experience a kind and honourable reception. Conſcious that the injuries the Romans had ſuſtained at his hands entitled him to puniſhment rather than reward, Joſeph deemed it unſafe to rely on Veſpaſian's word of honor, and therefore declined the propoſal. Hereupon Veſpaſian ſent another tribune, named Nicanor, the ancient friend and acquaintance of Joſeph. Nicanor expoſtulated with Joſeph, repreſenting the generoſity and benevolence of the Romans towards thoſe they conquered; that ſo far from entertaining an enmity towards him, they highly eſteemed him as being a man of ſingular intrepidity and other eminent virtues; that the Roman general muſt indiſputably have favourable views, ſince he condeſcended to propoſe terms to a man who was already ſubject to his power. "Can you imagine (ſaid Nicanor) that Veſ-
"paſian would employ a friend in an office of treachery; or that I would
"accept from him ſo diſhonourable a commiſſion." Joſeph ſtill declined a compliance; which ſo enraged the Roman ſoldiers that they would have ſet fire to the cave, but Veſpaſian prevented them by repreſenting that he was

determined to take Joſeph alive. Nicanor continued his endeavours to prevail upon Joſeph, and the rage and menaces of the ſoldiers became more violent in proportion to the increaſe of their numbers. Certain dreams now occurred to the recollection of Joſeph, wherein the Almighty had communicated the ſucceſs and grandeur which the Romans ſhould experience, and the miſeries which ſhould oppreſs the Jews. Joſeph poſſeſſed a remarkable faculty of interpreting dreams, and of explaining many things which the Lord had been pleaſed to ſignify under the veil of myſtery. Being himſelf a prieſt, and of the ſacerdotal line, he was conſequently verſed in the writings of the holy prophets. At this inſtant, as if poſſeſſed with the divine Spirit, he perfectly recollected, in due order, the ſeveral viſions he had ſeen: and he thus rapturouſly addreſſed himſelf to Heaven: "Bleſſed and Almighty "God! Since it is thy pleaſure to terminate the proſperity of the Jews, and "exalt the people of Rome, I, humbly reſigning myſelf to thy providence, "conſent to live, and ſurrender my perſon to the Romans: but, before thy "ſacred throne, I pronounce that I act not as a traitor to my country, but "as the miniſter of thy gracious pleaſure."

Obſerving that Joſeph had ſurrendered to the Romans, his companions bitterly exclaimed againſt him, ſaying, "Are we then loſt to every reſpect "due to the laws of our country, and the honor of the Jewiſh profeſſion? "What is become of the noble ſpirit of our anceſtors, which enabled us to "behold death with contempt? Is Joſeph ſo attached to this ſublunary "ſphere that he can ſubmit to bondage with the view of preſerving his exiſtence; and can he bear to look upon the ſun after having loſt his liberty? He has ſtrongly exhorted his countrymen to ſacrifice every conſideration to the love of freedom, and yet that freedom he is the firſt to renounce. You will be wholly unworthy the fame you have acquired by "fighting ſo glorioufly in the cauſe of the Jews, if you can deſcend to ſo diſhonourable a conduct as to preſerve your life through the favour of "your moſt inveterate enemies. Though the ſucceſs of the Romans may "have cauſed you to abandon your former ſentiments of honor, we ſtill "have reſolution to retain a juſt ſenſe of the duty we owe to our country. "We ſtill poſſeſs our ſwords, and are ready to make uſe of them in aſſerting the honor of the Jewiſh nation. The time is at hand when you muſt "inevitably periſh; therefore reſolve either to fall upon your own ſword, "and die in a manner worthy the general of the Jews; or leave to us the "buſineſs of depriving you of breath, and conclude a life of glory like a "traitor and a coward."

Immediately after the delivery of this ſpeech they all unſheathed their weapons, and threatened that if Joſeph ſurrendered they would put him to inſtant death.

Apprehending that they might put their threats into execution, and that by delay he might loſe the opportunity of communicating to the nation of Jews the charge he had received from the Almighty, he addreſſed his countrymen in the following manner:

"Why, my good friends, do you ſuffer yourſelves to be ſo far tranſported by the violence of paſſion as to cheriſh the idea of ſeparating the

" ſoul and body, which are ſo intimately united by nature? Let the Ro-
" mans anſwer whether my ſentiments are altered, or remain as heretofore.
" To fall by the hand of a victor in a war maintained according to the laws
" of arms is without diſpute a glorious fate. I ſhould make no greater diffi-
" culty of taking away my own life than of requeſting a Roman to perform
" that office: but if the Romans are inclined to ſhew mercy to an enemy,
" will reaſon juſtify that enemy in having no mercy on himſelf? No death
" can be more honourable than that of the man who yields his life to the ſu-
" perior power of an adverſary that means to deprive him of the ineſtimable
" bleſſing of liberty. But the Romans wiſh not our deaths; and all animo-
" ſity ſhould now ceaſe; for the cauſe of our contention is at an end. The
" man who rejects life when his duty requires him to preſerve it, is as puſil-
" lanimous as he who, in oppoſition to the dictates of honor, trembles to
" meet his fate. Is it not from the fear of death alone that we heſitate to
" yield to the Romans? Shall we precipitate ourſelves into certain deſtruc-
" tion for the purpoſe of avoiding a threatened danger, which probably may
" not arrive? If you conceive that we ought to die, to avoid ſlavery, I muſt
" requeſt you to recollect that we enjoy not liberty in the miſerable ſituation
" to which we are now reduced. If you ſuppoſe him to be a brave man
" who deprives himſelf of life, I would aſk what opinion you would form
" of the commander of a veſſel who, during a calm, ſhould ſink his ſhip
" from an apprehenſion that a tempeſt might ariſe? The deſire of preſerving
" life is a principle implanted in the whole animal creation; and therefore
" to deprive ourſelves of exiſtence is to violate the order of nature, and offer
" a ſacrilegious inſult to the Almighty. We account thoſe people our ene-
" mies, and puniſh them as ſuch, who endeavour to procure our deaths;
" for by a natural impulſe every creature exiſting is prompted to wiſh for
" the continuance of life. We receive our being from the Lord, to whom
" we muſt, in due time, reſign it: and what ſpecies of ingratitude can be
" more enormous than holding the bounty of the Almighty in contempt?
" Our bodies being formed of corruptible materials muſt neceſſarily be mor-
" tal: but the ſoul is indiſſoluble, partaking in ſome degree of the nature
" of the Divinity. Life is given to us in charge, and ſhall we betray the
" truſt, and hope to eſcape with impunity and undiſcovered? We deem it
" juſtifiable to inflict puniſhment upon thoſe ſervants who deſert even the
" worſt of maſters. What excuſe then can be urged in favour of thoſe who
" abandon a gracious and benevolent Creator? You cannot be ignorant that
" eternal bleſſings are reſerved for thoſe who return their lives to the Power
" from whom they received the bounty; that from generation to generation
" their poſterity will meet the favour of Heaven; and that upon the expira-
" tion of a certain number of ages, paſt in the celeſtial manſions, their ſouls
" will return to animate bodies pure like themſelves; nor that ſelf-murderers
" are condemned to the moſt profound of the infernal regions, and children
" in diſtant ages to bear the puniſhment due to the iniquities of their fa-
" thers? Our wiſe legiſlator adjudged that the perpetrators of ſo ſhocking
" an offence againſt the Almighty as ſelf-murder ſhould be refuſed inter-
" ment till after ſun-ſet, of which privilege even our moſt inveterate ene-
" mies

" mies are abridged. In ſome countries the right-hand of the ſelf-murderer " is cut off, it being deemed juſt that the hand ſhould be divided from the " body which had already ſeparated the body from the ſoul. However great " our calamities, they are ſuch as all men are liable to endure: but let us " not aggravate our miſeries by blaſphemouſly provoking the wrath of our " Creator. If we deſire to live, may we not indulge that deſire, ſince we " have afforded exemplary proofs of our courage and virtue? But if we are " reſolved to die, let us fall by the hands of our conquerors. I am not ſo " ignorant of the duty I owe to myſelf as to ruſh upon deſtruction by adopt- " ing a conduct ſimilar to that of people who ſurrender to an enemy in order " to provide for their own ſafety. We ſhall have no cauſe for regret if the " Romans prove treacherous: but on the contrary we ſhall reſign our lives " with pleaſure, ſince we ſhall enjoy the ſatisfaction of knowing that the " perfidy of the enemy muſt neceſſarily diminiſh the glory of their victory, " and render them infamous to the lateſt poſterity."

Joſeph imagined that the above, and other arguments which he enforced, would have induced the Jews to relinquiſh the determination of putting an end to their lives: but he was deceived in this conjecture; for, inſtead of appeaſing, his addreſs provoked them to the utmoſt extravagance of rage; and they approached him with their ſwords drawn, upbraiding him in the moſt ſevere terms as being of a contemptibly irreſolute diſpoſition, and threatening him with inſtant death. Thus ſituated, Joſeph addreſſed his companions in a ſtile of authority, which ſeldom fails to gain reſpect from thoſe who have been accuſtomed to obey, called one by his name, took another by the hand, and endeavoured to engage the attention of the reſt by argument and ſuch other means as he conceived to be beſt adapted for obtaining the end he had in view. Thus, by a ſingular addreſs in applying to the various humours and diſpoſitions of his companions, did Joſeph avert the danger that threatened him; as a wild beaſt ſurrounded by huntſmen ſtill turns towards him who is prepared to ſtrike. Notwithſtanding the rage to which the Jews were tranſported, when they attempted to put their threats in execution, their eſteem and veneration of their general revived, and their weapons dropt from their uplifted hands.

Joſeph conducted himſelf with great temper and judgement, and, reſting his hopes on the providence of Heaven, he thus addreſſed his companions: " Since you are determined to die, let it be decided by caſting lots who ſhall " firſt loſe his life, and by this method let every man's fortune be known; ſo " ſhall we avoid ſelf-murder, and die by the hands of each other." This propoſal was joyfully accepted, and preſently carried into execution; and Joſeph's companions derived great ſatisfaction from the conſideration of dying in company with their general; to ſhare a common fate with him being an event that of all others they moſt anxiouſly deſired.

The perſons to whom the lots had fallen being ſucceſſively put to death, it happened, either through accident or the care of Providence, that Joſeph was one of the only two ſurviving men: he expoſtulated with his companion, and, at length, prevailed on him to decline the reſolution of dying, engaging himſelf to provide for his ſafety.

Being

Being relieved from the extremity to which he was reduced by the Romans on one hand, and by his own countrymen on the other, Joseph surrendered himself to Nicanor, who conducted him to Vespasian.

The desire of seeing Joseph appear before the Roman general caused immense numbers of people to assemble; some were extravagantly rejoiced at his being made a prisoner; others vented menaces and the most bitter execrations against him; while those at a distance endeavoured to obtain a more perfect view, and called for public justice to be executed on the enemy to the state of Rome; and, in short, the greatest variety of sentiments and their different operations was to be observed in the midst of the tumult. Those who were sufficiently near to observe the person of Joseph recollected the many extraordinary incidents of his life, and reflecting on his present situation, were perfectly astonished on the comparison. Notwithstanding the inveteracy which the Roman generals had entertained against Joseph, they now tenderly compassionated him in his captivity; but Titus was most particularly affected, for on account of his advanced age, and the unconquerable dignity of his mind in the most extreme dangers and distresses, he entertained a great veneration towards Joseph, whose former elevated station and great exploits, and the humiliating condition to which he was now reduced, he considered, and then proceeded to make some reflections on the chance of war and the mutability of human affairs. Those who heard Titus adopted his sentiments; and he greatly contributed towards the preservation of Joseph by influencing Vespasian in his favour.

Vespasian intimated that he meant to send Joseph to Nero, and ordered him to be kept a close prisoner. Hereupon Joseph requested a private audience with the Roman general, who ordered all present, excepting Titus and two friends, to quit the apartment. Joseph spoke to the following purpose: "You see me here, sir, your prisoner; and perhaps you consider me "in no other character: but I am a messenger from the Almighty, com- "missioned to impart to you a matter of the highest importance. Had I "not been charged with this commission, I should have acted consistent with "the character of a Jewish general, and have died rather than have submit- "ted to be made a prisoner. It is unnecessary to send me to Nero, since Ves- "pasian is so near succeeding to the empire, which, upon his decease, will "devolve to his son Titus. Let me be kept a prisoner, and guarded with "unremitting circumspection: I only request to remain the prisoner of Ves- "pasian, who, by the right of conquest, is become the master of my life "and liberty, and will in a short time be advanced to the sovereignty of the "universe. If it shall hereafter appear that I have made use of the sacred "name of the Almighty to induce you to repose confidence in an impostor, "you will perform an act of justice in subjecting me to the most severe of ex- "emplary punishments."

At first Vespasian considered Joseph's address as a mere fiction adopted for the purpose of obtaining his favour: but upon experiencing certain impulses, and considering other indications, and finding them exactly to correspond with what Joseph had related, his doubts gradually subsided, and he

gave full confidence to the prediction. One of the persons who were permitted to be present at the interview said to Joseph that, since he pretended to a knowledge of future events, he requested to be informed by what means it happened that he remained ignorant of the approaching destruction of Jotapata, and of his own captivity. To this Joseph replied, he had predicted to the inhabitants that the town would be conquered and destroyed on the forty-seventh day of the siege, and himself would be made a prisoner by the enemy. Hereupon Vespasian caused a secret enquiry to be made amongst the Jewish prisoners, and they fully confirmed every particular that Joseph had asserted, which induced him to judge more favourable of what had been foretold respecting himself.

Joseph continued to be guarded with the greatest circumspection; but the irksomeness of confinement was in some degree relieved by his being allowed every accommodation and convenience, and the particular respect and kindness that he received from Titus.

Vespasian returned to Ptolemais on the fourth of the month Panemus, and thence proceeded to Cæsarea, on the sea-coast, which is the most considerable city of Judæa. The majority of the inhabitants being Greeks, Vespasian's army met with a chearful reception; for they held the Romans in high estimation, and were such inveterate enemies to the Jews that Vespasian was solicited in the most importunate manner to sacrifice the life of Joseph to their desire of vengeance. Vespasian dismissed the petition without an answer, deeming it the act of an inconsiderate and outrageous multitude.

Cæsarea is extremely hot in summer, but being temperate in the winter, and situated upon a plain adjacent to the sea, Vespasian judged it to be a convenient place for winter-quarters, and therefore appointed two legions to remain there; and, that he might not overburthen the city, he sent the fifth and tenth legions to Scythopolis.

CHAP. XV.

Joppa, being a receptacle for mutineers and robbers, is surprized and taken by Vespasian: and the inhabitants take shipping, and lay at some distance from the shore. Joppa described. Account of a violent tempest. They garrison and otherwise fortify the conquered city. The destruction of Jotapata is discredited at Jerusalem. A report prevails that Joseph is slain: but it being discovered that he is still living, and in high esteem amongst the Romans, he becomes the object of detestation and envy.

A Great concourse of people, composed of revolters from the Romans and fugitives from the conquered cities of the Jews, had now assembled, and were employed in rebuilding Joppa, which had been destroyed by Cestius. The banditti being unable to procure the means of subsistence, on account of the desolate state in which Cestius had left the country, constructed a number of vessels for the purpose of perpetrating robberies on the sea; and by their piratical practices they proved a great obstruction to commerce on the Syrian,

Syrian, Phœnician, and Ægyptian coaſts. Veſpaſian being apprized of their proceedings, diſpatched a body of cavalry and infantry to Joppa; and the troops found but little difficulty in gaining admittance by night to the city, it being but indifferently watched and guarded. The inhabitants were ſo greatly aſtoniſhed by being thus ſurprized that they had not power to attempt the leaſt reſiſtance, but fled with great precipitation to their veſſels, and remained that night at ſea beyond the reach of the enemy's weapons.

Though Joppa is a ſea-coaſt town, it has no port; the ſhore is exceedingly craggy and ſteep; on each ſide of the town ſtands a pointed rock, projecting a conſiderable ſpace into the ſea; theſe rocks forming a kind of creſcent occaſion ſo violent an agitation of the ſea, when the wind prevails, that a more dangerous and terrible ſituation for ſhipping cannot be imagined. Here is the impreſſion of Andromeda's chains, which were, perhaps, cut in the rock with a view of giving credibility to the ancient fable.

At break of day the wind, called by the people of the country the black north, aroſe, and cauſed the moſt terrible tempeſt that had been known: the veſſels of thoſe who had eſcaped from Joppa, by being thrown againſt the rocks, or daſhed with great violence againſt each other, were broken to pieces; ſome who by dint of rowing endeavoured to avoid being foundered by keeping in the open ſea, were toſſed upon mountainous billows, and then precipitated into the moſt profound abyſs of waters, and great numbers of the veſſels ſunk. During this violent contention of the elements, the noiſe occaſioned by the daſhing of the veſſels, and the lamentations and outcries of the miſerable people, were diſmal and terrifying beyond deſcription. Many of the people were waſhed away by the billows, and daſhed againſt the rocks; ſome were drowned; others fell upon their ſwords, and ſeveral periſhed on board the wrecks: and in ſhort the water was coloured with the blood of the deceaſed, whoſe carcaſſes were diſperſed upon the coaſt. During this ſhocking ſcene the Roman ſoldiers waited to deſtroy thoſe who ſhould be driven aſhore alive. It was computed that four thouſand two hundred bodies were caſt upon the ſhore by the waves.

The Romans having obtained poſſeſſion of Joppa without being under the neceſſity of proceeding to a battle, they ſoon laid the place entirely in ruins. It was the fate of this city to be twice ſubjected to the Roman power in a ſhort ſpace of time. Leſt Joppa ſhould again be inhabited by pirates, Veſpaſian fortified the caſtle, and eſtabliſhed a garriſon therein ſufficient for its defence: he alſo left a ſtrong body of horſe, to ſet fire to and deſtroy the towns and villages, and lay waſte the adjacent country; which in obedience to the command of their general they punctually executed.

A report prevailed in Jeruſalem reſpecting the fate of Jotapata, but it was deemed too improbable to be founded in fact; for it was not ſupported by authority ſufficient to give it confidence, the maſſacre having been ſo general that not an individual of the city remained to convey intelligence to Jeruſalem of the important loſs the Jewiſh nation had ſuſtained. In a ſhort time, however, the report was received as authentic; for, as it is uſual for the news of unfortunate events to circulate with rapidity, the reduction of Jotapata was ſoon publiſhed in the adjacent places. The fact was, at length, aggra-

vated by a report of Joſeph being among the number of ſlain, which proved the ſource of infinite affliction to the people of Jeruſalem. Private individuals were lamented by their reſpective friends and relations; but the mourning for Joſeph was univerſal, his ſuppoſed death being conſidered as a public and irreparable loſs. The funeral ſolemnities in honour of Joſeph were continued without intermiſſion for the ſpace of forty days, and no expence was ſpared on the occaſion.

When the report of Joſeph's death was found to be premature, and that he was in high eſteem among the Romans, and ſo far from being treated as a ſlave, honoured, by Veſpaſian, with every poſſible mark of reſpect and diſtinction, the moſt inveterate hatred took place of the regret and veneration they had expreſſed while under the ſuppoſition of his being deceaſed. The public indignation was ſo general and violent that there was not a man in Jeruſalem who did not vent the moſt bitter execrations againſt Joſeph, upbraiding him as a traitor and a coward, who had infamouſly deſerted the cauſe of his country. A prudent and wiſe man will derive advantage from a preſent misfortune, by making it a precaution whereby he may be enabled to guard againſt ſimilar events: but when theſe people are in the wrong, it is their diſpoſition to perſevere in error, and conſequently encreaſe their afflictions. In ſhort, the Jews were now more furiouſly irritated againſt the Romans than ever, ſeeming to imagine that giving way to their rage againſt them was to wreak revenge upon Joſeph.

CHAP. XVI.

Veſpaſian and his army entertained twenty days at Cæſarea Philippi, by king Agrippa. Being informed of the revolt of Tarichæa and Tiberias. Veſpaſian orders his ſon Titus to lead a body of troops to Scythopolis. The army encamped within ſight of the inſurgents, at a place called Ennabris. Veſpaſian orders Valerian to exhort the rebels to return to their duty. Valerian is attacked by ſurprize; but effects an eſcape. Through the mediation of king Agrippa, Veſpaſian grants a pardon to the people of Tiberias. Veſpaſian proceeds to the city, where, with great acclamations, he is received as the common benefactor of the inhabitants.

IN conſequence of an invitation from king Agrippa, Veſpaſian departed from Cæſarea upon the ſea-coaſt for Cæſarea Philippi, where, with his whole army, he was entertained for the ſpace of twenty days; during which time, by feaſtings and rejoicings, he gave thanks to the Almighty for his victories and various other bleſſings. Agrippa had invited Veſpaſian into his country partly from motives of generoſity and affection, and partly from the hope that through his means the malcontents of his kingdom would be compelled to return to their allegiance. Upon learning that Tarichæa had actually revolted, and that Tiberias was diſpoſed to a like conduct, Veſpaſian judged that a more favourable opportunity would ſcarcely occur for manifeſting the great eſteem he entertained towards the king; and therefore he determined to lead an army againſt the refractory cities, both of which were depend-

dependent upon the kingdom of Agrippa. He diſpatched his ſon Titus to Cæſarea, with orders to conduct the troops quartered in that city to Scythopolis, which is the moſt conſiderable town in the Canton of Decapolis, and ſituated near Tiberias. Veſpaſian repaired to Scythopolis, where he waited for Titus, upon whoſe arrival, he advanced to about thirty furlongs from Tiberias, and encamped his army within view of the enemy, at a place called Ennabris.

He now diſpatched a captain named Valerian, attended by a company of fifty horſe, to expoſtulate with the inſurgents, and endeavour to reſtore them to obedience. Valerian was inſtructed to repreſent that the Roman general believed the majority of the people to be naturally of peaceable and loyal diſpoſitions, though they had ſuffered themſelves to be induced to engage in a rebellion by the artful practices of a few malecontents. When Valerian had nearly reached the town he diſmounted his horſe, and ordered his people to do the ſame, thereby intimating that he came not with an hoſtile deſign. The rebels were headed by the chief of a band of robbers, named Jeſus, who was the ſon of Tobias; and, without permitting him to ſpeak, they furiouſly attacked Valerian, who, though greatly aſtoniſhed and provoked by their audacity, would not have preſumed to engage contrary to the order of his general, had he been ſure of victory, which, indeed, he had no probability of obtaining over an enemy of ſuch ſuperior force. In ſhort Valerian and five of his people eſcaped on foot; and their horſes were ſeized by Jeſus and his companions, who conducted them into the town with as much parade as if they had been trophies fairly obtained in war.

The above conduct of Jeſus and his aſſociates proved highly offenſive to all the conſiderate people of the town, who being alarmed by the apprehenſion that the enemy would ſeek revenge, preſently repaired to the Roman camp, under the conduct of king Agrippa, and humbling themſelves at the general's feet, ſupplicated for mercy and forgiveneſs; and that he would not attribute the offences committed by certain individuals to the people at large, who had ever entertained the greateſt veneration for the people and ſtate of Rome; they concluded with a requeſt that the innocent might be ſpared, and the promoters of the ſedition puniſhed according to their demerits. Though highly offended by the ſeizure of the horſes and the inſult offered to Valerian, Veſpaſian attended to the petition of the deputies, and through the mediation of Agrippa, granted their requeſt. Jeſus and his adherents now eſcaped to Tarichеæ, deeming it unſafe longer to remain in Tiberias.

Trajan, with a company of cavalry, was diſpatched the next day to poſſeſs himſelf of the caſtle, and diſcover whether the inhabitants of Tiberias were inclined to revolt, or if they held the peaceable diſpoſition repreſented by the deputies. Upon learning that the people were diſpoſed to preſerve their allegiance, Veſpaſian marched his whole army towards the city, and being met on the way by the citizens, they expreſſed their gratitude by loud acclamations, attended him to the town, the gates of which they threw open that the troops might enter, hailing Veſpaſian as their benefactor and protector. The gates not being ſufficiently wide to admit the troops to march

with convenience, the general ordered a part of the south-wall to be beaten down; and he enjoined his soldiers not to offer the least injury or insult to the people of the town, on the penalty of very severe punishment. Vespasian's regard for Agrippa induced him to be thus favourable to the inhabitants, and to do no farther injury to the wall of the city.

CHAP. XVII.

The Roman army is encamped between Tiberias and Taricheæ. Account of Taricheæ, which is inhabited by turbulent malecontents. Jesus and his companions assault the pioneers, and considerably damage the Roman works. The Romans pursue the Jews to the lake of Gennesareth, where they take shipping. An immense number of Jews assemble. Titus assaults and disperses the Jews. An insurrection in Taricheæ, which place is subdued by Titus. Intelligence of the enterprize transmitted to Vespasian. Titus orders the town to be strictly watched and guarded, and vessels to be constructed for pursuing the Jews who had embarked on the lake.

HAVING departed from Tiberias, Vespasian encamped his army between that city and Taricheæ; and conceiving that the intended siege would occupy a considerable time, he fortified the camp by erecting a wall. Taricheæ, like Tiberias, is situated upon a mountain, and Joseph had constructed a wall encompassing it on every side except on that where it is fortified by the lake of Gennesareth, and the circuit of this wall was nearly equal to that of Tiberias. Nature and art had contributed to render the place exceedingly strong; and it was inhabited by the most desperate of the revolters. At the commencement of the insurrection the people collected great quantities of provisions, and being sufficiently provided with men and money, they were under little apprehension of being subdued. They had a numerous fleet of armed vessels on the lake, in which they meant to embark in case of being repulsed on shore.

Jesus and his associates, regardless of the force and discipline of the enemy, made a violent assault upon them while they were employed in forming intrenchments and other fortifications, and dispersed the pioneers, and did considerable injury to the Roman works. The Romans pursued them to the lake, where they took shipping, and having proceeded beyond the reach of the Roman darts and arrows, they cast anchor, and ranged their vessels in order of battle.

In the interim Vespasian received intelligence that a great number of Jews had assembled on a plain adjacent to the city; in consequence whereof he dispatched a body of six hundred chosen cavalry, under the command of his son, to make discoveries. Titus marched to reconnoitre the situation of the Jews, and finding them to be much more numerous than the troops under his command, he sent intelligence thereof to Vespasian. Though many of the troops under Titus were greatly alarmed by the superior force of the Jews, the majority of them still preserved an undaunted resolution; and this being observed by Titus, he repaired to an eminence that he might be more distinctly heard, and addressed his soldiers to the following effect:

" Romans (ſaid he) I cannot introduce my oration more auſpiciouſly than " by diſtinguiſhing you by that appellation, which will recal to your memo- " ries the great exploits of your illuſtrious anceſtors: and it will be neceſſary " for me to ſpeak concerning the people with whom you have to contend. " The Romans have given incontrovertible proofs of that unconquerable " ſpirit which the univerſe allows them to poſſeſs: and reſpecting the Jews, " I will acknowledge that their victories have been great and numerous, and " that they have never confeſſed themſelves to have been ſubdued. It is " neceſſary then that in our proſperity we ſhould manifeſt a degree of ſpirit " and fortitude at leaſt equal to what the Jews have ſhewn in a ſtate of ad- " verſity. Though I experience great ſatisfaction from obſerving that your " countenances ſeem to expreſs noble and generous ſentiments, yet I am not " wholly free from the apprehenſion that the immenſe numbers of our ad- " verſaries may depreſs your ſpirits. Let us ſtate a compariſon between " our own power and that of the enemy. The Jews are courageous, firm, " perſevering in difficulties, and in danger inſenſible of the fear of death: " but they are ſo unacquainted with the art of war that they deſerve rather to " be called a confuſed multitude of people than an army. The Romans on " the contrary are perfectly ſkilled in military diſcipline, and equally obe- " dient to the commands of their officers. Whence is it that we, in times " of tranquillity, are continually kept in the exerciſe of arms, but for the " purpoſe of enabling us to make amends for the deficiency of numbers by " ſkill and political management, and rendering us ſuperior to an undiſci- " plined enemy? You are not ignorant of the great diſparity between cavalry " oppoſed to infantry, armed troops to men unprovided with weapons, and " that our army is under the conduct of officers of great ſkill and experience. " Conſidering the regularity and diſcipline of our troops, we muſt neceſſarily " be able to contend with twice the ſame number of Jews; who being igno- " rant of the art of war are not more than half ſo powerful as from their " great numbers they appear to be. Victory does not depend alone on num- " bers; for many inſtances may be produced wherein ſurprizing exploits " have been performed by ſmall bodies. The irregularity and confuſion " which are incident to large armies frequently prove fatal among them- " ſelves; while moderate companies are to be ſo managed as to take every " poſſible advantage of an enemy. The ferocious and deſperate temper of " the Jews enables them to perform great achievements when they are in " ſucceſsful circumſtances: but under troubles and diſappointment their " brutal fierceneſs and impetuoſity are productive of great calamities. For- " titude, valour, obedience and reſignation, will enable us to ſupport every " change of fortune: the object we have in view is more important than that " of the Jews, who contend only for liberty and their country; while we " purſue the war in order to acquire glory and immortalize the fame of our " conqueſts. After having ſubdued the reſt of the world, to find ourſelves " reduced to engage in a competition with the Jews muſt inevitably inſpire " us with indignation. We have powerful allies at hand, on whoſe aſſiſt- " ance we may ſafely rely, and therefore our proſpect of danger cannot be " very alarming. Let us not wait for the reinforcements expected from my

" father,

" father, but glorioufly anticipate victory, and engrofs to ourfelves the ho-
" nor of the exploit. It is now to be determined whether my father merits
" the great fhare of fame that is allowed him, whether I am worthy to be
" called his fon, and you to bear the name of Roman foldiers. My father
" has been fo accuftomed to victory that, after a defeat, I could not prefume to
" appear in his prefence. Could you bear the reflection of having been fub-
" dued when your chief had opened the way to conqueft in contempt of the
" utmoft danger? I will occupy the poft of the greateft hazard; and do you
" but firmly fupport me, and rely on the Providence of Heaven for fuccefs.
" I have now only to add that we fhall find our advantage in fighting clofe,
" rather than maintaining the encounter at a diftance."

The above difcourfe infpired the troops with additional ardour and heroifm; which, however, received fome abatement upon the arrival of Trajan with a reinforcement of four hundred cavalry; for they were ambitious of confining the honor of victory to themfelves.

Antonius Silo was at the fame time difpatched by Vefpafian with orders to lead a body of two thoufand archers to occupy a mountain facing the town, and aflault the Jews who were appointed to defend the walls; and this order was punctually obferved. Being defirous of rendering his army more formidable in appearance than it was in reality, Titus arranged his men in a line anfwering the front of the enemy's forces; and he himfelf made the firft aflault, being followed by his people with loud exultations and military fhouts. The Jews, who were aftonifhed at the intrepid manner of the charge, made a faint refiftance; but being foon thrown into diforder, many were beat down and trampled to death by the cavalry, and others fled towards the city. The fugitives were clofely purfued by the Romans, who, through the fwiftnefs of their horfes, being enabled to attack them again in front, drove back many who were endeavouring to take refuge within the walls. Great numbers were flain, and but few, if any, efcaped, excepting thofe who were fo fortunate as to get into the city.

At this period a violent infurrection took place between the natives of Tarichea and the ftrangers who inhabited the city. The natives urged that they had ever been averfe to engaging in the war: but the advantage gained by the Romans was the principal caufe of their difcontent. The ftrangers, of whom there were great numbers, oppofed the citizens in the moft outrageous manner. Titus being near the wall, foon underftood that outrage and diffention prevailed in the town, and determining to take advantage of fo favourable an opportunity, he delivered the following fpeech to his people:
" Let us not delay, my friends and fellow-foldiers, to purfue the advantage
" that Providence has given us over our enemies. The clamours which now
" prevail in the city plainly indicate a domeftic war, and that thofe who
" efcaped our vengeance are now difpofed to effect the deftruction of each
" other. Victory muft infallibly be ours if we are quick in determination
" and refolute in action. Let us attempt the enterprize before the defperate
" fituation of the Jews reftores them to unanimity. Let us not wait for the
" arrival of reinforcements, but rather perform the exploit ourfelves than
" admit fharers in the honor and profit of the victory." Immediately after this

this ſpeech, Titus mounted his horſe, and being followed by his troops, rode with great ſpeed to that quarter of the town which is towards the lake; and he was the firſt man who entered the city. So aſtoniſhed were the Jews at the intrepid behaviour of Titus that they had not power to offer the leaſt obſtruction to his progreſs. Jeſus and his aſſociates eſcaped into the fields; ſome of the people fled towards the lake, and fell into the power of the Romans, others were ſlain while endeavouring to get into their veſſels, and many were drowned in the attempt to ſave themſelves by ſwimming. Some reſiſtance was made by the ſtrangers who were not able to eſcape with Jeſus; but the natives of the town readily yielded to the Romans, from whom they expected favour from the conſideration that they had diſapproved of engaging in the war, and been compelled to take up arms.

The faction being ſubdued, Titus granted quarter to the natives of Tarichеæ. The inſurgents who had embarked upon the lake proceeded to as great a diſtance as they poſſibly could from the enemy. Titus diſpatched intelligence of the enterprize to Veſpaſian, to whom it afforded great ſatisfaction; for the reduction of Tarichеæ was conſidered as a moſt material point towards a termination of the war in favour of the Romans. Titus now ordered a guard to inveſt the city, leſt any of the Jews ſhould effect an eſcape: and he went to the lake of Gennеſareth on the following day, and commanded a number of veſſels to be conſtructed for the purpoſe of purſuing thoſe who had made a retreat by water. There being a great number of workmen and a plentiful ſupply of materials, the veſſels were completed in a few days.

CHAP. XVIII.

Deſcription of the lake of Gennеſareth. The ſpring and courſe of the river Jordan. The fertility of the lands adjacent to the lake of Gennеſareth. Account of the cryſtalline fountain called Capernaum.

THE length of the lake of Gennеſareth is an hundred furlongs, and it is forty furlongs in breadth. It lies upon a fine gravel, and there is no river, or even fountain, water more conſtantly tranquil, or more conveniently to be drawn. The nature of the water is ſo cold that it will not receive warmth by being expoſed to the ſun even in the moſt intenſe heat of ſummer. It is remarkably agreeable to the palate, and in no degree partakes of the quality of mooriſh waters, either in reſpect of the colour or taſte. The lake derives its name from the country by which it is environed. It abounds in a great variety of fiſh, differing materially, both in formation and taſte, from what are to be found in any other waters.

The river Jordan interſects the middle of the lake of Gennеſareth. The Jordan * has been ſuppoſed to take its riſe at Panion; but the fact is that it

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* Many aſſert that the Jordan has two ſources, one called Jor, and the other Dan. *Vid.* Notes upon Steph. Byz. by Berkelius.

is conveyed to Panion by a ſubterraneous paſſage, and that the ſource of it is Phiala, ſo called from its figure being round; and it is ſituated an hundred and twenty furlongs from Cæſarea, a little towards the right-hand, and at no great diſtance from the road to Trachonitis. The waters of the Phiala are ſo conſtantly on a level with the margin that they are never to be obſerved either to decreaſe or overflow. The head of the Jordan was unknown till the time of Philip, the tetrarch of Trachonitis, who found that ſtraws which he had caſt into Phiala were conveyed to Panion, which had before been univerſally deemed the ſource of the Jordan. Panion is delightfully ſituated; and its natural beauties have been improved in a moſt magnificent manner by the bounty of king Agrippa. The river croſſes the fens of the lake of Semechonitis, and after running an hundred and twenty furlongs, paſſes under the city of Julias, interſects the lake of Genneſareth, and directing its courſe a conſiderable way into the deſert, is received by the lake of Aſphaltitis.

The lands ſurrounding the lake of Genneſareth are ſo ſurpriſingly fertile, and ſituated in ſo favourable a climate, that palms, nuts, figs, olive-trees, and many other articles, ſeeming to require a very different temperature of air, flouriſh there in the higheſt perfection. The natural advantages of the country receive every poſſible improvement from the inhabitants, who cultivate the grounds with remarkable ſkill and induſtry. This place ſeems to be the ſpot where nature moſt delights in reconciling contradictions, and where the ſeaſons contend which ſhall be productive of the greateſt bounties. For ten ſucceſſive months, grapes and figs abound in the higheſt perfection, as does a ſtrange variety of other moſt excellent fruits during the whole year. In this country flows a delightful cryſtalline fountain, called Capernaum by the inhabitants of the country, which many believe to be a ſmall branch of the river Nile, on account of its producing a certain ſpecies of fiſh, which is found in no part of the globe excepting in this fountain and in Alexandria. We ſhall conclude our account of this country with ſaying that its length extends along the lake thirty ſtadia, and that it is twenty ſtadia in breadth.

CHAP. XIX.

Veſpaſian embarks upon the lake, and encounters the fugitive Jews, over whom he gains a complete victory. He aſſembles a council, and condemns a great number of priſoners to ſuffer death, and others to be ſold for ſlaves.

THE veſſels being prepared, Veſpaſian embarked in purſuit of the Jews who had eſcaped on the lake of Genneſareth. The fugitives had now no probable view of eſcaping the vengeance of the enemy; for the ſhore being wholly occupied by the Romans, they could not diſembark without meeting inevitable deſtruction, and beſides being too ſmall, their boats were ſo ſlightly built and manned that they could not expect to prove victorious in a naval engagement. The Jews endeavoured to annoy their adverſaries by caſting ſtones, and by other means, which proved equally ineffectual; for the weapons

weapons they diſcharged ſerved only to cauſe a noiſe by meeting the veſſels or arms of the Romans, who were well defended againſt every aſſault they could make: when they attempted a cloſe encounter they were either put to death by the ſword, or their veſſels overſet and the men drowned. Some of the Romans fought at a diſtance, and made great havoc with their darts and arrows; others boarded the veſſels of the Jews, and cut the men to pieces with their ſwords. Several of the Jewiſh boats were conquered by being encloſed within the two diviſions of the Roman fleet. Such as attempted to ſave themſelves by ſwimming were put to death by lances and darts, or ſunk by being over-run by the Roman veſſels: and thoſe who were urged by deſpair to attempt ſaving themſelves by getting on board the enemy's fleet had their hands or heads inſtantly ſevered from their bodies. At length the Jews were driven to ſuch extremity that they preſſed into the middle of the Roman fleet in order to get to ſhore: horror and deſtruction now prevailed in the greateſt variety of forms: great numbers of Jews were killed on the water, but the carnage was much more terrible on ſhore: the lake was diſcoloured with blood, and the banks were covered with the bodies of the ſlain. In a few days the carcaſſes putrified, and infected the air to ſuch a degree as to render life almoſt inſupportable; and even the Romans lamented the barbarity which had produced ſo terrible a calamity. The Jews who were ſlain when the Romans aſſaulted the city, and thoſe who periſhed in the naval encounter, amounted to ſix thouſand and five hundred.

The engagement being concluded, Veſpaſian ſummoned a council of all his principal officers to aſſemble in the city of Taricheæ; and placing himſelf upon the tribunal, he entered upon deliberations as to what meaſures were moſt adviſeable to be purſued in regard to the ſtrangers. The council oppoſed ſhewing mercy to the ſtrangers, urging that they would be dangerous to the princes into whoſe dominions they might retire, ſince they would indiſputably avail themſelves of every opportunity for promoting troubles and inſurrections. Veſpaſian was convinced that they were unworthy of mercy, and ſo ſenſible of their abandoned diſpoſitions that he entertained not the leaſt doubt of their attempting the deſtruction even of the very people to whom they might be indebted for the preſervation of their lives: but what means to adopt he was at a loſs to determine; for he knew that if he put the ſtrangers to death in the city it would prove a circumſtance productive of infinite affliction to the natives, who having ſurrendered to him, had received his promiſe of ſhewing favour to his priſoners. The council argued that, from the nature of circumſtances, he was under no abſolute obligation to obſerve a rigid conformity to the condition, and that in matters where political neceſſity is oppoſed to obligations of honor, the queſtion ſhould be decided by a regard to the public welfare. Veſpaſian coincided in opinion with his friends, but ſtill determined to proceed in a manner that ſhould not irritate the natives of Taricheæ. He permitted the ſtrangers to depart, under an injunction of purſuing no other road than that leading to Tiberias. Without entertaining the leaſt apprehenſion that any violence would be offered to their perſons or property, they ſet out for Tiberias; and a great

number of Romans were ſtationed on the road, leſt any of them ſhould eſcape. When they had got within the town the Romans made them priſoners; and upon the arrival of Veſpaſian he ordered them to be confined in the ampitheatre, where he cauſed thoſe who were ſuperannuated, as well as thoſe who were judged to be too young to bear arms, to be put to death; and the number of thoſe who periſhed in conſequence of the general's order was twelve hundred. He ſent ſix thouſand of the moſt athletic men to Nero, to be employed in working upon the Iſthmus; three thouſand four hundred were ſold into ſlavery; he preſented a great number to Agrippa, to be diſpoſed of as his diſcretion ſhould dictate; and theſe people were ſold by the king. The remaining part of the incendiary fugitives whoſe reſtleſs diſpoſitions had prompted to encourage the revolt were Hippenians, people of Gaulanitis, Gadara, and Trachonitis. It was on the eighth day of the month Gorpiæus when they were taken by the Romans.

END of the THIRD BOOK.

THE

THE

WARS

OF THE

JEWS.

BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

Account of the ſeige of Gamala, with the ſtrength and ſituation of that city. Veſpaſian proceeds to Gamala. The place aſſaulted, and entered by the Romans, who are immediately repulſed, with great loſs. The bravery, and preſence of mind of Veſpaſian. Gallus, a centurion, performs a ſingular exploit. Veſpaſian's magnanimous ſpeech to his troops. Gamala attempted a ſecond time.

ON the taking of Jotapata, ſeveral towns and places in Galilee revolted from the Romans; but, on the loſs of Taricheæ, theſe returned again to their allegiance; ſo that all the cities and fortified places were now in poſſeſſion of the Romans, except Giſchala, and the mountain of Itabyr. The city of Gamala now united in rebellion with theſe places. This city ſtands on the lake, oppoſite Taricheæ, and appertains to Agrippa's

government. This revolt was likewiſe followed by that of Sogane and Seleucia, and both they and Gamala are in the province of Gaulanitis. Sogane is in its upper diſtrict, named Gaulana; Gamala in its lower; and Seleucia is on the lake Semechonitis, the mooriſh lands on the border of which extend to Daphne, the length of the lake being ſixty, and its breadth thirty furlongs. It is a fine country, but particularly remarkable for its ſprings, which feed the leſſer Jordan, and continue their courſe to the greater Jordan, at the foot of the golden temple of Jupiter. Soon after the commencement of the revolt, king Agrippa made an alliance with the inhabitants of Sogane and Seleucia; but the people of Gamala refuſed to accede to the treaty, relying on the ſtrength of the place, which even exceeds that of Jotapata. Gamala is built on the cliff of a rock riſing from the midſt of a high mountain: it has craggs in the front and back part of it, and took its name from that of a camel, to which it bears a reſemblance; but the ſpelling has been corrupted by time and habit. There are deep and inacceſſible vallies on its front and two of its ſides: but that ſide next the mountain would be tolerably eaſy of acceſs, only that the inhabitants have dug trenches, and thrown up fortifications, ſo that it is there little leſs acceſſible than on the other ſides. On the brow of the hill to the ſouth, the houſes are ſo numerous, and hang in ſuch a manner, as if they would fall into the precipice. There is likewiſe a hill of ſo extraordinary a height, that it has the appearance of a citadel to the valley beneath. Within the compaſs of the city there is alſo a fountain; and this comprehends a full deſcription of the place.

Yet notwithſtanding this place was thus fortified by nature, Joſeph thought it a point of prudence to build a wall round it, and alſo to throw up artificial works, with variety of trenches and fortifications, for its farther defence. The inhabitants, though neither ſo numerous, nor of ſuch a warlike diſpoſition, as the people of Jotapata, were yet more ſanguine, from the inacceſſible ſituation of their city: conceiving that the difficulties of the attack would make amends for the deficiency of their numbers; not that the place was very ill ſupplied in that reſpect; for it had been a kind of refuge for all ſorts of revolters. King Agrippa obtained no advantage over this place after a ſiege of ſeven months.

At this period Veſpaſian removed his camp from Ammaus, near Tiberias, a place which received its name from a fountain of hot water, deemed a ſpecific in many diſorders. Having advanced to Gamala, he found that he could not regularly ſurround it; but he placed guards at all the avenues which he could reach, and took poſſeſſion of the mountain above the city. Agreeable to their uſual cuſtom, the Romans fortified their camp by building a wall, and then entrenched themſelves. The tenth legion was employed in levelling the ditches and other hollow places, the fifth was ſtationed towards the middle of the town, and the fifteenth was poſted oppoſite a tower on the eaſt ſide.

During this ſituation of affairs king Agrippa advanced cloſe to the wall, with a view to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to argue the people into a right notion of their duty, and prevail on them to ſurrender the place: but at this juncture he received a violent blow on his right elbow by a ſtone from a ſling.

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His friends inſtantly crouded round him, with a view to promote his ſafety; while the Romans were in the utmoſt rage at the barbarity of a people who could act thus ſeverely by their prince and countryman, and a friend who adviſed them for their own welfare; thinking they would be much more ſevere to ſtrangers and enemies. Animated by this idea, the ſiege was urged in the moſt vigorous manner.

Many hands being employed, and the utmoſt diligence uſed, the neceſſary works were ſoon conſtructed; and the next thing to be conſidered was how to mount the machines. Chares and Joſeph, two men of diſtinction in the town, directed the defenſive part, and conducted the ſoldiers to the walls, animating them to give proofs of their honor, and their zeal in the common cauſe. But water and other neceſſaries being deficient, they were averſe to the contention, which they thought could not ſubſiſt any conſiderable time. When the machines of the Romans were brought forward, they made a kind of reſiſtance for ſome time; but when the ſtones and arrows were thrown among them, they retired into the town. The Romans three times attacked the walls with their battering-rams, and, when a breach was diſputed, it is impoſſible to deſcribe the horror ariſing from the ſound of trumpets, the clangor of arms, and the various noiſes that were made both within and without the town. The firſt ſhock was ſo valiantly ſuſtained by the citizens, that the Romans ſeemed at a loſs how to act; but at length, the former being overpowered by numbers, they retreated with the utmoſt precipitation, and ſought refuge in the higheſt parts of the city, whither they were purſued by the Romans: but the Jews, convinced of the urgency of their ſituation, faced about on their opponents, whom they drove down the precipices, and through the narrow defiles, killing great numbers in the purſuit. The Romans finding that their enemies had ſuch an advantage in the ſituation of the ground, that it was impoſſible to avoid them, and equally impoſſible to contend with them with any proſpect of ſucceſs, they ſought for ſhelter in the lower houſes: but theſe became ſoon ſo crouded by their numbers, that they ſunk under the weight, one houſe bringing down another, and ſo in progreſſion. Great numbers of the Romans were buried in the ruins; yet, diſaſtrous as the ſituation was, they choſe rather to truſt to theſe houſes than to continue an open mark for the enemy. The falling of the timbers cruſhed many of them to pieces, others were ſtifled with the duſt that fell, and a third part were dreadfully bruiſed in the attempt to make their eſcape. By theſe various accidents great numbers of the Romans fell a ſacrifice; while the inhabitants were ſo far from being uneaſy at the deſtruction of their houſes, that, on the contrary, they rejoiced in their loſs, from a conſideration of the conſequent deſtruction of their enemies; and as faſt as one houſe fell they drove them to another, that their weight might bring down that alſo. When a Roman miſſed his ſtanding, he was immediately killed by weapons from above: theſe weapons conſiſted of arrows and ſtones, the former of which were taken from the bodies of the ſlain, and the latter picked out of the walls: the ſwords of thoſe who were killed being employed to diſpatch others, and every thing contributing to advance the general ſcene of horror. Some threw themſelves from the tops of the houſes, to avoid meeting death, as they muſt otherwiſe have done, by the

fall of thoſe very houſes. Some endeavoured to make their eſcape; but they knew not how or where to fly; for being ſtrangers to the paſſages and avenues, and almoſt blinded with the duſt which aroſe, they became only a hindrance to each other. A few of them, and indeed a very few, had the happineſs to make a total eſcape from the place.

Veſpaſian was mortified in the higheſt degree to behold his troops thus injured by the very ruins of a city of which he had in a manner taken poſſeſſion; and, diſregarding his own perſonal ſafety, (for it was his cuſtom to be foremoſt in all hazardous enterprizes) he privately retired to a ſtation at the upper part of the city; and here, in company only with a few men of reſolution, he remained in the moſtdiſtreſſed ſituation: his ſon Titus being at this time on a commiſſion to Mutianus in Syria. His ſituation was now ſuch that he could not fly, with any regard either to his honour or ſafety: wherefore, recollecting how magnanimous his paſt conduct had been, and determining not to diſgrace it by his future actions, he was ſtruck with a thought how he might obviate the preſent difficulty; a thought that ſeemed rather the effect of inſpiration than the conſequence of common reſolution. He ſtationed himſelf, and the few people who remained with him, as cloſe to each other as they could poſſibly ſtand; and in this ſituation, covering themſelves with their arms, they were ſecure from all the aſſaults of the enemy from above. This ſingular reſolution had ſuch an effect on the Jews, that they could not help conſidering it as impelled by Providence; and immediately became leſs vigorous in their attack, from the fear leſt they ſhould oppoſe a Divine power. Veſpaſian obſerving that the rage of the enemy was abated, he and his companions retired by degrees, nor turned their backs till they had got without the walls of the city. On this occaſion great numbers of the Roman officers, as well as of the common ſoldiers were ſlain; and among the reſt, Ebutius, a Decadarch, whoſe conduct in life and death was noble, and of whoſe courage the Jews had repeated proofs.

In the above-mentioned conteſt, Gallus, a centurion, and ten Syrian ſoldiers, lay concealed in a houſe, and while the people of the family were at ſupper, and in high converſation how they ſhould act with regard to the Romans, Gallus and his Syrian companions overheard and underſtood all they ſaid: in conſequence of which they made an attack on them in the night, deſtroyed them all, and retreated to the Romans in perfect ſafety.

The Romans had never received a ſeverer blow than that in the action above recorded: and Veſpaſian finding that the ſpirits of his ſoldiers were depreſſed on the occaſion, and that they were the more dejected becauſe they had left their general behind, conſidered how he might afford them ſome ſort of conſolation, avoiding at the ſame time to reproach them for their conduct, or to mention his own unfortunate ſituation: wherefore he addreſſed them to the following effect: "As misfortunes are unavoidable, let us bear them with "magnanimity. No particular ſet of men have a right to expect an exemp- "tion from the common lot of humanity. The man who ſeriouſly reflects "on the nature of war, will be convinced that fortune is ever changing, "that blood-ſhed muſt certainly precede victory, and that our late loſs is "amply compenſated by the number of Jews we have heretofore ſlain. As

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" it is equally vain and ridiculous to become inſolent in proſperity; ſo an " unuſual depreſſion of ſpirits in adverſity argues an unwarrantable meanneſs " of ſoul. Reflect farther, in what a gradual manner the change paſſes from " one extreme to the other: that no man is poſſeſſed of true magnanimity, " but he that is equally reſolute to preſerve the dignity of his mind in all ſi- " tuations, and who, by his prudence under his misfortunes, can abate the " malignity of his fate. It would ill become us to impute our preſent misfor- " tune either to our own want of courage, or the ſuperior valour of the Jews: " If they have behaved more courageouſly, or we ſeemed to fight leſs ſo, " than uſual, all this is to be attributed to the difference of the ground on " which we fought. If there be any thing in your conduct cenſurable on this " occaſion, it is the eagerneſs with which you purſued the enemy up the " town when they fled from you. You ſhould have reſtrained the ardor of " your reſentment, and having taken poſſeſſion of the lower town, have " waited in that ſtation till your enemies had been compelled by neceſſity to " have deſcended and attacked you, in which caſe you would have engaged " on terms more equal, and conſequently more advantageous to you: but " your impatience of conqueſt rendered you incapable of taking the proper " method of ſecuring it. You ſhould recollect that the Romans are a people " uſed to diſcipline, and not accuſtomed, like the Jews and Barbarians, to " ſuch an irregular way of making war. Let us therefore return to our own " ſober and reſolute meaſures, and act rather like men capable of reflecting " on and abhorring the impropriety of their own conduct, than as cowards " who would ſink under the weight of it. It will be in the power of every one " of us to co-operate in the general work, and, if we have but reſolution " heartily to engage, we may revenge the loſs of our friends on the heads of " thoſe foes by whom they were ſlain. Animated by this proſpect, you ſhall " ſtill find me, as I have always been, the firſt to embrace danger, and the " laſt to fly from it." The army in general acquired freſh ſpirits in conſe- quence of this ſpeech of Veſpaſian.

Fluſhed with their unexpected ſucceſs, the people of Gamala were for a time happy in conſequence of their late victory: but on more mature conſi- deration their ſpirits failed them; for they found that there was now no proſ- pect of coming to any terms of agreement, nor any view of eſcape; and as they began to be in want of proviſions, they were in a moſt diſtracting ſitua- tion. Notwithſtanding this they proceeded to take every ſtep for the defence of the place, employing the moſt ſkilful in repairing the breaches; and the reſt in general duty.

By this time the platforms of the Romans were thoroughly repaired, and made ready for a ſecond attack. In the interim many of the citizens made their eſcape through paſſages ſo intricate and difficult, that it had not been thought neceſſary to ſet any guard over them. Others retired and hid them- ſelves in vaults and caverns, where, in the fear of being made priſoners, they were reduced to a ſtarving condition: for no proviſions were diſtributed but to thoſe who bore arms. Notwithſtanding all this accumulated diſtreſs, theſe unhappy people yet held poſſeſſion of the place.

CHAP. II.

A multitude of people being assembled on mount Itabyr, Vespasian sends a troop of horse to reduce them. Placidus destroys them by an artful stratagem.

THE troublesome siege above-mentioned furnished sufficient employment to Vespasian; who, however, notwithstanding his other engagements, dispatched Placidus with a party of six hundred horse to mount Itabyr*, to disperse a great number of people who had assembled at that place. This mountain is situated between Scythopolis and the great plain, and the ascent of it is deemed about thirty stadia. It is inaccessible on the north side, and on its summit is a plain of twenty furlongs in diameter. It is surrounded by a wall, which, notwithstanding its extraordinary size, Joseph was only forty days in building. He caused water and other necessaries to be brought to it from the valley; for the people had no supply but by rain water.

In obedience to his orders, Placidus reached the place of destination, but finding that he could not ascend the mountain to attack the revolters, he offered them terms of peace and pardon; on which a number of them came down to him, pretending that they were influenced by his proposals: but the fact was, that they had a view to ensnare, and conquer him by surprize; while Placidus had the same view with regard to them, provided he could but get them into the open field. Notwithstanding they seemed to comply with the reasonableness of his proposals, Placidus was, in the end, more artful than themselves. At length an attack was begun by the Jews, while the forces of Placidus retreated, as if intimidated: the Jews pursued them, and in the chace dispersed themselves all over the plain. At this juncture, Placidus turning suddenly on them, killed several, and dispersed the rest: but not one of them got back to the mountain. Some of the inhabitants of Itabyr fled to Jerusalem; after which the natives surrendered the place to Placidus, and gave security for their peaceable conduct.

CHAP. III.

Gamala destroyed. The people terrified by the fall of a tower. Titus enters the town. Vespasian attacks the castle. His troops put the people to the sword.

BY this time the inhabitants of Gamala were glad to secrete themselves; people of the middle rank were starving; yet the troops still persisted to defend the place till the twenty-second of the month Hyperberetæus, on the night of which three soldiers, of the fifteenth legion, secretly retired to the foot of the highest tower near their quarter of the town, and undermined it so privately that the guards knew nothing of what passed. Having rolled five large stones from the foundation, they instantly retreated. The tower suddenly

* Otherwise called Tabor.

ſlenly fell to the ground with a moſt horrid noiſe, burying in the ruins the guards, and all who were in it. Alarmed by this accident, all the guards of the adjacent poſts fled from their ſtations, and ſome of them fell into the hands of the Romans, among whom was one Joſeph, who was killed by a dart from a broken wall. The alarm and uproar in the city was as great as if the whole Roman army had taken poſſeſſion of the place. At this time Chares was in a bad ſtate of health; and the above-mentioned circumſtance ſo affected him that it was thought it ſhortened his life.

The Romans were now induced to think of entering the town; but they had ſuffered ſo much in their late attempt, that they waited for ſome time, undetermined how to act. In the interim Titus arrived; and was ſo mortified at the diſaſter which the Romans had met with during his abſence, that he immediately ſelected two hundred of his prime cavalry, and a body of infantry, and marched quietly into the city unoppoſed. An alarm of this proceeding being given by the watchmen, the news of it was inſtantly ſpread through the place; and was no ſooner known than the citizens fled in the utmoſt confuſion to the caſtle, taking their wives and children with them, and crying and exclaiming as if they were diſtracted. The ſoldiers under Titus deſtroyed ſome of them; while others, who could not get into the caſtle, ſtrolled about, heedleſs whither they went, till they fell into the hands of the Roman guards. In a word, the ſtreets flowed with blood; nothing was to be heard but the groans of the wounded, and nothing ſeen but death in its moſt horrid forms.

Veſpaſian's buſineſs now was to attack the caſtle, and for this purpoſe his whole army was drawn towards that ſpot. This caſtle was ſituated on the point of a rock, remarkably high and ſteep, ſurrounded by a number of precipices and craggs, and almoſt inacceſſible. This being its ſituation, the Romans could neither reach the Jews from below, nor avoid the ſtones and ſhot with which they were aſſaulted from above. But at this juncture Providence ſeemed to determine in favour of the Romans, and decree the deſtruction of the Jews; for a violent wind aroſe, which drove the Roman arrows directly upon the Jews, and prevented their reaching the Romans, or blew them wide of the mark. This guſt of wind was likewiſe ſo ſtrong, that the beſieged were unable to make their defence, or even to ſee the enemies with whom they had to contend. Theſe advantages in favour of the Romans were ſo great, that they ſoon became maſters of the mountain, which they inſtantly ſurrounded, and in reſentment of their former unſucceſsful attack, they put to the ſword all who fell in their way, the unreſiſting, as well as their immediate opponents. Some were ſo driven to deſpair by the horror of their ſituation, that they threw themſelves, with their wives and children, down the precipice from the caſtle; and in this way about five thouſand periſhed, while only four thouſand were ſlain; ſo that a greater number of the Jews were ſacrificed to their own fears than were deſtroyed by the Romans. The latter, however, in the fury of their rage, threw the very infants down the rocks; nor ſhewed mercy to a ſingle perſon they ſeized, except the two daughters of the ſiſter of Philip, the friend of Joakim, a man of diſtinction, and heretofore one of Agrippa's generals. But in fact, theſe ſiſters owed their eſcape

rather to their good fortune in remaining concealed till the fury of the carnage was over, than to any intentional kindneſs on the part of the Romans. It was on the twenty-fourth of the month Gorpiæus that the rebellion of Gamala commenced; and on the twenty-third of the month Hyperberetæus the conqueſt was abſolutely compleated.

CHAP. IV.

Titus takes Giſchala. The people diſpoſed to peace, but ſeduced by an impoſtor. The city of Jeruſalem ſtrong and populous. Veſpaſian provides for all contingencies. The benevolence of Titus, who offers peace. The conditions apparently accepted by John of Giſchala. John effects his eſcape by night. Giſchala ſurrenders to Titus, by which the conqueſt of Galilee is compleated.

GISCHALA alone, of the whole province of Gamala, now remained unſubdued. The people in general were diſpoſed to peace; moſt of them being huſbandmen, and depending on their plantations: yet there were ſome among them of an abandoned diſpoſition, who ſubſiſted principally by theft; and even of the citizens of the beſt rank there were ſome of a libertine turn of mind. The principal of theſe, who chiefly perverted the people, was an impoſtor, named John, a man of equal wickedneſs and ſubtilty; of an unſteady, yet ambitious diſpoſition; ſkilful in the promotion of his artful ſchemes, devoid of all honor, and fond of promoting diſturbances for the advancement of his own intereſt. He was the ſon of one Levi, and the common head of the mob. But for his artifices, it is very probable that the people would have ſent deputies to treat of an alliance; but they were prevailed on by him to defer taking this ſtep till after the war ſhould be commenced.

At this period Veſpaſian ſent Titus to Giſchala with a thouſand cavalry; the tenth legion he diſpatched to Scythopolis, and returned himſelf to Cæſarea with the other two legions, propoſing there to reſt and refreſh them, that they might be enabled to undertake ſome future arduous enterprize. Veſpaſian was aware that the city of Jeruſalem would afford him ample employment, not only as it was the capital, and equally populous and powerful, but as it was a cuſtomary place of refuge for diſcontented fugitives from other places; a nurſery for bold and deſperate men; ſtrong from the nature of its ſituation, and ſurrounded by mighty walls; ſo that, on the whole, it ſeemed to be almoſt impregnable. Veſpaſian reflecting on all theſe circumſtances, exerciſed his ſoldiers in the moſt perfect manner in all the feats of arms, keeping them in ſpirits to make a vigorous effort on occaſion.

Titus riding towards Giſchala, took a ſurvey of the place, and finding it was ill calculated to ſtand an aſſault; he reflected at the ſame time, that if ever the ſoldiers ſhould take it by ſtorm, they would undoubtedly treat the inhabitants as they had done thoſe of Gamala, confounding the innocent with the guilty: wherefore, from a kind regard to the welfare of the people, and in abhorrence of the cruelties that had been practiſed, he reflected if it might not be poſſible to poſſeſs himſelf of the place by treaty. At this time the walls were covered with ſoldiers, and the principal part of the inhabitants of the

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town being of a rebellious diſpoſition, Titus called out to them, and addreſſed them in the following manner: "It is a matter of aſtoniſhment to "me, that you ſhould think of making any reſiſtance, after all the reſt of "your towns are ſubdued, places better manned and more ſtrongly fortified "than yours, taken without the leaſt difficulty, and many of them on the "firſt aſſault: and I rather wonder at this conduct, ſince, on a return to your "duty, you may yet remain in ſafety, happineſs, and freedom. All theſe "bleſſings I freely promiſe you, and that your paſt faults ſhall be abſolutely "forgiven, and attributed to a too zealous attachment to liberty. But if "you refuſe thus to conſult your own intereſt, and diſdain to rely on the "faith of the Romans; if, I ſay, you abſolutely determine to ruſh precipi-"tately on certain deſtruction, by endeavouring to compaſs impoſſibilities, "you muſt expect to experience the full weight of the Roman power and "reſentment: and you will be ſoon convinced how readily your walls will "fall before our engines: ſo that, of all the Galilæans, you will become "the moſt abſolute ſlaves."

No reply was made to this from the town, nor even one of the inhabitants permitted to come to the wall: for the rebel party was ſo ſtrong as to overrule every thing: they therefore placed guards at all the gates, to ſee that no one ſhould paſs, to carry on a treaty of reconciliation. At length, John, in the name of the people, called out to Titus, intimating that he would accept the conditions, and that the inhabitants of the town ſhould alſo agree to them, or he would compel them to it: but he earneſtly beſought him to poſtpone the ratification of the treaty, on account of the rigidneſs of the Jewiſh law with reſpect to the obſervance of the ſabbath; as this law would no more permit them to treat of peace, than to fight, on that day. He repreſented that the Jews complying on that day, or the Romans forcing them to a compliance, would be acts equally unwarrantable. He ſaid that there could not poſſibly be any danger in the delay, ſince, if it was apprehended that any man would attempt to make his eſcape in the night, it would be an eaſy matter to prevent this by ſtationing guards at all the avenues. John farther inſinuated that Titus, by ſhewing himſelf as regardful of the Jewiſh laws as thoſe people themſelves were, and that he reſpected their conſciences as well as their perſons, would acquire great reputation to himſelf, as he would confer a favour which they did not expect.

In this artful addreſs to Titus, John was rather influenced by a concern for his own perſonal ſafety, than by any veneration for the ſabbath: for he had no doubt but he ſhould be given up on the ſurrender of the town; wherefore all his dependance for ſaving his life was on making his eſcape in the night. In the end, however, it appeared that John's preſervation was an act of Providence towards the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; ſince it not only gave occaſion to the truce, but likewiſe cauſed Titus to encamp at a greater diſtance from the city, at a place called Cydæſa, which was remarkably ſtrong and populous, and the inhabitants of which were mortal foes to the Galilæans.

No guards being placed round the town, and the night being ſomewhat advanced, John ſeized the opportunity, and made his eſcape to Jeruſalem, taking with him his military train, together with a number of creditable people

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of the town, and their families. Many of thoſe who departed were terrified at this reſolution. The old men, women and children, with difficulty kept pace with their leader for the ſpace of twenty furlongs; but were then ſo fatigued as to be unable to continue the journey: wherefore they burſt into tears and lamentations; ſtill, however, ſtriving to reach thoſe who had gone forward; and the farther their friends advanced, the more they dreaded their enemies, and were in momentary expectation of being made priſoners. The very ſound of their own feet they dreaded as thoſe of their purſuers, and continually looking back, miſtook their friends for their foes. Thus terrified beyond deſcription, they fell over each other, and the road was ſtrewed with the bodies of women and children, who were preſſed to death in the attempt to get forwards. Many unhappy wretches were now perpetually calling out to their huſbands and friends to wait for them. On the contrary John called to them to ſave themſelves by flight, and to ſeek refuge in ſome place, where they might oppoſe the power of the Romans, in caſe farther attempts ſhould be made. John's advice having great weight with it, the people ſhifted for themſelves in the beſt manner they were able.

The morning being now come, Titus advanced to the walls of the town, with a view to ratify the intended treaty. On his arrival he found the gates thrown open, and the men and women of the place equally ready to receive him with ſhouts of joy, and acknowledge him as their preſerver. They now informed him that John had made his eſcape; beſought him to have mercy on the innocent, and to execute the moſt rigid juſtice on ſuch of thoſe who ſhould be found in the town, as might be diſcovered to be the promoters of the revolt. They likewiſe requeſted him to ſend a party of horſe after John; which he complied with; but he was got into Jeruſalem before they could come up with him. This party ſlew about two thouſand of John's adherents, and brought back almoſt three thouſand women and children, whom they found diſperſed in different parts of the road.

The eſcape of this impoſtor afforded matter of vexation to Titus, who was concerned that the people of the town had not puniſhed him in an exemplary manner while he was within their reach. But when he came to reflect on the advantage of taking the town, the number ſlain, and the priſoners that had been made, he ſtruck the balance in his own mind, thought he was well requited for the eſcape of ſuch a villain, and entered the town with pacific ſentiments towards the people. His ſoldiers broke off a piece of the wall, as a ceremony by which he took a formal poſſeſſion of the place; and he reduced the inſurgents not ſo much by actual puniſhments as by threatenings: for Titus thought that in a place where there were ſo many family contentions, and ſo much of pique and paſſion, it would be very imprudent to puniſh all who might be charged with crimes, leſt he ſhould involve the innocent with the guilty, and ſubject thoſe to criminal charges, who might not have merited them: he therefore conceived that it would be more conſiſtent with the laws of honor and humanity, to ſpare the lives of ſome of the guilty, than to run the hazard of puniſhing the innocent: ſince it would be impoſſible to make an atonement to the latter; whereas the former might live to amend; either from

from the impulſe of virtue, the ſenſe of ſhame, or the fear of future puniſhment.

Finally, Titus placed a garriſon in the town, partly with a view to ſecure thoſe of peaceable diſpoſition, and partly to keep in ſubjection thoſe of a factious ſpirit. After all the expence of blood and the labour that had attended the conqueſt of Galilee, it was compleated by this action.

CHAP. V.

The arrival of John of Giſchala at Jeruſalem, where his partizans tell a falſe tale. The Jews terrified. John animates the people to proſecute the war. The commencement and progreſs of the quarrel. The ravages of the robbers. Another band of thieves, worſe than the former. High-prieſts made and depoſed at pleaſure. Ananus oppoſes them. The inſurgents retire to the temple. The party headed by Gorion and Simeon. The conduct of Jeſus and Ananus. The people call themſelves Zelotes, and the meaning of that word. Ananus argues the caſe. The Romans more favourable to the Jews than the Zelotes. A combat in the temple. A full account of John of Giſchala.

WHEN John and his followers arrived at Jeruſalem, the people crouded about them in immenſe numbers, to learn the ſtate of affairs, and deſired to know even the worſt news. John and his aſſociates having been ſo hurried in their flight by fear as to be almoſt unable to ſpeak, that circumſtance might have been an anſwer to the queſtions: but the party kept up their ſpirits, and pretended they had not fled from the Romans; but retired voluntarily, to chuſe a ſpot where they might engage on more equal terms. They ſaid fools and madmen only would deſtroy themſelves by ſeeking to defend Giſchala, and ſuch paltry places, while the metropolis itſelf was endangered, and every man of courage was bound in honour to protect it. John and his companions concealed their diſgrace in the beſt manner they could; but the people ſaw that their honorable retreat was an abſolute flight. The inhabitants were ſo diſmayed at this diſcovery, and the report of the priſoners who had been taken by the Romans, that they conſidered the conqueſt of Giſchala as a prelude to that of Jeruſalem. In the interim, however, John, regardleſs of the fate of the wretches he had abandoned on the road, went about among the people, whom he animated to proſecute the war; reflecting on the Romans, and ſpeaking highly of their own merits; by which he gained on the affections of the vulgar: "What, (ſaid he) can "you imagine that when the Roman power has been ſo baffled by two or "three trifling towns in Galilee, which they found it ſo difficult to conquer, "that they will ever be able to make a conqueſt of Jeruſalem?" This had a great effect on the young men of violent paſſions; but perſons of reflection and experience looked on themſelves as in a ruined ſituation.

Thus unfortunately were things ſituated at Jeruſalem: but the country people promoted a ſedition which had its effect in the city. Titus was now gone from Giſchala to Cæſarea; and Veſpaſian went from Cæſarea to Jamnia

and Azotus, both which places he ſubdued, and having left garriſons in them, returned with an immenſe number of people, who came over to the Romans. Inteſtine broils and tumults now prevailed in all the cities. The Jews, at peace with the Romans, began to quarrel with each other; and the ſubjects of war and peace afforded matter of continual contention. Private families, who had long been at variance on account of hereditary diſputes, commenced this quarrel, which ſoon ſpread itſelf among the people at large, who from friends became enemies; till at length all was uproar and confuſion: perſons of one ſentiment oppoſed thoſe of a different, till the diſorder was worked up to a rebellion. The contagion became general. The young, the violent, the tumultuous were fully bent on arms: while people of ſenſe and reflection adviſed more moderate proceedings: but the ſentiments of the former prevailed.

In conſequence of this general confuſion the people began to rob each other, regardleſs of conſcientious or legal obligations. They then divided themſelves into diſtinct bodies, and robbed in the moſt open manner through the country; and in this proceeding the Jews behaved in as cruel a manner to each other as the Romans had ever treated them; a circumſtance aggravated by the conſideration that injuries from friends are leſs tolerable than from enemies.

The garriſons gave themſelves no concern for the ſufferings of the people, whom they hated; and at length ſome of the leading men of the faction repaired to Jeruſalem with a large body of people whom they had collected in different places. At this time there was no kind of regular government in the city, ſo that no oppoſition was made to the inſurgents; beſides it had been an ancient cuſtom that the gates ſhould be open to all Jews indiſcriminately: and this rule was particularly obſerved at preſent, when all who entered were ſuppoſed to be friends. This general liberty proved the ruin of the city: for ſuch amazing numbers of the idle and uſeleſs devoured thoſe proviſions that had been kept in ſtore for the uſe of the ſoldiers that guarded the place; ſo that, in fact, to the calamities of war were ſuperadded thoſe of ſedition and famine.

At this period another body of thieves arrived from the country, who were worſe than the former; and theſe, uniting with thoſe whom they found in the town, behaved in the moſt barbarous manner. They robbed and plundered in open day-light, and committed murder, not ſecretly by night, and on the perſons of the obſcure; but in the face of the ſun, and on the moſt eminent of the citizens. One of their firſt exploits was to impriſon Antipas, a man related to the royal family, whoſe credit and authority was ſuch that the treaſury was committed to his care. They afterwards treated in the ſame manner Levias, Sophas, the ſon of Raguel, and ſuch other perſons of diſtinction as they could get into their power. This conduct made every one conſult his own ſafety, while the city appeared as if in the hands of a common enemy.

Nor did theſe abandoned people ſtop when they had proceeded thus far: but finding their priſoners were men of authority, rank and influence, they thought that danger might attend the detaining them in cuſtody; ſince, thus provoked,

provoked, their friends, or the people in general, might seek to rescue them: and hereupon they proceeded to pass a formal sentence of death on them; and sent one John, the son of Dorcas, an abandoned miscreant of their own body, attended by ten other villains, to execute the sentence, which accordingly took place. To palliate this horrid crime, they caused it to be reported that these people had conspired to deliver the city to the Romans; and assumed to themselves the honor of having done a public service, in the infliction of justice on those who would have betrayed the public liberty.

By this time the people were so dispirited, and the factious multitude became so insolent, that they assumed to themselves the disposal of the office of high-priest, which they removed from the lineal succession, advancing to this dignity one of their own associates, who was equally unqualified for the station by the obscurity of his birth, and his want of virtue. Thus, by chusing ministers like themselves, they gave a criminal uniformity to the government; being assured that the unjust commands of corrupt masters would be readily obeyed by abandoned servants.

During this period the most calumnious stories were invented and propagated, to foment dissentions among those who might otherwise have opposed their designs, and thus to take advantage of the public discontent. At length, when they had gratified themselves even to satiety with the insults offered to their fellow-creatures, they began to offer affronts even to the Deity himself, by an opposition to his holy laws and sanctuary: but in this they were opposed by Ananus, the high-priest, a person equally respectable for his character, his age, his wisdom, and his piety. Ananus prevailed on the people to counteract their proceedings; and he would, in all probability, have preserved the city, if he could have escaped the consequence of a conspiracy that was formed against him.

The temple being now taken possession of by the insurgents, they used it equally as the seat of their tyranny, and as a place of defence against the people. It was now that they took upon them to elect a high-priest by lot, pretending that this had been the custom of former ages: but in fact, no such precedent had ever been known; for the office of high-priest being originally vested in a particular family, it had descended from heir to heir successively. However, the truth is, that this was a contrivance of these people, founded in selfishness, that they might have the government in their own hands: but the plan did not answer their expectations: for, in order to make the proposed choice, they summoned one of the holy tribes (named Eniacim), when the lot fell on a man, whose incapacity proved the absurdity of that mode of election. This man was Phanes, the son of Samuel, born in the village of Aphthas. He was totally unacquainted with the office of high-priest, bore no relation to the sacerdotal family, and was ignorant in the highest degree. Notwithstanding these impediments, he was taken, against his inclination, from his rustic employments, dressed in the robes of the priesthood, and instructed how to conduct himself, as if he had been receiving a lesson for the stage; the whole solemn business being turned to ridicule. The priests, grieved and astonished at this precedure, were spectators of the insult offered to their laws, their worship, and profession, and they ex-

preſſed their ſentiments by reiterated groans and tears: but the people were ſo enraged at the idea of this inſult, that they aroſe as one man, with a determined reſolution to counteract their oppreſſors, and not to ſubmit any longer to ſo infamous a ſlavery.

Among the moſt eager to promote this public ſpirit, were Gorion, the ſon of Joſeph, and Simeon, the ſon of Gamaliel, who went among the people, ſeparately encouraging them to revenge the affront, and aſſert their liberties; and zealouſly unite to vindicate their religion, laws and freedom, againſt enemies who had conducted themſelves in ſo ſacrilegious and profane a manner.

Ananus, the ſon of Ananus, and Jeſus, the ſon of Gamala, two prieſts of diſtinguiſhed virtue and piety, were likewiſe very zealous in their diſcourſes to the people, reproaching them with cowardice and ſloth, exhorting them to vigilance, and inflaming their minds againſt the Zelotes. Theſe people I diſtinguiſh by this name, becauſe they afterwards appropriated it to themſelves, on pretence of their ſuperior ſanctity; though, in fact, of all men breathing, they lived the moſt lewd and abandoned lives. By this time the people were aſſembled together, and inflamed with the utmoſt rage, to behold the devaſtation that the inſurgents had made in the ſacred places; and that they ſtill continued in the uncontrouled practice of plundering and murder.

Yet notwithſtanding all this juſtly excited indignation, no attack was made; for the people were ſenſible that they were not yet in a condition to encounter the force of the Zelotes. At this time Ananus, the high-prieſt, being in the midſt of the croud, caſt his weeping eyes towards the temple, with looks of inexpreſſible concern; and then addreſſed the people to the following purport: "Wretched am I to have thus lived to ſee the houſe of God pro-
" faned and polluted, and the moſt impious of men taking poſſeſſion of thoſe
" holy, privileged places, which have been hitherto appropriated to the
" high-prieſt only! Wherefore am I a ſpectator of this misfortune; and at-
" tired, too, in my ſacred veſtments, with the name of the immortal God
" imprinted on my countenance? Why ſhould I ſeek a longer life, when ſo
" noble an opportunity offers of ending my days with glory? In my ſituation
" what have I to do but to fall ſingly, yielding my life as a ſacrifice to God
" and my duty? Wherefore ſhould any man be covetous of life, at a time of
" general inſenſibility, and when the ſpirit to reſiſt calamities, only follows
" the want of prudence to foreſee them? You now ſtand peaceably to ſee
" yourſelves aſſaulted, injured and robbed; and to behold the murder of
" your friends and aſſociates, without a ſingle effort to aſſiſt them, or even
" ſpeaking one word in their behalf. The preſent tyranny is equally diſ-
" graceful and inſupportable: but wherefore ſhould I ſpeak of thoſe who
" take part in this tyranny, rather than thoſe who permit it, and who have
" encouraged the tyrants to proceed to the extremities they have already
" done? Why did you not cruſh them when it was in your power; when
" their numbers were few, and their force proportionably weak? In fact, it
" was your puſillanimity that enabled theſe people to again the aſcendancy
" over you: for at the time you ſhould have been united againſt your enemies,
" you were engaged in inteſtine feuds with each other. You ought early to
" have chaſtiſed them for the inſults they offered to your brethren. You

" ſhould have reflected that ſubmiſſion to one inſult naturally gives " encouragement to another; as was evident from what happened: for " when they found that you ſubmitted to their inſolencies, they proceeded " farther; put ſeveral of your principal citizens in chains, and impriſoned " them, not only without a legal ſentence, but even without an accuſation " againſt them. Neither their names nor rank were enquired into, and the " whole was tranſacted without a ſingle perſon appearing in their favour. " Thus they loſt their eſtates and liberty; and their lives were to become the " next ſacrifice; and, in fine, they were led out like beaſts doomed to ſlaugh- " ter, and their throats cut in our preſence, while no one exerted him- " ſelf, or even ſpoke a word in their favour. Theſe calamities having ra- " pidly ſucceeded each other, can you now ſtand tamely by, and behold your " ſacred altars profaned, and your religion ridiculed, without evincing a " manly reſentment? Can you be afraid of thoſe abandoned wretches, thoſe " enemies of all that is good, whoſe power reſults but from your own inacti- " vity? If they commit no more depredations, it is not for want of inclina- " tion to every kind of wickedneſs; but becauſe they have no farther oppor- " tunity; for the violences they have already been guilty of cannot poſſibly " be exceeded. You are witneſſes to their poſſeſſion of the ſtrongeſt place in " the city, and that they make uſe of your temple as a caſtle to defend them- " ſelves againſt you. Now in what manner do you propoſe to act, reflecting " that your enemies occupy this place, of the ſtrength of which you are not " unacquainted? What iſſue can you expect from the preſent ſituation of af- " fairs? You may poſſibly ſuppoſe that the Romans will vindicate your cere- " monies, and protect your religion; for, in fact, ſuch is our preſent abject " ſituation, that we are objects of pity even to our enemies! If a number of " beaſts were in the condition that you are, hunted, aſſaulted, wounded, " they would not fail of courage to turn on the enemy, and revenge the in- " ſults offered them: while you, leſs ſenſible than the brutes, patiently ſub- " mit to all indignities. But will you continue always thus tame? For ever " bear the infamous inſults that are offered you, both in public and private, " without ſeeking the glorious means of revenge? A conduct ſo puſillanimous " ſeems to intimate that you have loſt all ſenſe of that firſt and beſt ſenti- " ment of the human heart, the love of liberty: and as if, on the contrary, " you had adopted in the place of it, an attachment to ſlavery. This latter " diſpoſition, however, I am certain you could not derive from your anceſtors; " as is evident by the numerous and glorious wars in which they engaged, " in vindication of their freedom, againſt the Medes and Perſians. But it is " unneceſſary that I ſhould refer to former times for inſtances to illuſtrate " what I ſay; ſince our preſent war againſt the Romans, whatever may be " the iſſue of it, is undertaken upon the ſame liberal principles. Is this then " a time for us to ſubmit to ſlavery to our own countrymen, while we are " contending for our liberties with the maſters of the world? When perſons " are conquered in battle by ſtrangers, no imputation lies againſt them; " their honor is untainted, and the misfortune is attributed to the chance of " war: but for any people to ſurrender themſelves in abject ſubmiſſion to " their own countrymen, and to the moſt abandoned of them likewiſe, ar-

" gues

" gues a tameneſs of ſpirit, and ſervility of ſoul, that ſeems to intimate " that they are proper objects of ſlavery.

" As I have mentioned the Romans, it may not be improper to add what " occurs to me on this occaſion. Let us ſuppoſe (which God forbid), that " we were at this time actually priſoners to the Romans, could our ſituation " be more deplorable than it is at preſent? Are not the ſufferings we have " endured equal to any that an enemy could inflict on us? Can any perſon " patiently behold the Jews robbing the temple of thoſe gifts and oblations " it has derived from the bounty of the Romans? View them deſpoiling the " nobleſt city in the world, and embruing their hands in the blood of thoſe " gallant men, whom the Romans themſelves, even when flushed with vic- " tory, would have held in high eſteem. I aſk if any man can behold this " without a mournful heart, and weeping eyes? The Romans have always " acted conſciouſly in the diſtinction between things ſacred and profane: " they never encroached on Divine ſolemnities, or caſt a look towards the " Holy place, but at a diſtance, and in a reverential manner. Yet we have " among ourſelves a kind of people, educated according to our own cuſtoms, " and bearing the name of Jews, who walk without ſcruple in the temple, as " in a vulgar place; and this immediately after having committed murder " on their fellow-citizens. While things are thus ſituated, who will dread a " foreign war, compared with ſuch a domeſtic one? To ſpeak in plain " terms, thoſe we called our enemies are our friends; for our pretended " friends have deſtroyed thoſe very laws which the Romans were zealous to " preſerve. It is an indiſputable fact that the inſurgents have betrayed your " liberties, and that no puniſhment you can inflict can be equal to their de- " merits. In mentioning this I ſay no more than you are already acquainted " with; and the ſenſe of what you have ſuffered ſhould ſufficiently incite you " againſt the offenders. But perhaps the advantageous ſituation your oppo- " nents have gained, their great numbers, and the ſpirit by which they ap- " pear animated, have repreſſed your ardour. Let me aſk what it has been " buty our own puſillanimity that has given them theſe advantages? And you " have no other method of proceeding but to confederate together ſpeedily " and heartily, to reduce them to their former ſituation: ſince any delay will " tend only to encreaſe their numbers, inſpire them with freſh courage, and " enable them to adjuſt their plan. Thus the whole faction will combine " together: and the longer you defer any oppoſition to them, the more " ſtrongly will they intrench and fortify themſelves. All then that you have " to do is to make one vigorous exertion, to appal your enemies; for you " will find that the infamy of their baſeneſs, and the terrors of their guilty " conſciences, will combine to render their ſituation very diſagreeable. " Who knows but that the juſt judgment of an avenging God, may deſtroy " theſe impious wretches, who have thus contemned his Divine majeſty? " And that the lances they ſhoot towards us, may, by a Divine miracle, be " turned againſt themſelves, ſo that they will not be able to look on us but " with terror and diſmay? Or allowing for the worſt conſequences that can " poſſibly enſue; ſuppoſe every man of us ſhould periſh in the attempt, can " we wiſh for a more diſtinguiſhed fate than to fall before the gates of the

" temple,

" temple, fighting for the honor of our God, and in defence of his holy " edifice? I have only to add that my head, my heart, and my hands ſhall " aſſiſt your laudable endeavours."

The people were ſufficiently inflamed againſt the Zelotes by this addreſs: but Ananus conſidering the number of the enemy, their ſelect men, and their courage; and reflecting on the ſtrength and ſituation of the place in which they were, had but little hope of ſucceſs from the conſequence of his ſpeech: yet rather than abandon his country in the moment of diſtreſs, he was determined to run all riſks; while the people, defying every idea of danger, were only anxious for ſome one to lead them to the attack.

While the people were in this diſpoſition, Ananus ſelected the beſt men from among them, and formed them into as good order as the time would admit. The Zelotes had ſpies to watch the conduct of Ananus; and being informed of his intentions, they began to advance towards him, ſometimes in ſmaller, and ſometimes in larger bodies; nor did they ſpare any one who fell into their hands. Ananus's men were ſoon formed, and were more numerous than their opponents: but the Zelotes were better ſupplied with arms: however, courage and good-will compenſated for what was wanted by the oppoſite party; and at the ſame time the Zelotes were equally inflamed. The inhabitants ſaw that ſafety conſiſted only in clearing the city of their enemies; who were convinced that they muſt either conquer or die. With theſe ſentiments on both ſides they began a ſkirmiſh near the temple, by pelting each other with ſtones; many fell on each ſide; thoſe who fled being deſtroyed by the ſwords of their enemies. Thoſe of the inhabitants who were wounded were borne off to their own houſes by their friends; while the wounded Zelotes were carried into the temple, where their blood defiled the Holy place. In all theſe excurſions the advantage was on the ſide of the Zelotes.

By this time the people were encreaſed in number and ſtrength; and were now ſo enraged againſt thoſe who attempted to eſcape by flight, that they conſtantly blocked up their paſſage, and obliged them to turn towards the enemy; ſo that they were compelled to cut their way through, or be ſlain. Thus every man was under a neceſſity of fighting; and the inſurgents, unable to ſuſtain the ſhock of this united force, retreated by degrees towards the temple, whither Ananus and his followers preſſed furiouſly after them. The Zelotes having been driven through the firſt court, their fears induced them to take ſhelter in the ſecond, where they haſtily made faſt the gates againſt thoſe who purſued them. Such was the reverence that Ananus entertained for this Holy place, that he would not attempt to force the paſſage, though ſufficiently irritated by the enemy, who diſpatched darts and lances from the top of the building. Still, however, the high-prieſt was ſo unwilling to pollute the ſacred temple, by an indiſcriminate admiſſion of an unpuriſied multitude, that he would not have permitted it if the event of the cauſe had depended on it. Wherefore, for the preſent, he only placed a guard of ſix thouſand ſelect men on the porches of the temple relieving theſe with another ſix thouſand, and thus alternately; the principal people not being exempted from this duty: only, when their turn came, they were permitted to depute others to officiate for them.

At this time every thing went in favour of the popular party: but John of Giſchala, who has been heretofore mentioned, threw all into confuſion. This man was artful, falſe, ambitious, and an old traitor to the public. To obtain his preſent views, he ſought popularity by affecting to be a patriot. He was the moſt conſtant daily attendant of Ananus in council, and aſſiduouſly careful of the watch and guards in the night. In the mean time he was a ſpy for the Zelotes, and as he came to the knowledge of all that paſſed, immediately informed them of the particulars. To diſguiſe his zeal for Ananus and the people more effectually, he pretended the utmoſt reſpect for the high-prieſt, and the men of rank who attended him: but in this he ſo far over-acted his part, that they began to ſuſpect him; for his flatteries were too groſs, and his conduct ſeemed to exceed the bounds of reaſon. Their ſuſpicions were encreaſed by his ſtill intruding himſelf, uninvited, into their counſels. Ananus diſcovered that his ſecrets were developed, and he ſuppoſed that John was the betrayer: but ſo artfully did this villain conduct himſelf; and ſo far had he obtained the good opinion of ſeveral men of eminence, that it was in vain to think of removing him from his ſtation: wherefore the readieſt method that could be deviſed, was to adminiſter to him an oath of ſecrecy and fidelity, purporting that he ſhould keep the counſels of the people, and on their behalf, oppoſe the rebels to his utmoſt power. John did not in the leaſt heſitate to take this oath, nor were Ananus and his friends backward in crediting what he ſwore: wherefore they inſtantly admitted him into their counſels, and ſoon afterwards ſent him to the Zelotes, to offer terms of peace. Their greateſt fear was that the temple would be defiled with the blood of the Jews, and the blame thereof attributed to them.

The impoſtor went to the Zelotes with a ſtory quite different from the purport of his commiſſion, telling them that the oath he had taken was in their favor, inſtead of the contrary: and he then addreſſed them in the following manner: "Great has been the hazard that I have encountered in conſulting "your welfare; by giving you information of the plots and contrivances of "Ananus and his party to your prejudice: but the preſent danger both of "you and myſelf is greater than any former, except it ſhould be diverted by "the interpoſition of Providence: for the people have been induced by Ana- "nus to ſend deputies to Veſpaſian, requeſting he will inſtantly come and "take poſſeſſion of the city; and he hath directed the people to purify them- "ſelves, that, under a pretence of religion, they may by ſome means get "into the town. I cannot conceive how, in their ſituation, they ſhould "long hold out againſt ſuch an amazing number of men: but Providence "hath ſo directed affairs, that I am deputed to make a propoſal of peace to "you. This, however, is no other than a contrivance of Ananus to amuſe "you, till you may be attacked by ſurprize when you imagine yourſelves in "the greateſt ſecurity. With regard to your preſent conduct, I cannot ſee "any choice that you have, but either to ſubmit yourſelves to the beſiegers, "or to call in the aid of foreigners to relieve you: for, if you ſhould be made "priſoners, however penitent you may appear, the very remembrance of what "is paſt will exclude you from all hope of mercy: beſides, criminals ſome- "times become worſe after ſeeming penitence; and the more ſecurely re-

" venge may be taken, the more it is thirſted after. I wiſh you to reflect on " what treatment you muſt expect from thoſe whoſe relations and friends " you have killed; and from an enraged populace, who reſent the abo- " liſhment of their laws and cuſtoms. There may poſſibly be a few indi- " viduals who may retain ſome ſenſe of humanity: but what weight can " theſe have in oppoſition to a licentious rabble?" The people were alarmed by this harangue, which anſwered the view of the ſpeaker. With regard to the foreign force he mentioned, he referred to the Idumæans; but he was afraid to ſay as much in direct language. When his ſpeech was ended he took ſome of the principal people aſide, to whom he mentioned the cruelty of Ananus, and inſinuated that he had particular enmity to their perſons.

CHAP. VI.

The Zelotes apply to the Idumæans for aid; and an army of near twenty thouſand men goes to their relief. The reaſoning and propoſals of Jeſus to the Idumæans. Simon, the ſon of Cathlas, addreſſes the high-prieſt. The ſiege determined on by the Idumæans.

THE two moſt capable men in the council of the Zelotes, and thoſe deemed beſt qualified for advice or execution, were Eleazar, the ſon of Simon, and Zachary, the ſon of Amphicalus, who were both of them of the line of the prieſthood. Now theſe men had no doubt that their own lives were particularly threatened, excluſive of the general menaces; and they credited the ſtory of John, that Ananus and his people had called in the aſſiſtance of the Romans. Thus ſituated, they knew not how to act; fearful leſt the people would wreak their vengeance on themſelves. With regard to foreign aid, they feared it could not be expected time enough to prevent the plot; thinking that the blow would be ſtruck before notice of their diſtreſs could be given to their allies. In the end, however, they determined to apply to the Idumæans, to whom they wrote to the following purport: " Un- " derſtanding that the people have been ſeduced by Ananus, who hath " formed a plan to betray Jeruſalem to the Romans, we have, in ſupport of " our common liberty, retreated to the temple, in which we are beſieged; " and, unleſs immediately relieved, likely to become priſoners to Ananus, " and our other enemies; and the city itſelf to fall into the hands of the " Romans."

The perſons who were commiſſioned to deliver this letter, had likewiſe verbal inſtructions to the principal people of the nation. Theſe ambaſſadors were both of the name of Ananias; men diſtinguiſhed by their reſolution, good addreſs, and being adepts in the arts of perſuaſion; but, above all, celebrated for their expeditious manner of tranſacting buſineſs. They did not entertain the leaſt doubt but that the Idumæans would be fond of affording their aſſiſtance; as they were a people devoted to changes and diſſentions, of a quarrelſome and brutal diſpoſition; and as readily diſpoſed to go to war as other perſons would to a feaſt. No time was now to be loſt, and the meſſengers exerted themſelves in the moſt effectual manner.

When

When they had delivered their diſpatches to the governors of Idumæa, their letters had been read, and their inſtructions made known, the people were tranſported almoſt out of their ſenſes through their zeal for war; inciting each other to take up arms; ſo that in a very ſhort ſpace of time near twenty thouſand men were raiſed for the relief of Jeruſalem, under the command of Phineas, the ſon of Cluſoth, Simon, the ſon of Cathlas, and John and James, the ſons of Soſas.

The high-prieſt Ananus, and his followers, were unacquainted with the above-mentioned meſſengers having been ſent by the Zelotes; but being ſoon informed of the Idumæan expedition, Ananus directed that the gates ſhould be made faſt, and the walls guarded: but no offenſive meaſures taken, till reaſon and argument had been exerted for adjuſting the diſpute: wherefore Jeſus, the prieſt in rank next to Ananus, aſcended a tower oppoſite the Idumæan army, and ſpoke in the following manner:

" It is matter of aſtoniſhment to me, that, beyond all the misfortunes that " have happened to this diſtinguiſhed city, fortune ſhould conſpire its de- " ſtruction through the moſt abandoned of people. It is amazing that you " ſhould combine with a band of miſcreants to ſeek our deſtruction; with " more zeal than would have become you even againſt barbarians, if Jeru- " ſalem itſelf had demanded your aſſiſtance. If your ſentiments coincide " with thoſe of your ſuperiors, it will occur to you that ſimilitude of man- " ners tends to conciliate affection: but this is not the caſe with you and " the people I ſpeak of. Reflect on their conduct, and you will find that an " ignominious death ought to be the reward of every man of them. With " regard to their rank, they are the meaneſt of the human race. Their be- " haviour is ſuch, that having diſſipated their own fortunes in luxury and " debauch, they proceeded to acts of violence and plunder; and then, creep- " ing into the city like thieves, they committed ſacrilege, and ſhed blood in " the temple: nay, devoid of all ſhame, their drunken exceſſes profaned the " altar; they polluted the Holy place in every poſſible manner, in conſum- " ing the ſpoils of thoſe they had murdered. Yet while things are in this " diſtracted ſituation, your army advances, equipped in as regular a man- " ner as if their aid againſt a foreign enemy had been demanded by the " whole body of the citizens. May I not then well ſay, that fortune is con- " ſpiring the deſtruction of this city, when I ſee the body of your nation in " league againſt your brethren? I am equally ſurprized at the ſuddenneſs of " your reſolution, as at the reſolution itſelf. You muſt have had great in- " ducement, to abandon your friends, in behalf of theſe outcaſts of ſociety. " But you have been told that we have called in the aſſiſtance of the Ro- " mans, in order to betray the city to them; and this ſerves you as a pre- " text for your aſſerting the liberties of Jeruſalem. Falſe and malicious as " the ſtory was, it was adapted to the intended end; for men who eſteem li- " berty ſo highly as you do, and would do ſo much to preſerve it, could ne- " ver have been prevailed on by our enemies to act as you have done, unleſs " they had enraged you againſt us, as the betrayers of thoſe privileges you " hold in ſuch high eſteem. It will be now worthy your attention to conſi- " der what kind of people they are that thus traduce us, and form your opi-

" nion

" nion on the whole matter, not from idle ſurmiſes, but from the force of
" truth and reaſon."

" Is it reaſonable to ſuppoſe that we ſhould now own the Romans for our
" maſters, after having ſo long diſputed our liberties with them? How hap-
" pened it that we firſt receded from them; or did not return to their ſub-
" jection before the total deſtruction of our lands, cities, and villages? If we
" were diſpoſed to a treaty, this is an improper time for it, as our enemies
" are too proud to liſten to us, owing to their late conqueſt of Galilee. Be-
" ſides, it would be a degree of infamy worſe even than death itſelf, for us
" humbly to ſue for peace, as ſoon as they ſhould make their appearance
" before our walls. I confeſs that I am diſpoſed for peace rather than war:
" but, on the contrary, when a war is commenced, and appears inevitable,
" I prefer a death of glory to a life of ſlavery."

" I would aſk what you think of our ſending to the Romans? Have the
" ring-leaders privately deputed particular perſons of their own families or
" friends on this buſineſs? Or do you think it was the general act of the
" people? If a commiſſion of this kind was granted, why are the commiſ-
" ſioners names a ſecret? Can any letters be produced, or have any meſſen-
" gers been ſeen, reſpecting this buſineſs? How happens it, that of the
" thouſands daily converſed with in this city, no man has heard of it? And
" again, as this ſecret has been ſo faithfully kept, how comes it to paſs that
" it is known only to a few perſons locked up in the temple, and unable to
" go without its walls? I own it is extraordinary that this treaſonable pro-
" ceeding ſhould be unknown till thoſe who reported it were in fear that
" their own crimes ſhould be puniſhed. It could not have been an act of the
" people, unleſs a general aſſembly had paſſed the vote, and nothing could
" have kept this a ſecret ſo long. Wherefore ſhould a deputation be ſent, if
" every thing was previouſly reſolved on? If it had, as I before ſaid, our
" enemies ſhould have mentioned the commiſſioners: but the whole of the
" ſtory is a mere artifice, to ſave themſelves. If our city muſt at length fall
" by treachery, it will probably be by that of thoſe of our accuſers, who
" ſeek to complete the meaſure of their iniquities, by adding treaſon to mur-
" der, ſacrilege, and all other crimes."

" Now, ſince you are arrived, and in arms, you cannot act a wiſer part
" than to aſſiſt us in the relief of the city, by the extirpation of theſe mon-
" ſters of tyranny, who have trampled on our laws, produced tumults and
" violence, chained and impriſoned our governors like common ſlaves, and
" doomed them to death without offending; without any pretence of their
" committing a crime; and without admitting any argument in their favour.
" Of all this you may be witneſſes, if you will enter the city as friends, and
" believe the evidences of your ſenſes. You may behold houſes ſtripped,
" and the citizens lamenting their murdered friends and relations: you will
" hear univerſal cries and lamentations, and find that every one ſhares the
" general diſtreſs."

" Our oppreſſors, having firſt committed robberies and outrages in the
" country-towns and villages, brought home the devaſtation to the parent-

" city, the pride of our nation: and hence their violences have entered even " the temple, which is become the ſeat of war. From this holy place they " make ſallies, and thither they return. There alſo they keep guard, and " depoſit their military ſtores. Thus it is that theſe abandoned miſcreants " (unhappily of our own race too) diſhonour, inſult, and profane the habita- " tion of the moſt high God, which is held in veneration throughout the " world, except among our own people. Theſe are ſtill fond of civil con- " tentions; and are never more happy than when they are promoting diſ- " ſentions between cities and nations; and forcing all things into confuſion. " Now the moſt rational, decent, and upright part you can take, would be, " (as I before hinted) to proceed, in conjunction with us, to extirpate theſe " incendiaries from our nation, and to avenge yourſelves of them for the in- " ſult they have offered you, by inviting you to aſſiſt them; whereas they " ought to have dreaded, from your ſenſe of juſtice, that vengeance due to " their inimical proceedings. If you think it would appear more decent and " reſpectful to pay ſome attention to their requeſt, I wiſh you to enter the " city in the character of friends, depoſit your arms at the gates, appear to " take a neutral part, hear the caſe without prejudice, and judge of its me- " rits. However, for people guilty of ſo many crimes; aggravated by the " murder of ſo many perſons of rank, without even the form of trial; it will " be an indulgent condeſcenſion on your part to liſten to their defence; and " they ought to acknowledge the obligation they have to your kindneſs. But " if you decline either to join with us in a juſt cauſe, or to execute the of- " fice of judges between us, I beſeech you to withdraw yourſelves, and nei- " ther take part with the traitors againſt your principal city, nor inſult ho- " neſt men in the hour of their affliction. If you are not by this time per- " fectly convinced of our innocence regarding any ſecret correſpondence " with the Romans, I adviſe you to ſend out ſpies to watch all our avenues; " and if you find but a ſingle perſon thus engaged, ſpare neither him nor his " employers. In the mean time no danger can ariſe; for as you are ſitua- " ted, no enemy can interpoſe to hurt you. If what I have ſaid makes a " proper impreſſion, I ſhall be happy: if otherwiſe, we ſhall expect you to " lay down your arms before we open the gates of the city."

Their excluſion from the town ſo enraged the Idumæans, that they paid but little attention to what was ſaid by Jeſus; and with regard to laying down their arms, the leaders of the army would not entertain a thought of it, as it would ſo much have the appearance of being conquered. Hereupon a kind of tumult enſued among the people at large, which was appeaſed by one of the officers, named Simon, the ſon of Chalcas, who immediately took his ſtation on an eminence, within the hearing of the high-prieſt, whom he addreſſed to the following effect:

" It is no matter of ſurprize to me to learn that thoſe who have defended " the liberties of their country ſhould be thus confined within the temple, " when the perſons who beſiege thoſe patriots have likewiſe not only ſhut up " the city, which ought to be open to the people at large, but have ſhewn " a diſpoſition to hail the Romans in a triumphant manner. You ſeem to " think that we ſhall be ſatisfied with ſpeeches from your towers, adviſing

" us

" us to lay down our arms, which we have aſſumed in ſupport of the com-
" mon liberty; and not truſt our beſt friends with the protection of the city.
" Inſtead of being admitted to defend the capital, we are amuſed with pro-
" poſals of deciding the controverted queſtion; and while you are accuſing
" others with deſtroying their fellow-citizens, contrary to every rule of right
" and equity, you heſitate not to pronounce judgment on the whole nation,
" and to keep your brethren by force out of a city, which, from ſentiments
" of piety and devotion, gives admittance to all the reſt of mankind. Is this
" your mode of acknowledging obligations? Will you ſay that we have
" taken part with your enemies, or joined in an expedition againſt you,
" when we have haſtened to your aſſiſtance? In the ſame degree are thoſe
" within the temple your enemies; nor have you more to alledge againſt
" them than againſt us. Thoſe who would ſupport the commonwealth are
" at this moment priſoners within the temple; and yet you would affect to
" amuſe us by a pretence that it is to avoid their tyranny that you exclude
" all other perſons from your city; whereas, in fact, you exerciſe the very
" tyranny of which you complain. Now no man in poſſeſſion of his ſenſes
" can permit ſo groſs an impoſition to paſs. Nor is barely denying us en-
" try into your city all our complaint; ſince by this excluſion we are pre-
" vented from the exerciſe of our religious rites. Thoſe beſieged within the
" temple have equal cauſe of complaint, as they ſuffer for puniſhing traitors,
" whom, for the credit of your aſſociation, you dignify with the titles of
" men of rank and honor. In fact, their whole crime was that they did not
" attack you firſt, and thus root out the conſpiracy. But as they have been
" too merciful, it will become us to act with more vigour, for the protec-
" tion of the houſe of God, and in ſupport of the rites of our country both
" within and without the city, and in deſpite of all oppoſition. Wherefore
" we have reſolved to carry on the ſiege, either till you are relieved by the
" Romans, or return to your duty from a conviction of the evil tendency
" of your proceedings."

CHAP. VII.

The Idumæans take up their ſtation under the walls of the city. A moſt violent tempeſt. The Idumæans defend themſelves againſt the ſtorm by their bucklers. Various conjectures on the prodigies. The Zelotes take council how to preſerve their friends. The city entered in the night by the Idumæans, who join the Zelotes. An inhuman maſſacre enſues. Ananus and Jeſus murdered.

THE repeated ſhouts and acclamations of the multitude now evidenced their joy at what had been ſaid. On the contrary, Jeſus retired in a moſt melancholy diſpoſition, not only on account of the obſtinacy of the Idumæans, but in conſideration that the citizens were now engaged in a double war. The Idumæans themſelves were not much more at eaſe, partly from their anger at being repulſed in this manner, and partly becauſe the ſtrength of the Zelotes bore no compariſon to the idea they had formed of

it; so that they almost repented their engaging in so difficult an enterprize. But all their scruples were overcome by their disdaining to return as they came, without making a single effort: wherefore they came to a hasty resolution of encamping under the walls of the city, and remaining in their present situation.

On the succeeding night there happened such a shocking tempest of thunder, lightning, wind and rain, and such a dreadful earthquake, that every one was astonished, and dreaded the issue of these portentous prodigies. The Idumæans were equally apprehensive with the inhabitants, that the vengeance of Heaven was awake to punish a war so pernicious to the parent-city. In the mean time Ananus and his associates took it for granted that it was a declaration of Heaven in their favour, and that a victory would ensue, even without a battle. But the issue proved that their conjectures were ill-founded; for what they had foreboded of their enemies fell to their own lot.

In the interim the storm continued to such a degree, that the Idumæans were compelled to press as close as possible to each other, and cover themselves with their bucklers; by which they experienced a temporary relief from its fury. The Zelotes, who were under more concern for the Idumæans than themselves, took council together how they might preserve their friends. Those who were instigated by the violence of their passions, recommended the seizing of the city guards; and when they should have succeeded in this business, to force the gates for the entrance of the Idumæans; representing that ill-armed and inexperienced soldiers would be so alarmed by such a surprize, that they would not find it an easy matter to re-assemble; besides, that most of the troops had, at that juncture, taken shelter from the storm. However, they urged, that though the danger might be ever so great, it would not become them to desert their allies, who had so readily granted their assistance.

Those of moderate sentiments opposed this measure; urging that there could be no doubt but that at so dangerous a period, the place was doubly guarded, and the Idumæans more strictly watched from the walls than heretofore: besides, it was known that Ananus kept the soldiers strictly to their duty, by constantly walking his rounds. Indeed this had been the regular practice of Ananus, except on this particular night, when he retired to refresh himself; and this not through negligence; but it appeared as if an over-ruling Providence had directed the destruction of himself and people; for the tempest now encreased, the night was far spent, and the guards were asleep in the gates of the temple.

At this period the Zelotes thought that their business would be accomplished, if they could destroy the bolts and bars of the gates: on which they furnished themselves with saws and other instruments appropriated to the use of the temple, and totally unfastened them: the thunder roaring, and the wind blowing at this time, so that the noise could not be heard by the besiegers. This done, they proceeded privately to those gates of the city nearest the Idumæans, and opened them as they had done the other. At first the Idumæans betook themselves to their arms, thinking Ananus meant to sally out

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on them: but finding their error, they made an immediate ingreſs into the city, filled with ſuch wrathful ideas, that if they had immediately put their reſolutions in force, every one of the citizens might probably have been ſacrificed to their rage: but the Zelotes entreated them to conſider the ſituation of their friends in the temple, and not expoſe to danger thoſe on whoſe account they had engaged in the enterprize: repreſenting, likewiſe, that it would be better to begin with the guards than the inhabitants; for if the latter were alarmed, they would riſe in immenſe multitudes, and conteſt the point ſo that the propoſed end might not be anſwered. This reaſoning had its force with the Idumæans, who immediately went through the city, to the relief of their impriſoned friends in the temple, who waited their arrival with great anxiety. As ſoon as the Idumæans entered, the Zelotes quitted the interior temple, and united with them in an attack on the guards, numbers of whom were killed while ſleeping; but others were alarmed by their exclamations, and the people at large, though in great confuſion, had recourſe to their arms. At firſt they imagined it was only a party of the Zelotes, and were animated with the thought of ſuppreſſing them by their ſuperior numbers: but when they found that multitudes of ſtrangers had poured in upon them, and that the Idumæans had joined the Zelotes, numbers were ſo diſcouraged as to quit their arms, and lament their unfortunate ſituation. However, there were a few gallant youths who had courage to attack the Idumæans, and ſhield thoſe who were more fearful; while the majority ran from place to place, in all the extravagance of grief, lamenting the ſuppoſed deſtruction of the city. But when it was known that the Idumæans were in poſſeſſion of the place, not a ſingle man would make another effort. Fruitleſs exclamations, and piteous wailings prevailed in every ſtreet; while the women ſhrieked aloud for the loſs of their protectors: and the violence of the thunder and winds, and the ſhouts of the Zelotes and Idumæans, rendered theſe clamorous complainings ſtill more horrible. In the mean time the natural rage and ferocity of the Idumæans were encreaſed to ſuch a degree, by the idea of their being excluded from the city in ſuch extremity of weather, that they ſpared no one, whether armed, or kneeling to beg their lives. The pleas of conſanguinity and religion were equally made in vain; a ſpeedy death enſued; and ſuch was their ſituation, that they could neither fight nor fly. Even the fear of death combined with the rage of the enemy to accelerate their fate: for they preſſed on each other with ſuch vehemence that it was impoſſible for any of them to retire; ſo that their very ſituation was ſuch that their enemies dealt death among them at every blow. Diſtracted by their unfortunate poſition, ſome of them ſought one death to avoid another, and in their deſpair, threw themſelves from a precipice. In a word, the whole temple was ſurrounded with ſtreams of blood: and when day-light came it was judged that eight thouſand five hundred perſons lay dead on the ſpot.

However, the inſatiate appetite of the Idumæans for blood was by no means appeaſed; for turning their rage againſt the city, they plundered all the houſes, and ſacrificed moſt of the inhabitants they met with: but they were not ſo intent on the deſtruction of the common people, as on wreaking their

vengeance on the high-prieſts, whom they no ſooner found than they beheaded them, and trampled on their bodies; inſulting that of Jeſus, on account of the ſpeech he had made from the walls, and that of Ananus, on account of his influence with the people. Nay, to ſuch a height had their impiety ariſen, that they denied them the common rites of ſepulture. Though the laws of the Jews, from reverence for the deceaſed, have provided that even crucified criminals ſhould be taken down, and interred before the ſetting of the ſun.

If I were to place the deſtruction of Jeruſalem and the death of Ananus on the ſame day, I ſhould not be much miſtaken in my chronology; ſince, by the untimely fate of this man, the government loſt its beſt ſupport and hope of ſecurity: and the death of the city may be ranked with that of Ananus. Excluſive of his birth, and the dignity of his character, he was held in the higheſt eſtimation for his regard to juſtice, and his perſonal virtues, among which his humility was remarkably conſpicuous. He was diſtinguiſhed as an aſſertor of liberty, and a friend of the common-wealth. He conſulted not his own intereſt, but the ſervice of the public; and was, on all proper occaſions, a promoter of peace: for he was certain that the Romans were not to be triſled with, and that the ſafety of the Jews conſiſted in an amicable agreement with them. In a word, if Ananus had lived, the Romans and Jews would have been friends. He was ſuch a perfect orator as to make the utmoſt impreſſion on all his auditors. The Zelotes had been already reduced to a ſtate of humiliation by his proweſs; and the Jews, under the command of ſo able a leader, might have been a match for the Romans. He was fortunate in having ſuch a man as Jeſus for his aſſociate, who exceeded the merit of other men as much as he fell ſhort of that of Ananus. But it was the will of Heaven that the ſacred city ſhould be purged as by fire from its pollutions and abominations: and the deſtruction of theſe two diſtinguiſhed perſonages was deemed neceſſary to its preſervation. Theſe illuſtrious men, immediately before their ſhocking fate, were diſtinguiſhed by their office of prieſthood; were conſidered as the protectors of the moſt pure religion in the univerſe; the favourites of their own people, and of all ſtrangers acquainted with their merit: yet, in a moment, on a reverſe of fortune, they were expoſed a prey to dogs, or wild beaſts; to the grief and aſtoniſhment of all good men, who lamented that vice ſhould thus triumph in the depreſſion of virtue.

END of the FOURTH BOOK.

THE

THE

WARS

OF THE

JEWS.

BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

The barbarity of the Idumæans and Zelotes. The deſtruction of twelve thouſand perſons. Zachariah charged with treaſon, acquitted by the court, but afterwards murdered in the temple. Hiſtory of the occaſion of inviting the Idumæans, who diſmiſs their priſoners, and abandon the city. The murder of Gorion, and Niger of Peræa. The vengeance of Heaven imprecated on the tyrants.

THE cruel murder of Ananus and Jeſus was no ſooner effected than the Zelotes and the Idumæans began to exerciſe the moſt horrid barbarities on the common people, whom they deſtroyed without mercy, as faſt as they could ſeize them: but perſons of diſtinction, and particularly thoſe in full health and vigour, they kept in priſon, in the hope that they would purchaſe their lives, by coming over to their party: but

this they refuſed to do, and every man of them died, rather than combine with the traitors. Their death, however, was made additionally dreadful by aggravated torments. When they had been whipped till their bodies were ulcerated, the period of their exiſtence was finiſhed by the ſword. Thoſe who were apprehended during the day-time, were crowded into priſons at night; as faſt as they died their bodies were thrown out, to make room for other wretched tenants, who were treated with ſimilar barbarity. The people were ſo terrified by theſe horrid proceedings, that they did not even dare to ſhed a tear, or heave a ſigh, for the loſs of their friends, nor even to bury their neareſt relations. Nay they were afraid even to weep or complain in their own houſes or chambers, without firſt making a diligent ſearch, leſt there ſhould be any liſtners: ſince any mark of compaſſion for the deceaſed would have been puniſhed with death, ſo criminal was it deemed to poſſeſs the feelings of humanity. Sometimes, indeed, they would throw a handful of earth on a dead body during the night: and a few perſons were bold enough to do this during the day-time. No leſs than twelve thouſand perſons, of ſome rank, fell a ſacrifice to this rage for perſecution.

At length the murderers themſelves began to bluſh at the abandoned manner in which their crimes had been perpetrated: wherefore they erected a kind of mock court of juſtice, to give their murders the apparent ſanction of law. Zachariah, the ſon of Baruch, was at this time diſtinguiſhed for his wealth, rank, authority and virtue; for his ſteady ſupport of, and friendſhip to, all good men, and his determined enmity to the wicked. Now the Zelotes conſidered the popularity of this man as a circumſtance of ſo dangerous a kind, that their own ſafety would depend on his deſtruction: wherefore they came to a reſolution to deprive him of life, or, in other words, to bring him to a trial on a capital charge. Hereupon they cauſed ſeventy perſons of ſome diſtinction to be aſſembled together, under the denomination of judges, though they had no authority to erect ſuch a tribunal. On the meeting of this pretended court, a formal complaint was made againſt Zachariah by the Zelotes, who urged that he had been engaged in a treaty with Veſpaſian, to betray Jeruſalem to the Romans. Though there was not even the ſhadow of a proof to confirm this inſinuation, yet the Zelotes inſiſted that it was founded in fact, and that was ſufficient.

Though Zachariah knew himſelf perfectly innocent of the whole charge, and was ſo well apprized of the contrivance as to conſider his life as already ſacrificed; yet, notwithſtanding his deplorable ſituation, he conducted himſelf with a freedom of ſpirit, and a compoſed ſerenity of mind, perfectly conſiſtent with his character. In the firſt place he ſeverely reflected on the ſhameleſs conduct of his accuſers; mentioned the inconſiſtencies of their calumnious ſuggeſtions; briefly expoſed the futility of all their objections to his behaviour, and turned their arguments againſt themſelves; expoſing, in a regular manner, the progreſs of their iniquitous proceedings, and occaſionally hinting at the unſettled ſtate of public affairs. The Zelotes were ſo enraged by this magnanimous and intrepid behaviour of Zachariah, that they would undoubtedly have murdered him on the ſpot, if they had not been reſtrained by the idea of keeping up the dignity of their court, and their wiſh

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to ſee if the new judges would hazard their own perſonal ſafety by a favourable determination on ſuch a point. At length the whole court gave judgment that the priſoner was wholly innocent; every man of the ſeventy chuſing rather to riſk his own deſtruction, than to vote the death of ſuch a perſon, againſt every principle of juſtice. The Zelotes were inflamed to the higheſt degree of rage by this determination, wondering that the judges ſhould not better underſtand for what purpoſe they were aſſembled. Soon after the verdict of acquittal was paſſed, two of the moſt abandoned of the Zelotes attacked Zachariah, and murdered him in the middle of the temple; one of them at the ſame time exclaiming, "We have now given you a full acquittal, of which you are more certain than you were of the other:" and at the ſame time they threw the body into the precipice under the temple. On this occaſion the lives of the judges were ſpared; and their puniſhment conſiſted in being driven out of the temple, and beaten with the flats of the ſwords that were otherwiſe to have deſtroyed them. Thus they diſperſed, to be witneſſes of the ſlavery of the capital city.

The above-mentioned proceedings ſo diſguſted the Idumæans that they execrated the moment they came on the expedition; and conferring together on this buſineſs, one of the Zelotes gave them private information of the hiſtory of the people by whom they were invited. His account of the affair was as follows: "It is true that arms were taken up, on the circulation of "a report that the high-prieſts were in treaty with the Romans, to betray "the city: but, on enquiry, this was found to be falſe; on the contrary, "that thoſe who pretended to aſſert our liberties had ſubverted them, and "ought themſelves to have been ſuppreſſed. However, though you have, "unhappily, thus far engaged with them in their criminal tranſactions, it "will be now your duty to detach yourſelves from ſo improper a connection "with the determined enemies of our country and its laws. Your being kept "out of the city gave you pain: but do you not think that the death of Ana"nus, and ſo many thouſand citizens in one night, affords you all the ſa"tisfaction of revenge on thoſe who excluded you? Depend on it, many of "your people will live to repent of this tranſaction. I mention theſe circum"ſtances only to prove how barbarouſly your adherents have acted, who "could thus behave ſo inhumanly cruel, even in the preſence of their pre"ſervers, and commit deeds ſo baſe as were never before heard of, in the "ſight of their allies; by which the ignominy was transferred from the Ze"lotes to the Idumæans; though, in fact, the latter ſhould have either "abandoned them, or prevented the tranſaction. At preſent, it is indiſpu"tably evident that the ſtory of the conſpiracy is merely a calumnious re"port; and that the advance of the Roman army is founded entirely in "imagination: beſides the ſtrength of the city would be a bar, if the cir"cumſtance were true. As matters are thus ſituated, your beſt plan will be "to return to the place from which you came, and atone, as far as poſſible, "for the evil things you have done in company of theſe wicked men, by "immediately abandoning them. In the part you have taken, you are thus "far to be excuſed:—that you have not acted ſo much from your own free

" choice, as from an error into which you have been involuntarily drawn." The Idumæans were ſo affected by this addreſs, that they immediately gave liberty to near two thouſand perſons, whom they had put in priſon; then quitted the city, and repaired to Simon, of whom we ſhall ſpeak more hereafter; and from him to their own place of reſidence.

The inhabitants of the city, and the Zelotes, appeared to be equally ſurprized by the ſudden departure of the Idumæans: but the motives of their ſurprize were different. The populace, who were unacquainted with the change of ſentiments in the Idumæans, aſſumed freſh courage, in the idea of ſo happy a deliverance; while the Zelotes prided themſelves in the aſſurance of their ſuperior ſtrength; and reflecting that the awe in which they had been kept by the Idumæans was now no more, thought they might proceed without ſcruple or reſtraint: on which they executed all their meaſures in the moſt haſty manner. They did not heſitate at any proceeding, however wicked, and completed their projects almoſt in the moment they conceived them.

The principal part of their rage was directed againſt men of honor and courage, whom they perſecuted with unexampled rigour. The nobles ſuffered through their envy, and men of a virtuous character through their fear; for while any man of diſtinguiſhed merit was living, they did not think their own perſons in ſafety. From theſe puſillanimous motives they deſtroyed ſeveral eminent perſons, and among them Gorion, who was a man of birth and character, remarkable for his courage, a protector of the people, and an aſſertor of liberty, and in fact, this ſacred attachment to liberty combined with his other virtues to haſten his deſtruction. The ſame unhappy fate likewiſe attended Niger of Peræa, a man diſtinguiſhed by his bravery and good conduct againſt the Romans: and when he was dragged along the ſtreets, he exhibited the marks of the wounds he had received in the defence of his country, and triumphed in the ſenſe of his honor. When he was conveyed without the gates, and found his life expiring, he begged, as the laſt favour, that he might be interred: but even this was refuſed him; and he was put to death while imprecating the vengeance of Heaven on the tyrants. He wiſhed that the Romans might arrive and avenge his murder; that peſtilence, famine and ſword, might be the portion of his enemies; and that their enormous crimes might be puniſhed by inteſtine diviſions.

And in a ſhort time after this, the righteous decrees of Providence inflicted all the above-mentioned puniſhments, of which their inteſtine broils were but the prelude. They began to be at eaſe with regard to people of rank, on the death of Niger: but yet there was not a ſingle man of common credit with whom they did not ſeek an occaſion of diſpute. They put ſome of them to death on charges of long ſtanding, and which had been almoſt forgotten. In other inſtances, where there was no kind of proof againſt a man, they put him to death from circumſtances of mere ſuſpicion. If the accuſed parties made application to the faction, they were cenſured as ſpies: if they did not, their conduct was interpreted into contempt: but whatever the crime, the puniſhment was the ſame; and thoſe poſſeſſed of either honor or riches were certain not to eſcape.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Distractions prevailing among the Jews, the Roman officers urge Vespasian to act with rigour; but he advises more temperate measures. Daily desertion of the Zelotes to the Romans. Dreadful persecution and oppression. An ancient prophecy respecting the destruction of Jerusalem.

THE conquest of Jerusalem being an object which the Roman officers considered as of the utmost importance, they thought that a better opportunity of carrying it into execution would never happen than during the present distracted situation of public affairs; wherefore they made application to Vespasian, their general, requesting that they might improve the present occasion, before the Jews should have time to recollect themselves; representing that they would be weary of the present contest, repent of it, or agree among themselves; in either of which cases they should have to renew all their former operations. They farther added that these very factions appeared evidently a singular Providence in behalf of the Romans. To this Vespasian replied as follows: "You seem to possess less of true policy than "of bravery; and do not attend so much to the rules of prudence, and the "advantage that may be made of the present state of things, as to the idea "of making a display of your own courage. For if we were to make a precipitate attack on the city, this circumstance, in all probability, would "reconcile the contending friends, and induce them to unite their force, "and act against us as a common enemy; whereas they will spend their "strength, and waste their numbers, and thus accomplish our business for "us, if we have but patience to wait the event. Providence is now acting "more effectually for us than we could do for ourselves, by granting us "victory without battle, and yielding the Jews a prey to the Romans without trouble or hazard. At this moment the most dreadful of all calamities attends them: they are engaged in a civil war, and cutting each "others throats like madmen; and who that is in his senses would interpose "with them, and hazard the bearing a part in so bloody a tragedy, when "his end may so much more effectually be answered by his remaining a spectator of the scene? The passions of these people are uncommonly violent, and they will destroy each other, rather than remain in security. "With regard to those who think it inglorious to obtain a victory so cheaply, it will become them to consider that the chance of war is uncertain, "and that the advantages are evidently on the side of moderate measures. "Such proceedings are no derogation from the credit of the military character; for if the end be accomplished by council, or by arms, it is "equally honourable; yet that mode of conduct is certainly to be preferred, "which keeps our men in health and spirits by exercise, and at the same "time tends to destroy the enemy. Nor is this a proper time for us to "think of acquiring fame by our military exploits, when the Jews, by their "indifference in making friends, or promoting their interest; by the neglect of their arms, their walls and fortifications, are exerting themselves

" on our behalf; and this so effectually, that they are reduced to a situation " fit only to become our slaves. If they are disposed to oppress each other, " it would ill become us to retard them in their progress. Nor can I see " that any credit will be obtained by a victory which, rather than gained by " our valour, would be the consequence of the factions of our enemies: and " these are my plain sentiments on this subject."

Vespasian having thus delivered his opinion, the officers perfectly coincided with him; and the sequel will make it evident that they were right in so doing: for soon afterwards great numbers of the Zelotes deserted to him, not a day passing but some made their escape, though by what means seemed incredible; for the passes were all guarded, and those that were taken were put to the sword; unless, indeed, they had money to purchase their liberty; and this never failed of effecting it: so that the poor were sufferers, while the rich compounded for their freedom. However, this massacre was so prodigious, that the dead bodies were piled on each other in the roads; while many within the city, who were disposed to abscond, chose to remain and perish there, in the hope that they should at least be covered by their parent earth. At length the barbarity of these monsters was carried to such a height, that they denied the rites of sepulture equally to those within and without the city; and, as if professed enemies to every sentiment of humanity and devotion, they permitted the bodies to lie rotting above ground, thereby offending the Creator, as well as his creatures. The crime of deserting to the enemy was not deemed greater than that of attempting to bury a friend: and he who had recently interred another, became, almost immediately, in want of some confiderate person, to execute the same kind office for himself. Compassion, the most amiable of all our affections, appeared to be totally extinguished from the hearts of these abandoned people; and instead of commiserating those who were sunk in distress, that distress served only as a fresh incitement to their rage.

In fact, the appearance of things was so gloomy, that the living seemed only to envy the dead; and the repose of the grave was deemed preferable to the horrors of a prison. The tyrants not only despised all that was held sacred among men, but even derided the Almighty himself, by accounting the oracles of his prophets no other than as a collection of fables or dreams. Yet notwithstanding this contempt of the laws and precepts of their progenitors, they found, in the end, the predictions that had been denounced against themselves and their country were accomplished: for a prophetical tradition had been transmitted to them from remote antiquity, predicting that, in future time, a seditious tumult would arise in Jerusalem, during which the holy temple would be profaned by the hands of the Jews: that the city would afterwards be taken, and its most sacred possessions destroyed by fire. The Zelotes did not dispute the authority of this prediction, and by their own officious zeal seemed to contribute to its execution.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

John of Giſchala pretends to aſſume the ſovereign power. A definition of part of his character. The faction divided into Zelotes and Anti-Zelotes; and John puts himſelf at the head of the latter. The Jews are viſited by various deplorable judgments. Engaddi ſurprized, and taken by ſtorm. Judæa becomes the ſcene of war. The Jews hold a ſecret correſpondence with Veſpaſian, to whom they apply for relief. Veſpaſian invited, and received into Gadara. The factious multitude fly. Placidus is diſpatched after them. The fugitives are purſued by the Romans to Bethennabris. The place rifled by Placidus, who lays it in aſhes. The Jews, being compelled to a battle, are defeated with the loſs of fifteen thouſand men.

BY this time John of Giſchala had ſwelled his ambitious views to ſuch a degree, that he even aſpired to the ſovereign power; though, in fact, he had, for a long time, entertained an idea of this kind: wherefore, inſenſibly withdrawing himſelf from the company of his old aſſociates, he gradually engaged in his intereſt a number of abandoned miſcreants, and formed a reſolution of embarking on his own foundation. It was a diſtinguiſhing part of the character of this man to impoſe his orders in an authoritative manner on others, and to treat their opinions with the moſt ſovereign degree of contempt: and this he practiſed as the probable means of attaining the ſupreme authority. Some of his new adherents joined him through a principle of fear; and others from the motives of eſteem and regard: for he had the art of moving the affections, and was fluent in words to a very eminent degree. Some of his followers conſulted their own ſecurity in their adherence to him, imagining, or hoping at leaſt, that whenever a ſcrutiny ſhould be made into their former evil proceedings, they would, in the groſs, be attributed to him, as the firſt inciter of the irregularities. Many of the martial part of his followers adhered to him on account of his abilities and manly reſolution; while numbers of others receded from him, through conſideration of his pride, and diſdained to ſubmit to the authority of him who had lately been their profeſſed enemy. But the circumſtance that had more influence on them than any other, was the averſion they had to be governed by any ſingle perſon; and the idea that if he once became poſſeſſed of unlimited power, it would not be an eaſy matter to deprive him of it: and they farther thought that thoſe who ſhould oppoſe his firſt pretentions, could have no reaſon to hope for his future favour. Having deliberated on theſe matters, the people came to a reſolution rather to abide all the perilous events of war, than to ſubmit to what they thought would be conſtrued into a voluntary ſlavery. After this determination the faction divided themſelves into Zelotes and Anti-Zelotes; John putting himſelf at the head of the latter. Theſe parties now oppoſed each other, and ſome trifling ſkirmiſhes enſued; but theſe ſkirmiſhes were directed rather againſt the people than againſt each other: for the view of each party was to obtain the principal ſhare of the booty by the excluſion of the other.

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At this period the city of Jeruſalem was oppreſſed by the aggravated misfortunes of war, tyranny, and ſedition. The populace, imagining that war was the moſt inſupportable of all calamities, fled from their habitations to ſeek for protection among ſtrangers; and afterwards found that the protection, which they could not obtain from each other, was to be met with among the Romans.

A fourth misfortune, not leſs deſtructive to the Jews than any of the former, immediately ſucceeded them. Within a ſmall diſtance from Jeruſalem was ſituated the caſtle of Maſſada; which was equally celebrated for its antiquity, ſtrength and magnificence. It had been erected by our ancient kings, who conſidered it as a royal treaſury, a magazine for all the implements and neceſſaries of war, and a retreat which might be ſafely uſed in caſes of imminent danger. At this time it was in poſſeſſion of a ſet of abandoned miſcreants called the Sicarii, whoſe numbers were ſufficient to have totally deſtroyed and ravaged the country: though the acts they had hitherto done were the effects of ſurprize and treachery. At this period it happened that the Roman army was lying in abſolute inaction, while the Jews, divided among themſelves, were diſtreſſing each other by every poſſible means: and, on this occaſion, the aſſaſſins made a more vigorous attempt than ever they had before done. The feaſt of unleavened bread now came on; a feſtival that is celebrated by the Jews in the moſt ſolemn manner, in commemoration of their deliverance from the ſlavery they had undergone in Ægypt, and their being conducted ſafely to the land of promiſe. On the night of this feſtival the inſurgents ſurprized the town of Engaddi, into which they entered, and conquered the people before they had even time to have recourſe to their arms. They drove them furiouſly out of the town, and, in the purſuit, killed above ſeven hundred of them, the majority of whom were women and children: they then ſtripped their houſes, and made plunder of all the ripe and ſeaſonable fruits they could find; which they carried to Maſſada, in their way to which place, they, in like manner, depopulated the towns, villages and caſtles, and laid waſte the country. A multitude of abandoned people conſtantly coming in to join theſe depredators, their numbers were daily encreaſed. Till this period Judæa had remained in eaſe and quiet; but on this irruption the whole country became the ſcene of every kind of violence and every ſpecies of irregularity. As it is in the natural body, ſo it is when ſeditions prevail in a city; when the more noble parts are affected, the calamity has an influence on all the reſt. In the capital, when a part is diſordered, the adjacencies conſent to the contamination, and ſuffer through the force of example. When the parties above-mentioned had acquired all the plunder they could, they retired therewith into deſart places, where they aſſociated together, ſuch numbers of the depredators joining their forces, that they had the appearance of conſiderable armies, ſufficient to deſtroy cities, and lay temples waſte. It is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the injured parties took every poſſible opportunity of revenge, when they could meet with thoſe who had inſulted them: but this happened but very ſeldom; for the robbers were generally ſo diligent as to eſcape with their booty before their purſuers could come up with them. On the whole, ſo calamitous was

the ſituation of affairs, that every part of Judæa felt a ſhare of the diſtreſs with which the principal city was affected.

All the avenues were guarded with ſo much ſtrictneſs and precaution by the factious party, that not a ſingle perſon could ſtir without imminent danger of his life: yet, notwithſtanding this vigilant and rigorous precaution, many perſons found means to deſert daily, who gave Veſpaſian an account of the ſituation of the place, and entreated his aſſiſtance to relieve ſuch as yet remained in the city: repreſenting that their attachment to the Romans had already coſt many of the citizens their lives, and that many more were in danger of ſharing a like fate from ſimilar motives. Veſpaſian, concerned for the unhappy ſituation of the inhabitants, ordered his army to advance nearer to the city; not with a view, as was imagined, to attack it by a regular ſiege, but with a reſolution to prevent any ſiege at all, by reducing all the fortreſſes in its neighbourhood, and thereby obviating any obſtruction to his future views.

Veſpaſian having arrived at Gadara, the moſt affluent and beſt-protected town beyond the river Jordan, and the principal place in the province, the moſt eminent of the inhabitants ſent commiſſioners to invite him into the place, and take it under his protection, which he did on the fourth of the month Dyſtrus. This the inhabitants, who were a wealthy people, did with a view to the preſervation of their own lives and fortunes. The factious multitude were unacquainted with the meaning of this proceeding, farther than by Veſpaſian approaching the walls. The inſurgents were now totally at a loſs how to act. They found it impracticable for the town to ſuſtain itſelf againſt ſo many internal, and external enemies: for the Roman army was at hand, and the majority of the citizens were their determined enemies. Now, therefore, they thought to truſt in flight for their ſafety: but they conceived that they could not honourably adopt this plan till they had firſt revenged themſelves on the authors of their deſtruction. Having deliberated on this matter, they apprehended Doleſus, a perſon equally diſtinguiſhed by his merit, and his extraction, and an object of envy for having adviſed the embaſſy above-mentioned. Having taken him into cuſtody, they gave orders that he ſhould be put to death, and then that his dead body ſhould be whipped: and they privately left the town as ſoon as theſe orders were carried into execution.

No ſooner had the Romans approached nearer towards the city than the inhabitants went out to meet Veſpaſian, whom they conducted into the place with every teſtimony of congratulation; and after having taken the oaths of fidelity which are cuſtomary on ſuch occaſions, they of their own accord deſtroyed the walls of the city, in order to give a ſtriking proof of their fidelity and peaceable intentions, by putting it out of their power to do any injury, even if they were ſo diſpoſed. This being done, Veſpaſian beſtowed on them a garriſon of horſe and foot for their protection, and then diſpatched Placidus after the enemy with five hundred cavalry and three thouſand infantry; after which he retired to Cæſarea with the remainder of his forces.

The fugitives finding that they were purſued, and that a party of horſe gained ground upon them, turned aſide to the village of Bethannabris before the

the Romans had got up to them. In this place there was a conſiderable number of ſtout young fellows, ſome of whom they perſuaded, and others they compelled to enter into their ſervice: and being thus reinforced, they ſallied forth, and made a deſperate attack on Placidus, who at the firſt receded a little; but this only with a view to get the enemy farther from the town; and this plan having anſwered to his expectation, Placidus attacked them when they were ſituated ſo that he had an evident advantage of them, and totally routed them. The Roman cavalry intercepted thoſe who conſulted their ſafety by flight, while thoſe who ſtood to their arms were deſtroyed by the infantry: in fact they were foiled in all their attempts. Their attacking the Romans was indeed a preſumptuous enterprize: they might have encountered a wall or a rock with equal hope of ſucceſs: for the Romans ſtood ſo cloſe and firm that it was not poſſible to break their main body, and were ſo guarded by their arms that the darts and lances could not affect them. On the contrary, the Jews were ſo ill-protected, that they were injured by every kind of aſſault, and reached by any kind of weapons; till, at length, being irritated to the moſt violent degree of rage, they ſeemed abandoned to deſpair, and threw themſelves on the ſwords of their enemies, by which many of them periſhed: ſome were cut in pieces, others were trampled under foot by the horſe, and others again put to flight. Placidus exerted his utmoſt influence that none of the fugitives ſhould get back again to the town; and as often as this was attempted by any of them, the horſe-ſoldiers under his command interpoſed to prevent the carrying their ſcheme into execution. They killed with their lances ſuch of them as were within their reach, and did every thing in their power to intercept the reſt. Some, however, who poſſeſſed more ſtrength and ſwiftneſs than their companions, reached the walls; and now the guard were puzzled in the higheſt degree to know whom to admit, and whom to exclude: for they thought it would be extremely unreaſonable to open the gates to their townſmen, and ſhut them againſt thoſe of Gadara: and, on the contrary, they were fearful that if they opened them indifferently to all, the loſs of the place might be endangered; as, in the end, it had like to have happened: for the Romans having purſued ſome of the fugitives even to the wall, had nearly fallen into the town with them; but with great difficulty the gates were ſhut, and the ingreſs prevented. Hereupon Placidus made a vigorous attack on the place, which he urged with ſo great a reſolution, that he became maſter of it, and took poſſeſſion of the wall, on the afternoon of the ſame day. The common people, who had no means of defending themſelves, were put to the ſword, and the others ſought their ſafety in flight; carrying with them, wherever they went, through the country, the melancholy news of what had happened. In the interim, the victorious party firſt plundered the houſes, and then reduced the place to aſhes.

It is true that the miſery hereby occaſioned was ſufficiently great; but the matter of fact was abundantly exceeded by the account of the reporters, who, wherever they went, circulated a rumour that the whole army of the Romans was in purſuit of them. This report alarmed the inhabitants of the country to ſuch a degree, that almoſt all of them abandoned their houſes, retiring towards

wards Jericho in immenſe numbers; as they thought it the moſt ſafe retreat they could make, from its garriſon being fortified, its natural ſtrength, and its populouſneſs. Placidus purſued the fugitives as far as the river Jordan, his forces deſtroying, without diſtinction, as many of them as they could overtake. When they arrived near the banks of that river, they found it impoſſible to paſs, as the waters had been ſwelled by an uncommon fall of rain; and it was equally impoſſible to fly farther: wherefore, in this ſituation, it became neceſſary to abide the event of a battle. Hereupon the Jews planted themſelves along the banks of the river, where, for ſome time, they maintained their ground; but their ranks being once broken, their loſs, including the drowned, with thoſe who were ſlain, became almoſt incredible. It was eſtimated that fifteen thouſand were killed on the ſpot, about two thouſand made priſoners, and a vaſt booty acquired in camels, oxen and ſheep.

The Jews had never before experienced a defeat ſo capital as the preſent, which may be more eaſily conceived than deſcribed. The public roads where they had paſſed were almoſt covered with the dead; and the bodies of the ſlain ſo choaked up the river Jordan as to render it impaſſable; while great numbers floated down the ſeveral ſtreams that ran into the lake Aſphaltitis.

A ſeries of ſucceſs now attending Placidus, he purſued his good fortune by the reduction of Beſemoth, Julias, Abila, and other places, even down to the lake. In theſe he placed garriſons of the moſt able, and thoſe he could beſt truſt, of the deſerters from the enemy. This being done, he embarked his troops, having firſt cleared the lake of all thoſe who had fled thither for refuge; and this he did in ſo effectual a manner, that the Romans were ſoon in abſolute poſſeſſion of every place beyond the river Jordan, even down to Machæras.

CHAP. IV.

News arrives of a revolt in Gaul. The marches of Veſpaſian, and his proceedings. He arrives at Jericho. That place deſcribed. Account of the lakes Aſphaltitis and Tiberias, and of the fountain of Eliſha. A deſcription of the country.

DURING the above-mentioned tranſactions in Judæa, news arrived from Nero that a revolt had happened in Gaul, which was promoted by Vindex, and ſeveral other men in the country: but of this we ſhall ſpeak more particularly in another place. On receiving this information, Veſpaſian urged the preſent war with unuſual vigour; for he was apprehenſive leſt other revolts ſhould follow that above-mentioned, to the endangering a whole empire by the calamities of a civil war: whereas he thought that Italy would have much leſs to apprehend, if the inſurrection in the Eaſt was once perfectly reduced. But as winter was an improper time for ſuch a buſineſs, he now employed himſelf to garriſon the cities and towns which he had taken, ordered repairs to be made wherever they were wanting, and erected proper offices in each city.

He now marched with his army from Cæsarea to Antipatris, and having regulated all things there in the space of two days, he, on the following day, ravaged the country, destroying with fire and sword to the borders of the toparchy of Thamna; and so on to Lydda and Jamnia. The two last places yielded to his authority: on which he placed in them such of the inhabitants of the other towns as he thought he could best rely on, and then proceeded to Ammaus. Having taken possession of the passage leading to the principal part of the city, he pitched his camp, and erected a wall round it. This being done, he left there the fifth legion, and advanced with the rest of his forces into the toparchy of Bethlepton. This he destroyed and burnt, ravaging the adjacent country as far as the borders of Idumæa; except a few strong castles, which he fortified, and placed a number of men in them.

He likewise took the towns of Bethabri and Caphartoba, situated in the centre of Idumæa: and in this enterprize killed more than ten thousand men, made slaves of almost one thousand, while the rest sought their safety in flight. This being done, he left a number of his forces, to sally forth occasionally, and make depredations on the mountains.

He now retreated with the rest of his army to Ammaus, whence proceeding by Samaria and Neapolis, he arrived at Corea on the second of the month Desius, where he encamped, and appeared before Jericho on the following day. At this place he was joined by one of his principal officers, named Trajan, with the forces under his command, who had previously reduced all the places beyond Jordan; putting many of the inhabitants to the sword; though the greater number of them had retired to the mountains opposite Jerusalem, before the Romans arrived.

In fact, Jericho was found a desolate and forsaken place by Vespasian. This city is situated on a plain, above which is a barren mountain of so considerable extent as to reach on the north side to the district of Scythopolis, and on the south to Sodom, on the confines of the lake Asphaltitis. It is impossible for human creatures to subsist in this country, owing to its extreme poverty and barrenness. Opposite hereto, on the other side the Jordan, is another mountain, stretching from Julias on the north to Gomorrah on the south, and bordering on the city of Petra in Arabia. There is likewise another mountain, distinguished by the name of the "Iron mountain," which extends even to the land of the Moabites. A place is situated between these mountains, called the "Great plain," which is two hundred and thirty furlongs in length, and one hundred and twenty in breadth, the river Jordan crossing it near the centre. This plain commences at Gennabara, and extends to the lake Asphaltitis.

Exclusive of the lake Asphaltitis, there is another named Tiberias. Both these are remarkable, though their qualities are opposite. The waters of the former are salt, and produce no fish; whereas those of the latter are fresh, and of the most prolific nature. In this country the heats of summer are almost insupportable; the earth is parched by them; the air is hot and unwholsome, except on the borders of the river Jordan, where the palm-trees thrive to a greater degree than at any considerable distance from it.

In the neighbourhood of Jericho there is a large fountain, overflowing all the low grounds in its neighbourhood, which takes it rise near an ancient city, which was distinguished by being the first place gained by dint of war from the Canaanites, by Jesus, the son of Nave, the celebrated general of the Jews. A tradition is current that, in former times, this fountain was of so dangerous a quality, that its waters not only corrupted the plants, grain and fruits of the earth, but likewise caused abortions in women, and rendered infectious every thing that was touched by it, which was capable of such infection. This tradition likewise reports that these waters became not only harmless themselves, but of a nutritive quality, from the time of Elisha the prophet, the celebrated successor of Elias. The cause of this remarkable change is thus related. The people of Jericho having treated Elisha with uncommon marks of respect and hospitality, he considered how he might acknowledge the obligation in so distinguished a manner, that themselves, their posterity and country might receive the advantage of it to the latest period of time. Hereupon the prophet went to the fountain, and having directed that a pitcher of salt should be sunk to the bottom of it, he extended his right-hand towards the heavens, and making an offering on the side of the fountain, he put up his supplications to God to correct the impurity of the waters, by purifying the passages through which they crept; to make the air wholesome and fruitful; to bestow numbers of children, as well as the means of life, on the inhabitants, and to continue those blessings as long as they continued in a disposition to deserve them. This prayer being offered up in the most solemn and ceremonious manner, the nature of the fountain was changed; and the waters became the means of producing plenty, instead of being the forerunners of famine and barrenness: so that their bare touching of the ground occasions its produce to taste more agreeably: but if they lay ever so long on the land, no superior effect is produced; especially when those have a diffidence in the miracle, who should experience its happy effects. Exclusive of the above particulars, this fountain, or river, covers a larger tract of ground than any other in the country.

The breadth of the country we are describing is twenty furlongs, and its length seventy. It abounds in thick groves, and variety of curious gardens: and there are, on the banks of its rivulets, a number of palm-trees, different from each other in name, flavour and quality. From some of these the inhabitants extract large quantities of honey, not much inferior to the other honey of the country, of which they have a great abundance. They have likewise a very great plenty of balsam, which is deemed the most choice of their productions; nor is cyprus and myrobalanus in less abundance. A country which produces the most rare fruits of the earth, and those the largest and best of their kinds, may be deemed signalized by Heaven with its peculiar favours. This country is likewise equally famous with the most prolific of others for the production, cultivation and variety of other fruits. I imagine that this circumstance may be, in a great degree, owing to the particular salubrity of the air, and the singular nature of the water: the former being fitly adapted to the disclosing of leaves, flowers, and such other vege-

vegetables as are under its influence; and the latter, by encreasing the sap, to bind and fortify the roots so as to be proof against the raging heats of the sun, which are so powerful in this country, as almost to repel vegetation without such extraneous assistance. But notwithstanding the violence of these heats, there are such refreshing breezes every morning, that the water is perfectly agreeable before the rising of the sun. In winter it is extremely pleasant to bathe in this water, which is then warm. In fact such is the happy temperature of the climate, that when frost and snow prevail in other parts of Judæa, the natives of this place dress only in slight linen. It is situated sixty stadia from the river Jordan, and one hundred and fifty from Jerusalem; and the whole country is a mere rock and desert between that and Jerusalem. It is not less rude and barren than that between this place and Jordan, though not in so high a situation. The above-mentioned are the natural advantages of Jericho.

CHAP. V.

The peculiar properties of the lake Asphaltitis. It is found by Vespasian that nothing sinks in that lake. Its other extraordinary qualities. It is situated near Sodom. Account of a fruit of beautiful appearance, which, on being touched, dissolves to smoke and ashes.

IT may not be improper to relate some particulars respecting the lake Asphaltitis, and its singular properties. No fish will live in this lake, the water of which is strongly impregnated with saline particles: and even the most weighty things thrown into it will scarcely sink; so that it would be difficult for a man to drown himself herein, if he was absolutely bent on so doing. The singular quality of this water having been mentioned to Vespasian, he undertook a journey on purpose to be assured of the fact, and caused a number of persons, totally unacquainted with swimming, to have their hands tied behind them, and thrown into it: but such was the buoyant power of the water, that they were immediately borne up, and floated on its surface. This lake is likewise famous for another great singularity; which is, that three times in a day, according to the refractions of the sun-beams which play on it, its colour has a different appearance. On several parts of it there are likewise to be seen, floating about, large quantities of a dark bituminous matter, which bears a resemblance to the bodies of oxen deprived of the head. The country people get into boats, and fish up these lumps: but they are of so glutinous a nature, that the boat adheres strongly to them, and the people are obliged to dissolve the lumps, before they can separate the part within the boat from that in the water. The bituminous matter serves equally for medicinal purposes, and for the use of navigators: for it is a specific in the cure of many disorders, and is of admirable service to stop the leaks in a ship. The lake Aphaltitis is one hundred and fifty furlongs in breadth,

breadth, and five hundred and eighty in length, extending even to Zoar in Arabia.

It is situated near the land of Sodom, a country formerly distinguished by the variety of its productions, and the wealth of its inhabitants: but it is now a place totally uninhabited and desolate, the wickedness of its former residents having called down fire from Heaven as the punishment of their atrocious crimes. In its neighbourhood are yet to be seen the remains of five cities of infamous character, which were burnt when Sodom was destroyed. There are likewise visible some things appearing like fruits, that spring out of the ashes: these are very tempting to the sight, but on being touched they resolve into smoke and ashes. So that the credit of this history is not confirmed only by tradition, but by ocular demonstration.

CHAP. VI.

Jerusalem invested by Vespasian. Gerasa taken by storm; and many of the inhabitants killed, and the place burnt. Vespasian receives an account of the death of Nero. Abstract of the fate of Galba, Otho and Vitellius. Vespasian defers his expedition against Jerusalem. Public transactions suspended.

BEING determined to attack Jerusalem on every side, Vespasian erected a fort at Jericho, and another at Adida, in each of which he placed garrisons, consisting of Romans and auxiliary forces. This being done, he dispatched Lucius Annius to Gerasa, with a party of cavalry and infantry, and, on the first attack, that place was reduced by storm. A thousand young men who were intercepted in their flight were destroyed by the sword: great numbers of families were made prisoners, and the plunder was given to the soldiers: after which the place was burnt, and the commander proceeded in his depredations. Persons of property fled; but many were killed in the attempt to escape. The ravage was universal: those on the mountains and in the vallies felt equally the effects of war. With regard to those who were in Jerusalem, it was impossible that they should quit it; for those who were friends to the Romans were strictly watched by the Zelotes: nor did the Zelotes themselves dare to venture out, lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy, who surrounded the town on every side.

Vespasian having returned to Cæsarea, was making preparation for the main body of his army to advance to the attack of Jerusalem, when he received an account of the death of Nero, after a reign of thirteen years, and eight days. It is no part of my present province to arraign the character of this emperor, on account of the disgrace derived to government through his means, by his permitting himself to be directed and governed by Nymphidius and Tigillinus, two of the most abandoned miscreants in his service: nor would I speak of the infamous manner in which these wretches betrayed him: how he was deserted by his senators and guards, and compelled to seek his safety in the suburbs, having only four freemen who adhered to his interest:

tereſt: how he there deſtroyed himſelf in a violent manner; and what was the fate of thoſe who were the occaſion of his untimely end. Nor is it my purpoſe to ſpeak of the event of the war with the Gauls; of the advancement of Galba to the empire, and, in the ſequel, when he came from Spain to Rome, how he was traduced by the ſoldiers, as a perſon of an abject diſpoſition, and at length ſlain by them in the center of the great market-place. Equally foreign from my preſent view is it to relate the circumſtances of the making Otho emperor, and his ſubſequent march againſt Vitellius; nor need I mention the troubles of Vitellius; the battle before the capitol; or how an end was put to the civil war by Antonius Primus, and Macianus, after they had killed Vitellius, and defeated the German troops. I have not thought proper to inſiſt on theſe particulars, becauſe they have been already ſo admirably diſcuſſed both by the Greek and Latin hiſtorians: wherefore I have only made theſe ſhort remarks, that the regularity of my hiſtory may not be broken, and the deſired uniformity preſerved.

On receiving the information above-mentioned, Veſpaſian ſuſpended his preparations for the expedition towards Jeruſalem; and finding that Galba was deſtined to ſucceed to the empire, he thought it would not be a prudent meaſure to take ſo important a ſtep without expreſs orders for ſo doing: whereupon he immediately diſpatched his ſon Titus to wait on Galba, at once to congratulate him on his ſucceſſion to the ſupreme command, and to take his directions how to act in the preſent exigency of affairs. King Agrippa being deſirous to embark with Titus on this intereſting occaſion, they ſet ſail in the ſame veſſel: but while they were on their voyage, and near to Achaia, they received intelligence that Galba was ſlain, after having governed ſeven months and one week; and that Otho ſucceeded him, who reigned only three months. This change in affairs did not prevent Agrippa from continuing his journey to Rome: but Titus, as if impelled by a Divine power, ſailed from Achaia to Syria, and thence retired, in happy time, to his father in Cæſarea.

This ſudden revolution cauſed ſuch an amazing change in the face of public affairs, that the empire appeared to be ſhaken to its foundation. The Jewiſh war was now no longer thought of; nor could the Romans turn their attention to the extention of the empire, when it was almoſt ſhaken to its foundation by inteſtine broils.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

A freſh war breaks out in Jeruſalem. Simon is at the head of it, but is driven from his government by Ananus, and flies to Maſſada. On the death of Ananus he makes incurſions into Idumæa. A terrible battle betwixt Simon and the Zelotes. Eleazar ſends a ſummons to Herodion, and is received by the garriſon. He is detected, and leaps from the precipice of the wall. James of Idumæa, pretending to be an informer, acts with baſeneſs. Idumæa taken without bloodſhed. The wife of Simon made priſoner by the Zelotes. Simon's rage on this occaſion, and the reſtoration of his wife.

ON occaſion of the revolution above-mentioned a freſh war broke out in Jeruſalem. At this time there was a man, born at Geraſa, who was named Simon, who had taken poſſeſſion of the city. This man was in the prime of life: leſs artful and contriving than John of Giſchala; but he had the advantage of him in youth, ſtrength and intrepidity. Now Simon was deemed ſo dangerous a perſon, that the high-prieſt, Ananus, routed him from his government in the toparchy of Acrabetana, and compelled him to take refuge among the Sicarii at Maſſada. Theſe abandoned people were at firſt ſo ſuſpicious of him, that they, for a time, compelled him to remain, with the women he had brought with him, on the firſt floor of the fortreſs, while the reſt of the people remained above. But when they came to be better acquainted with him, and found how admirably he was adapted for their purpoſes, they changed their opinion of him, and deputed him to command the parties they ſent out to riſle, and join the other troops in the plunder and depopulation of the diſtrict of Maſſada. In the mean time Simon endeavoured to inſpire them with more ambitious views (for his own thoughts were bent on obtaining the ſovereign authority); but this was in vain, till he received advice of the death of Ananus. This obſtacle to the dignity after which he aſpired being removed, he now repaired to the woods, where he iſſued proclamations, offering bounties to all freemen, and freedom to all ſlaves, who would enliſt under his banners. Great numbers of abandoned and deſperate people were induced to join him on this occaſion; and by the aſſiſtance of theſe miſcreants he aſſailed and pillaged the villages on the hills, the number of his people daily encreaſing, till at length he deſcended into the lower countries, and ſpread terror through all the cities within the limits of his expedition. The conſequence of his credit for courage and ſucceſs was ſuch, that numbers of men of power and rank now came over to his intereſt, and the people of diſtinction in general made application to him, and paid him the reverence and reſpect due to ſovereign princes; ſo that he no longer appeared to be a commander only of ſlaves and vagabonds. Theſe ſucceſſes induced him to make ſeveral incurſions into the toparchy of Acrabetana, and the greater Idumæa; and at length he fixed his retreat in the town of Nain, a place which he had before walled and fortified. He found, in the valley of Pharan, a number of caverns admirably adapted to his purpoſe; and he en-

larged others, and converted them into magazines, ſtores and granaries, for the reception of ſuch articles as he obtained by plunder. Thus provided with forces and proviſions, it ſeemed to be the prevailing opinion that the principal view of Simon was to make an attack on Jeruſalem. In this opinion the Zelotes coincided; and thinking that ill conſequences might ariſe from the permitting him thus daily to encreaſe in numbers and power, they determined to make one vigorous effort to ſuppreſs him, while it were yet poſſible to effect it. With this view they advanced in a body to attack him at the head of his forces: but he received them in a manner that equally demonſtrated his courage and ſkill, and routed them with great ſlaughter.

Simon did not yet think his force equal to the attack of Jeruſalem, but determined to begin with an aſſault on Idumæa, towards the borders of which country he immediately marched an army of twenty thouſand men. Inſtantly hereupon, the principal people of the Idumæans aſſembled an army of almoſt twenty-five thouſand ſelect troops, leaving likewiſe a ſufficient number to protect the country againſt the inroads of the banditti of Maſſada. With the forces above-mentioned the Idumæans waited for Simon on the borders of their country; and, on his approach, a battle enſued, which continued from the morning till evening, the deſtruction on each ſide being ſo equal, that it was impoſſible to determine which party had the advantage. Both of them, however, were ſufficiently weary of the conteſt; for Simon withdrew his forces to Nain, and the Idumæans retreated to their reſpective habitations.

Simon having received conſiderable reinforcements to his army, took the field again in a ſhort time, being now ſtronger than on any former occaſion; and having encamped near the village of Thecue, diſpatched one of his aſſociates, named Eleazar, with a meſſage to the commander of Herodion, demanding that the caſtle of that name ſhould be delivered up to him. On his firſt arrival he was received by the officers with every teſtimony of military honour and reſpect: but when they became acquainted with the nature of his commiſſion, they all drew their ſwords on him in a moment: whereupon, finding his eſcape impoſſible, he threw himſelf from the precipice of the wall, and was killed on the ſpot.

The idea of the courage and power of Simon had now ſtruck the Idumæans in ſo forcible a manner, that they were by no means diſpoſed to engage him, till they were firſt well acquainted with the ſtrength and ſituation of his army. On this occaſion one of their commanders, named James, voluntarily undertook the office of a ſpy or informer: and this he did with a generous appearance of public ſpirit, but, in fact, with the moſt treacherous intentions. At this time the Idumæan army was encamped at Olurus; and James being commiſſioned to act for them, he repaired to Simon. When ſome converſation had paſſed between them, he made a ſolemn compact with Simon to deliver up the whole country to him; on the conſideration that, in return for this obligation, he ſhould be conſidered as his firſt miniſter, and favourite, and that he ſhould likewiſe poſſeſs the whole country of Idumæa. This infamous bargain was ſucceeded by Simon's entertaining James in the moſt ſplendid manner, and gratifying his ambition by the moſt liberal promiſes.

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This being done, James returned to thoſe who had ſent him on the embaſſy; to whom he magnified the ſituation of Simon greatly beyond the truth, with regard to his numbers and ſtrength, and the admirable diſpoſition of his forces. This repreſentation had a great influence on the minds of the people in general; and at length the officers of the army began to liſten to the intelligence, ſo that they determined that it would be a vain attempt to conteſt the matter farther by force of arms, but that they would ſurrender to Simon, leſt worſe conſequences ſhould enſue. At this juncture James ſent repeated meſſengers, requeſting that Simon would advance without loſs of time, and take poſſeſſion of Idumæa, which he would pledge himſelf ſhould ſubmit to him without bloodſhed or oppoſition, if he would not loſe the preſent favourable opportunity. All this was accordingly verified: for Simon advancing with his army, James immediately mounted his horſe, and fled with the utmoſt rapidity, being followed by thoſe who adhered to his principles. This proceeding had ſuch influence on the people in general, that they likewiſe fled in the utmoſt confuſion, each conſulting his own ſafety, ſo that the whole army was diſperſed, and an abſolute victory gained without the leaſt effort on the part of the enemy.

Idumæa having been thus, in a moſt aſtoniſhing manner, ſubjected to Simon without bloodſhed, he advanced to the city of Chebron, which he took by ſurprize, and found in it corn and other treaſure to a great amount. This city is celebrated for its great antiquity. It is confeſſed to be the oldeſt in the whole province: and, if the accounts of the inhabitants may be credited, its age is not leſs than two thouſand three hundred years, being greater than that of the famous city of Memphis in Ægypt. A traditional report prevails that Abraham, the great father and founder of the Jewiſh nation, took up his reſidence at this place, when he left the country of Meſopotamia; and that from this town his deſcendants removed into Ægypt: in which kingdom there are yet viſible a number of elegant inſcriptions on marble, corroborative of the tradition I have mentioned. About ſix furlongs from Chebron there is ſtill to be ſeen a moſt extraordinary turpentine-tree, which is yet ſound and healthy, though if tradition may be credited, it had its origin at the time of the creation of the world.

Simon advanced from Chebron through the whole country of Idumæa, being followed by above forty thouſand people, excluſive of his regular forces. He deſtroyed towns and villages, and depopulated the whole country in the courſe of his progreſs. A flight of locuſts through a wood could not have deſtroyed more effectually than his army: they rendered the country a perfect deſert, deſtruction marking every part of their courſe. It was not poſſible that the neceſſaries of life ſhould be furniſhed for ſuch an immenſe multitude: and the misfortunes of want were ſtill aggravated by the natural violence of Simon's temper, and his peculiar animoſity againſt the people of Idumæa. In a word, in a country which had been heretofore fruitful and well cultivated, not a trace was left of its former happy ſituation, owing to the waſte and devaſtation made by the troops under the command of Simon.

The Zelotes were exceedingly ſhocked at the inhumanity of the above-mentioned proceedings; but they were yet afraid to engage in an open war;

contenting themſelves with ſuch advantages as they could gain by occaſional ſurprizes; and at length they obtained a prize which they deemed of the utmoſt importance; for happening to take priſoner the wife of Simon, with a number of his domeſtics, they hurried her away to Jeruſalem, with as many tokens of triumphant joy, as if Simon himſelf had been their captive: for they did not entertain the leaſt doubt but that he would willingly lay down his arms on his wife being reſtored to him. The effect, however, was contrary to their expectation; for the violence offered to the wife tranſported the huſband to the moſt extravagant degree of rage.

This extravagance was evidenced by the future conduct of Simon. He advanced, without loſs of time, to the gates of Jeruſalem, where his behaviour was as furious as that of a wild beaſt who is wounded, and finds himſelf incapable of reaching the party who has injured him. He ſought vengeance on every thing that fell in his way: men, women and children, were equally the objects of his fury. Thoſe who went from the city only to pick herbs or gather ſticks, were, by his order, apprehended and whipped to death; the ancient ſuffering equally with the young: and it was remarked as ſomething extraordinary that he did not eat the fleſh of thoſe he cauſed to be deſtroyed. The hands of many of theſe unoffending people were cut off, as a terror to his enemies, and to prevent other perſons adhering to their party. Thus maimed, he ſent them into the city, inſtructing them to ſay that, "Si-"mon made an oath in the name of that God who governs the world, that if "his wife was not immediately reſtored to him, he would make an aſſault on "their walls, and treat all the inhabitants, old or young, guilty or inno-"cent, with the ſame ſeverity that the meſſengers had experienced." The people in general were terrified by theſe threatenings, which had likewiſe ſuch an effect on the Zelotes, that they ſent Simon's wife back to him; on which his anger was ſo far appeaſed, that the cruelties which he had hitherto committed, began now in ſome degree to ſubſide.

CHAP. VIII.

The Roman empire diſtracted by civil broils and contentions. Otho and Vitellius fight two battles, the firſt of which iſſues in favour of Otho, but Vitellius is ſucceſsful the following day. Galba puts an end to his life. The complete conqueſt of Judæa is intended by Veſpaſian. Capharis ſubmits to Cerealis, who attacks and burns the town of Chebron. Nothing is now wanting to finiſh the war, but the capture of Jeruſalem.

THE civil war now became more extenſive, not being confined merely to the diſtrict of Judæa; for its baneful influence had ſpread even into Italy. Otho having ſucceeded to the empire, Vitellius was elected in oppoſition to him by the German legions; and in conſequence of this election he diſputed the title with him. Two battles were fought between the contending parties, near Bebriacum in Lombardy. On the firſt day the advantage was evidently on the ſide of Otho: but, on the ſecond, fortune declared in favour

favour of Vitellius, whoſe army, on this occaſion, was commanded by the generals Valens and Cæcinna. The number of ſlain in this battle was very conſiderable; and intelligence of it being brought to Galba, who was at that time at Brixellum, he ſtabbed himſelf with a dagger, after he had reigned only three months and two days. This revolution occaſioned the ſoldiers under the command of Otho to take part with Vitellius, who hereupon proceeded to Rome with his army.

In the interim, Veſpaſian having formed a deſign of making a complete conqueſt of Judæa, by reducing ſuch parts of it as yet refuſed to ſubmit to the Roman authority, he quitted Cæſarea on the fifth day of the month Decius. Having began his operations on the mountains, he made a complete conqueſt of the toparchies of Gophnis and Acrabetana: and afterwards took poſſeſſion of the cities of Ephraim and Bethel, placing garriſons in each of them. This being done, he removed towards Jeruſalem, on his way to which he ſlew a great number of the Jews, and made many priſoners.

While theſe tranſactions were going forward, Cerealis, one of the chief commanders, ravaged the country of the upper Idumæa, with a body of cavalry and infantry, took the caſtle of Caphetra, and burnt it to the ground; and beſieged the well-fortified town of Capharis, which it was thought would have been able to make a vigorous defence: but, contrary to expectation, the inhabitants opened the gates, gave up their town, and ſubmitted themſelves to the mercy of the conqueror. Cerealis, having been ſucceſsful thus far, advanced to Chebron, an ancient town on the mountains (not far from Jeruſalem), of which mention hath heretofore been made. This place he attacked, and it ſurrendered without offering to make any defence; on which he pillaged and burnt the city, and put all its inhabitants to the ſword. Maſſada, Machærus and Herodion were now the only caſtles which remained in the hands of the faction: and, after thoſe, the taking of Jeruſalem by Veſpaſian ſeemed to be the only circumſtance neceſſary to the putting a total end to this horrid and deſtructive war.

CHAP. IX.

Simon wreaks his vengeance on the Idumæans, on account of his wife, and becomes a more deſperate enemy without the town than the Romans; and the Zelotes within, ſtill worſe than either. The dreadfully brutal behaviour of the Zelotes. The Zelotes routed in conſequence of a revolt of the Idumæans, who purſue them to the palace, and even to the temple. John voted out of the government, and Simon invited to ſupply his place. Simon is received and congratulated with the moſt chearful acclamations. The temple aſſaulted by the partizans of Simon.

THE wife of Simon having been reſtored to him by the Zelotes, the reſt of the Idumæans were expoſed to the utmoſt malice of his revenge. He perſecuted them with ſuch a ſavage ferocity, and harraſſed and drove them from place to place with ſuch unremitting cruelty, that many of them, in mere deſpair, fled for refuge to Jeruſalem. To the very walls of this city they

they were purſued by Simon, who ſacrificed to his rage all he could lay his hands on, that were paſſing or repaſſing: ſo that, without the walls, Simon became even a worſe enemy than the Romans; and, within the walls, the Zelotes were ſtill worſe than either. At this time, however, the Zelotes received their inſtructions from the Galilæans, who, by the force of precept, encouragement and example, incited them to the practice of every iniquity. Now John, conſidering himſelf as the creature of the Zelotes, made not the leaſt ſcruple of employing the power they had conferred on him to the gratification of his patrons; and therefore left them at full liberty to indulge their luſts without controul. With regard to plunder and rapine their avarice was not to be ſatisfied: they conſidered the murder of men, and a violation of the chaſtity of women, but as circumſtances of mere diverſion and entertainment: and when they had indulged themſelves in every act of cruelty and oppreſſion, they launched into the utmoſt gratification of their ſenſual appetites. They curled and powdered their hair; painted and dawbed their faces with variety of waſhes, and dreſſed themſelves in the apparel of women: nor did they imitate the other ſex only in their perſonal ornaments, but copied the moſt abandoned of them in an exceſs of impudence: for they correſponded with each other in the open face of day, with as little reſerve as they would have done within the public ſtews: they courted each other to, and practiced, unnatural luſts; defiling the whole city by acts of impurity which ought neither to be named or thought of among men. Yet notwithſtanding they thus aſſumed the appearance and impudence of women, they poſſeſſed the hands and hearts of murderers: and though their air and manner was effeminate and affected in the higheſt degree, they never failed to carry offenſive weapons about them, and were at all times ready to draw their ſwords to diſpatch a man, with or without provocation. Thoſe who thought themſelves happy in eſcaping John, were certain to be deſtroyed by Simon, whoſe nature was ſtill more ſavage and ferocious. He who eſcaped the fangs of the domeſtic tyrant, could not fail of falling into the hands of the beſieger: beſides, all the paſſages were ſo effectually blocked up, that thoſe who were diſpoſed to have ſought the protection of the Romans, had not an opportunity of ſo doing.

At length the Idumæans, envying the power, and deteſting the ſavage inhumanities which were practiſed by John, revolted at once from their obedience, and determined to oppoſe him. Hereupon a battle enſued, in which great numbers of the Zelotes were killed on the ſpot, and the remainder retreated to the royal palace, which had been originally built by a woman named Grapte, who was a relation to Izates, ſovereign of the Adiabenians. The Zelotes were driven into the temple by a number of Idumæans, who puſhed in at the ſame time, and made a prize of the whole of John's riches, which he had carefully accumulated, and depoſited under the roof of his own dwelling. Hereupon the Zelotes, who were diſperſed in various parts of the city, aſſociated together, and joined thoſe of their companions who had retreated to the temple; and John immediately diſpoſed himſelf to ſally forth on the Idumæans and the citizens. Now no idea of fear was formed reſpecting the number of the Zelotes, for the oppoſite party was too numerous for

them: but it was apprehended that they might attempt to retire in the night, firſt murdering ſuch as they could ſeize, and ſetting fire to the city. On this occaſion they ſummoned a council, and concerted with the high-prieſt what meaſures were proper to be taken: but the providence of Heaven prevailed to the deſtruction of their politics, and rendered the diſeaſe they complained of leſs obnoxious than the remedy they ſought: for they came to a reſolution to abandon John, and advance Simon in his ſtead; by which conduct they ſubjected themſelves to the dominion of one tyrant, while they ſought to get rid of that of another. However, the vote paſſed; and Simon, of whom they had ſtood ſo much in dread, was ſent for to take on him the government, Matthias, the high-prieſt, being deputed to wait on him on this occaſion. Many other perſons, who had been compelled to leave Jeruſalem, and wiſhed to return to their former habitations, joined with Matthias in the requeſt to Simon. The latter anſwered them, with an air of authority, that he condeſcended to grant their requeſt: and entered the city in the character of their protector; while the people received and congratulated him in that character, with the loudeſt and moſt chearful acclamations. Simon had no ſooner entered Jeruſalem with his troops, than he began to conſider how he ſhould moſt effectually maintain the poſt of which he had taken poſſeſſion: for he looked on thoſe againſt whom he was invited, and thoſe who requeſted his preſence, to be equally his enemies. The above mentioned event took place in the third month, which is called Xanthius.

John now finding that himſelf, and the Zelotes, his aſſociates, were cloſe priſoners in the temple, and that the city had been completely rifled by Simon and his companions, he began to look upon his deſtruction as inevitable. In the interim Simon encouraged, and led forward the common people to make an attack on the temple. This they did with great readineſs; but the beſieged, who had taken poſſeſſion of the galleries and battlements above, aſſailed them in ſuch a furious manner with darts, arrows and ſtones, that they were compelled to make a retreat, with conſiderable loſs. Many of them were killed, and numbers were borne off from the place of attack, dangerouſly wounded, the expedition in general being totally fruſtrated: for the Zelotes had ſo much the advantage of ſituation, that it was impoſſible to attack them on equal terms. Beſides this neceſſary advantage ariſing from ſituation, they had themſelves erected four large towers, with the profeſſed intention of annoying the enemy. One of theſe towers was ſituated to the north; a ſecond to the eaſt; a third on a gallery at the corner oppoſite to the lower town; and a fourth on the place which bears the name of Paſtophoria. On the place laſt mentioned, the prieſt, in ancient times, uſed to ſtand, to make proclamation to the people, by the ſound of the trumpet, of the commencement of the ſabbath, and, in like manner, when it ended. From this place, likewiſe, notice was given to the people of the time proper to keep holiday, and when they ſhould renew their accuſtomed labour. In the towers abovementioned the Zelotes had placed their archers, ſlingers and engineers, armed with arrows, ſtones, and every other neceſſary military implement. The obſtinate reſiſtance made by the Zelotes furniſhed matter of great ſur-

prize to Simon, and the troops under his command; who nevertheleſs, depending on the ſuperiority of their numbers, urged the attack with great zeal; though they ſuſtained the loſs of many men, from the ſlings and machines of the Zelotes.

CHAP. X.

During the tranſactions above-mentioned a civil war breaks out in Rome. Vitellius is returned to that city with a numerous army. Veſpaſian is greatly afflicted at receiving intelligence that Vitellius is choſen emperor. The officers calumniate Vitellius and his party, and ſpeak in praiſe of Veſpaſian and Titus. The military people ſeem determined on a change, and urge Veſpaſian to take the command of the army; to which he at length conſents.

WHILE the diſturbances above-recited were going forward in Jeruſalem, a calamity of ſtill greater magnitude took place in Rome; which was no other than a civil war. By this time Vitellius was returned from his expedition into Germany, attended by an immenſe number of foreign troops. In fact, the multitudes he brought with him were ſo prodigious, that they could not be accommodated in the places cuſtomarily aſſigned to ſoldiers, but were compelled to take up their lodgings in private houſes, ſo that the whole city appeared to be a general barrack. The ſtrangers were ſo ſtruck by the appearance of the gold and ſilver that they ſaw among the Romans (ſights with which they had been unacquainted), that it was with no ſmall degree of reluctance they refrained from forcibly ſeizing theſe valuable effects, and murdering thoſe who prevented their depredations. Such was the unhappy ſituation of affairs at that period.

Veſpaſian having ravaged all the country in the neighbourhood of Jeruſalem, now returned to Cæſarea, where he received the diſagreeable intelligence of the diſorders which had ariſen at Rome, and that Vitellius had been elected to the dignity of emperor. Veſpaſian was a man who had a juſt opinion of the reſpect that ought to be ſhewn to our ſuperiors, and was as well calculated to obey as he was to command; yet notwithſtanding this circumſtance, he was extremely chagrined to acknowledge the ſupreme authority of that man who rather ſeized the empire as a plunder, than became poſſeſſed of it as an honor. In a word, this aſtoniſhing change in the public affairs affected him to ſuch a degree, that he could no longer entertain any idea of proſecuting foreign wars, when his country at home was diſtracted by circumſtances ſo extremely diſagreeable. Yet, though his indignation, on the one hand, urged him to a ſpeedy revenge; yet on the other, he was deterred from putting his ſchemes in execution, by the conſideration of the difficulties and hazards that would attend ſo long a journey, in the midſt of winter; beſides, he did not know but that many unexpected incidents might happen, before he could arrive in Italy. Having reflected ſeriouſly on theſe things, his mind became at length more compoſed than before.

During the time that Veſpaſian was debating this ſubject in his mind, the officers and ſoldiers aſſociated together, and in ſeperate ſocieties, and diſcourſed

courſed with the utmoſt freedom on the affairs of the ſtate and government. Many of them declared freely that another change was neceſſary. Among other things they exclaimed moſt violently againſt the German ſoldiers, ridiculing them as a band of diſſolute and effeminate creatures, who would be afraid to abide even the uſual terrors of war. "What (ſaid they) ſhall people like theſe diſpoſe of empires, or rather ſell them to the higheſt bidder? Is it poſſible for them to imagine that we, who have undergone all "the fatigue attending exceſſive labour, till we are grown old in the uſe of "arms; that we will ever ſubmit to be governed by an emperor choſen by "them, when we have a prince of our own who is much more worthy of the "government? Beſides, if we omit the preſent opportunity of teſtifying our "gratitude for the numerous obligations we owe to the generoſity of Veſpaſian, it is not very probable that a ſimilar proſpect of paying him the proper compliment will ever again offer. Excluſive of theſe conſiderations, "the perſonal merit of Veſpaſian hath as much better qualified him for the "dignity of emperor, than that of Vitellius, as our merits have qualified us "for the choice, beyond that of thoſe who have elected him. Have we encountered hazards leſs imminent: have we taken a leſs active part in the "war than the German legions who have brought the uſurper into the capital city? Or are we more uninſtructed in the art and diſcipline of war "than they are? With regard to Veſpaſian, there can be no debate or competition; for the ſenate, and people of Rome are entirely in his intereſt; "nor would they liſten even to an inſinuation of the licentiouſneſs and debauches of Vitellius being put in competition with the modeſt and temperate behaviour of Veſpaſian; for this, in fact, would be to prefer an "abandoned tyrant to an humane prince. Nor can we think that his ſon "Titus, though of acknowledged virtue, would be preferred to his father. "Let us reflect that the peace of a throne is eſtabliſhed by the honor and "juſtice of the prince. Now if the length of experience, or the vigour of "youth will render a prince worthy your choice, Veſpaſian is recommended "by one quality, and Titus by the other; beſides the accumulated merit "attending wiſdom, reſolution and power. It is farther worthy our conſideration, that by electing the deſerving father of this accompliſhed ſon, "we ſhall unite in one intereſt all the power of the eaſt with that of the three "imperial legions and their auxiliaries; and likewiſe that part of Europe "which is out of the reach of Vitellius; together with the intereſt that Veſpaſian's friends, his brother, and his other ſon can make in Italy; for one "of theſe is præfect of Rome, a ſtation which gives him great influence at "the commencement of a reign; and the other is in poſſeſſion of ſo much "popularity, that the principal part of the nobility will certainly adopt "which ever party he ſhall adhere to. After all we have ſaid, let it be conſidered what a ridiculous figure we ſhould make, and how egregiouſly we "ſhould be duped: we, who of all men living, have the greateſt obligation "to Veſpaſian, if the ſenate themſelves ſhould elect him emperor, and thus "take out of our hands the merit of ſo diſtinguiſhed an action, while we are "idly debating on the method of proceeding in ſuch an exigency."

To

To this purpose was the conversation among the military people; their first meetings were held in a secret manner; but as their encreasing numbers gave them fresh courage, they came to an unanimous determination to make choice of Vespasian as emperor, and entreated him to take under his protection an empire that was shaken to its foundations. This distinguished man had for a long time been the support of the empire; but he was so far from being ambitious of the dignity of emperor, that he absolutely declined it (the refusal itself shewing that he deserved it), declaring that he chose rather to pass the remainder of his days in the ease and retirement of a private life, than in the pomp and dignity of the troublesome situation to which he was invited. The more anxious Vespasian was to avoid this office, the more earnestly did the military people press his acceptance of it: till, at length, on his repeated refusal, they advanced to him with drawn swords, and threatened his destruction, if he longer refused an honor of which he was so deserving. Still, however, he, for a while refused them; but at length yielded to an importunity that was not to be resisted.

CHAP. XI.

Vespasian is urged by Mucianus to march with his army against Vitellius; but Vespasian seems inclined rather to make a conquest of Alexandria. A description of Ægypt, and its situation. Account of the dangerous port of Alexandria, and of the tower of Pharos. The friendship entertained for Vespasian by Tiberius Alexander.

THE government of the empire had no sooner been accepted by Vespasian, than Mucianus, and the other officers who had urged him to accept the dignity, joined with the whole body of the army to solicit that he would march his forces against Vitellius: but Vespasian thought it would be more proper to attempt, in the first place, the conquest of Alexandria; as Ægypt, on account of the immense quantity of corn which it produced, was deemed one of the most important branches of the empire. Wherefore, Vespasian was of opinion that if he could but once possess himself of that country, the people of Rome might be induced rather to expel Vitellius, than run the risk of starving, if they refused so to do; which would be the necessary consequence if they did not obtain proper assistance from Ægypt. Vespasian likewise desired that two legions, which then lay at Alexandria, might assist him in this expedition.

Vespasian had likewise a view to make the district of Ægypt a place of retreat, in case of any disagreeable turn of fortune. This country is so situated that it is not easy to approach it by land; nor has it any sea-ports. On the west it is bounded by the scorching sands of Lybia; on the east, as far as the city called Coptos, the Red Sea answers the purpose of a rampart: on the south the Syene divides it from Æthiopia and the unpassable cataracts of the Nile; and on the north this country extends even to Syria, and as far as the sea, which is called the Ægyptian Sea, all the coast of which is totally destitute

deſtitute of ports: ſo that the ſecurity of Ægypt is abundantly provided for by nature, from the peculiarity of its ſituation. The diſtance from Syene to Peluſium is eſtimated at two thouſand ſtadia, and that from Peluſium to Plinthine, by ſea, at three thouſand ſix hundred. As far as Elephantine the Nile is navigable; but, as hath been obſerved before, the cataracts render it impaſſable.

There is great danger in entering the port of Alexandria, even if the weather be fair; for the entrance is ſo narrow, and the rocks which are diſperſed in ſhoal-water are ſo numerous, that it requires the care of a ſkilful pilot to evade them. On the right-hand is ſituated the iſle of Pharos, which had been ſo long celebrated as a ſea-mark; and on the left the port is encompaſſed by a dike partly circular. The light from the iſle of Pharos is ſeen three hundred furlongs out at ſea, and ſerves as a direction to ſea-faring people how to ſteer their veſſels. Around this iſland there is a number of ſubſtantial walls and ſtrong quays, erected for the purpoſe of breaking the waves that beat on the coaſt, and withſtanding the rage of the billows that render the navigation ſo dangerous. Yet, notwithſtanding all the difficulties deſcribed, the port of Alexandria, when a navigator has once paſſed the bar, is one of the moſt ſafe in the world. It is in length thirty furlongs; and it is furniſhed with proper ſtore-houſes for the reception of merchandizes of all kinds, for exportation or importation.

It was rightly judged by Veſpaſian when he fixed on Alexandria as the proper place in which to commence the eſtabliſhment of his empire. This being reſolved on, he informed the governor, Tiberius Alexander, that the importunity of his ſoldiers having prevailed on him to take the government into his own hands, he thought he could not act more prudently than to requeſt the favour of his advice and aſſiſtance, in the office of adminiſtration. This intimation was conveyed by a letter, which Alexander had no ſooner read, than, with the utmoſt freedom and good-will, he adminiſtered an oath of fidelity to Veſpaſian, to the legions and the inhabitants. This oath was taken with every poſſible demonſtration of joy and eſteem; for they were previouſly apprized of the good intentions of the new emperor, and confided in his virtue and honor. In the interim Alexander made a generous uſe of the power entruſted to him for the public welfare; and immediately began to make proper diſpoſitions for the reception of Veſpaſian.

CHAP. XII.

The news of Vespasian's advancement gives satisfaction to the people. Vespasian ascribes his success to the interference of Providence. A prophetical hint of Vespasian's future greatness. Joseph, while a prisoner, and during the life of Nero, gave Vespasian the title of emperor: in gratitude for which, Vespasian now gives Joseph his liberty.

INTELLIGENCE of Vespasian being advanced to the dignity of ruling the empire was now propagated with the utmost speed through every part of the eastern country; and wherever this news arrived it was so grateful to the people, that the inhabitants of the several cities kept a holiday on the occasion, making sacrifices, and offering vows, that the reign of Vespasian might be long and happy.

At this time there were certain legions quartered in Mysia and Pannonia, who had lately taken up arms against Vitellius, on account of his tyrannical disposition: and these legions immediately, and with the utmost pleasure, took the oath of fidelity to Vespasian.

As the new emperor was on his return from Cæsarea to Berytus, he was met on his journey by several ambassadors, from Syria and other provinces, who congratulated him with addresses in behalf of the cities and their inhabitants, and honoured his procession with garlands. Among the rest was Mucianus, the governor of Syria, who gave the utmost assurance of the loyalty and affection of the people in general, expressing their regard to the person and authority of Vespasian, which they had testified by taking the oaths, and demonstrated in every other manner possible.

Every thing which had been undertaken by Vespasian having now succeeded to the utmost extent of his ambition, he began seriously to reflect, that such an amazing concurrence of apparent accidents in his favour, had less the appearance of being the work of chance, than the immediate effect of a disposing Providence; and he thought it appeared that he had not been raised to his present elevation by the power of fortune, but by the immediate interference of the Deity. Reflecting on this subject, there occurred to his mind several prophetical hints which had happened in the course of his life, all tending to the same end. Among the rest, he could not but recur to the circumstance of Joseph having, while he remained a prisoner, and during the life of Nero, hailed him with the title of emperor. This singular predictive speech had great influence on the mind of Vespasian; and the greater, because the party was still his prisoner: wherefore, sending for Mucianus, and others of his officers, he spoke of the singular courage and bravery of Joseph, and how gallantly he had behaved at the siege of Jotapata. After this he mentioned several other particulars respecting him, and at length adverted to the subject of his predictions; "These (said he) I at first imagined to be no-"thing more than contrivances for his own preservation: but the event has "proved that they were actually the result of Divine inspiration: wherefore,

" my friends, it would be an indelible disgrace on me longer to detain in the " abject condition of a prisoner, the sacred messenger of God, who declared " to me the news of my advancement."

Vespasian had no sooner thus delivered his sentiments, than Joseph was instantly sent for, and restored to his full liberty. From this instance of gratitude in the emperor his officers formed the most favourable idea of their own situation; thinking that they, who were his faithful friends and servants, should experience every indulgence under so kind a master. During this scene Titus was present, who, in a most submissive manner, hinted to his father that the single granting of liberty to Joseph was leaving the generosity of his plan incomplete: that his chains ought not only to be taken off, but broken, as a full testimony of his innocence; whereby Vespasian would leave him as he found him; which was a customary practice when persons were imprisoned without cause: for, if this was not done, the dishonour of his imprisonment would remain with him, though his person was restored to liberty. Vespasian, coinciding in this opinion, gave immediate orders that his chains should be cut in pieces. This circumstance not only gave freedom to Joseph, but so raised his reputation as a phrophet, that every one was disposed to give credit to any of his future predictions, in as full and ample a manner as they had done to what he had already foretold.

CHAP. XIII.

Vespasian, in his way to Rome, goes to Antioch. He sends Mucianus into Italy with a considerable army. Cæcinna prevails on the soldiers of Vitellius to take part with Vespasian; but they repent, desert, and seize Cæcinna as a traitor. An encounter between Anthony and the Vitellians, in which the latter have the disadvantage, and, taking their flight towards Cremona, are totally vanquished. Cæcinna is set at liberty, and dispatched to Vespasian with an account of the victory. He is received in a most honourable manner. The capitol seized on by Sabinus. A desperate engagement between Anthony and the Vitellians. Vitellius, in a fit of intoxication, is dragged through the streets, and stabbed in the city. The choice of Vespasian acquires the universal sanction of the people.

VESPASIAN having dispatched the ambassadors who had attended on him, and committed the care of all his governments to officers of tried and approved fidelity, he changed his original intention of going to Alexandria, and went to Antioch, determining to go from thence to Rome: for by this time Alexandria was reduced to a state of peace and safety; while Rome, being exceedingly disturbed by Vitellius, there was the greater occasion for his attendance at the latter. Having determined on this plan, he dispatched Mucianus over land, through Cappadocia and Phrygia into Italy, with a large army of infantry and cavalry; being afraid to trust his troops by sea, during the winter season.

Antonius Primus was among those who were sent on this occasion. He was governor of Mysia, and had under his command the third legion, which had been quartered in that province. Now Anthony wished for an immediate engage-

engagement with Vitellius; and, on the other hand, Vitellius ſent a ſtrong army, under the command of Cæcinna, to oppoſe him. While Cæcinna was on his march towards Rome, he met Anthony on the confines of Italy, in the neighbourhood of Cremona. On this occaſion he halted to take a view of the numbers, order and diſcipline of the enemy; but he was afraid to encounter them. He was totally at a loſs how to act: he did not dare to riſk a battle; nor could he think of running away, on any principle of honor: wherefore he choſe rather to be conſidered as a deſerter than a coward. Having aſſembled his centurions, tribunes, and all the reſt of his officers, he exerted the utmoſt powers of his oratory in a declaration on the different degree of merit in Veſpaſian and Vitellius. The one he extolled in the higheſt degree, and depreciated the character of the other; and all this with a fixed deſign to prevail on the ſoldiers of Vitellius to take part with Veſpaſian. His ſpeech was to the following purpoſe: "Vitellius poſſeſſes nothing more than the "name of an emperor; whereas the claim of Veſpaſian is not only founded "in the ſtricteſt equity; but his very perſon is ſtamped with the indubitable "marks of the imperial character. Beſides, the troops of Veſpaſian are ſo "numerous and well choſen, that it will be in vain for us to think of enter- "ing into a conteſt with him. This being the caſe, had we not better now "act the ſame part, as of our own choice and free-will, that we ſhall other- "wiſe be ſoon compelled to do, through the force of mere neceſſity? While "I ſay this, I am certain that Veſpaſian is able to carry his deſigns into exe- "cution, without our aid or aſſiſtance; but Vitellius, ſo far from being "able to protect his adherents, is by no means in a condition to defend him- "ſelf."

The arguments of Cæcinna were urged with ſo much zeal, that he obtained the point at which he laboured, and prevailed on his troops to go over to Anthony: but on the following night, Cæcinna's people, partly repenting of what they had done, and partly in fear of the conſequence, in caſe Vitellius ſhould prove ſucceſsful in the conteſt, advanced in a rage with drawn ſwords, with a determination to deſtroy Cæcinna, which they certainly would have done, if the tribunes had not interceded ſtrongly in his favour. Hereupon they refrained from taking away his life; but inſiſted that, as a traitor, he ſhould be immediately ſent to Vitellius in chains.

Anthony was no ſooner informed of this event, than, without loſing a moment's time, he diſpatched a party to attack them as deſerters. For ſome time they made a faint reſiſtance; but receded upon the firſt violent ſhock, and betook themſelves to flight towards Cremona: but Anthony, interpoſing his cavalry between the fugitives and the town, and entirely ſurrounding them, deſtroyed great numbers of them on the ſpot, and permitted his troops to make plunder of all they could find in the place. The whole army of Vitellius, amounting to thirty thouſand two hundred men, fell on this occaſion: and of the merchants and townſmen great numbers were ſacrificed. Four thouſand five hundred of the men whom Anthony had brought out of Myſia were likewiſe ſlain: but Anthony gave Cæcinna his liberty, and diſpatched him to Veſpaſian with an account of the victory. Veſpaſian received him

him with all imaginable honor and reſpect, which was deemed a counterpoiſe to the diſgrace he had received by deſerting his former commander.

No ſooner was Sabinus, the brother of Veſpaſian, informed that Anthony was on his march towards Rome, than he was inſpired with freſh courage: wherefore he, on the ſame night, aſſembled the city guards, and ſeized on the capitol. On the following day great numbers of perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank came in and joined his party; among them was his nephew Domitian, who took a principal part in the glorious enterprize in agitation.

Vitellius paid little regard to the proceedings of Anthony, the principal view of his reſentment being directed towards Sabinus, and the other perſons who had joined with him in the revolt: and being by nature of a ſavage and ferocious diſpoſition, but particularly ſo to thoſe of diſtinguiſhed rank, he diſpatched a body of his own troops to attack the capitol. In this enterprize ſingular inſtances of bravery were exhibited betwixt the aſſailants and thoſe in the temple: but, in the end, the Germans made themſelves maſters of the hill, their numbers being too great for thoſe of their opponents. Domitian, and other Romans of the firſt rank, eſcaped in a manner almoſt miraculous: the greater part of the people were totally deſtroyed: the ſoldiers firſt plundered the temple, and then ſet it on fire. With regard to Sabinus, he was made priſoner, and conducted to Vitellius, who commanded that he ſhould be inſtantly put to death.

On the following day Anthony arrived with his army, when a deſperate battle enſued between him and the Vitellians. The encounter was in three different parts of the city, and the Vitellians were all ſlain. The action being ended, Vitellius came out of his palace in a fit of intoxication; for he was much addicted to exceſs, both in eating and drinking. Hereupon he was ſeized, dragged through the ſtreets, calumniated with every poſſible term of degradation, and at length ſtabbed to death in the center of the city. His reign had continued eight months and five days; but his extravagance was ſo great, that it was imagined that the revenue of the empire would not have been equal to his expences had he lived much longer. Excluſive of thoſe already mentioned it was reckoned that there were above fifty thouſand men ſlain. It was on the third day of the month Appellæus that this intereſting action took place.

On the following day Mucianus and his army entered Rome, where he found the ſoldiers of Anthony engaged in ſearching every ſpot for the troops of Vitellius, whom they put to death the moment they apprehended them, without the leaſt enquiry reſpecting their guilt or innocence. When the fury of this carnage had in ſome degree ſubſided, Mucianus inſinuated that the people would act a wiſe part in electing Domitian for their governor, till his father ſhould arrive: but the people apprehending no farther danger, would not conſent to accept of any other governor than Veſpaſian, whom they extolled to the ſkies with the loudeſt acclamations. On this occaſion they united two feſtivals; the one for their deliverance from the tyranny of Vitellius, and the other for the happy advancement of Veſpaſian to the ſupreme command.

CHAP. XIV.

Addreſſes in great number preſented to Veſpaſian at Alexandria. Veſpaſian diſpatches his ſon Titus towards Jeruſalem. Account of the rout taken by Titus.

WHEN Veſpaſian arrived at Alexandria, he heard a particular account of all that had happened at Rome; and he received great numbers of addreſſes, to congratulate him on his advancement to the dignity of emperor. If Rome be excepted, it is thought that Alexandria is the largeſt city in the world; and yet it was ſcarcely large enough to contain the multitudes that were aſſembled on this occaſion. The Roman empire being now adjuſted and ſettled, the inhabitants of it in a ſtate of eaſe beyond their former expectation, and the winter being ended, Veſpaſian thought of conſidering the ſtate of Judæa, and then making preparation for his journey to Rome. Having adjuſted all things at Alexandria, he diſpatched his ſon Titus, with the beſt of his troops, on an expedition againſt Jeruſalem. Titus having gone by land to Nicopolis, about twenty furlongs from Alexandria, he there embarked his forces in long-boats, and ſailed down the Nile, on the banks of the Mendeſian Canton, to the city of Thmuis, and landed at Tanis. Hence he proceeded to Heracleopolis, and thence to Peluſium, where he remained two days to refreſh his troops. Then he marched acroſs the deſert, and encamped near the temple of Jupiter Caſſius. On the following day he proceeded to Oſtracine; which is ſo remarkable for its drowth, that the inhabitants have no water but what they procure from other places. Thence he went to Rinocorura, where he remained ſome time. Raphia, the firſt city on the confines of Syria, was his fourth ſtage, and Gaza his fifth; from which he went to Aſcalon, Jamnia and Joppa; and from Joppa to Cæſarea, in the view of adding ſome reinforcement to the troops under his command.

END of the FIFTH BOOK.

THE

THE WARS OF THE JEWS.

BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

Eleazar, John, and Simon head three several factions in Jerusalem. An encounter between John and Eleazar; after which John and Simon engage. Terrible calamities prevail in Jerusalem; and the people of that city are lost to every sentiment of humanity. The disposition and march of the Roman army under the command of Titus.

HAVING passed the deserts situated between Ægypt and Syria, as we have already related, Titus repaired to Cæsarea, where he had determined to assemble his people, and make the necessary regulations for forming his army in the most advantageous manner. During the time that he remained at Alexandria with his father, issuing orders respecting the government of the empire which the Almighty had been pleased to commit to his charge, the malecontents of Jerusalem divided themselves into three distinct

diſtinct parties, and ſeverally oppoſed each other: and this diviſion was conſidered as a favourable rather than as an unhappy circumſtance, ſince by engaging in an oppoſition the promoters of public miſchief ſeemed to be labouring to procure their own deſtruction.

We have already related the riſe and progreſs of the faction of Zelotes, whoſe arbitrary proceedings were unqueſtionably the principal cauſe of ruin to the city of Jeruſalem. In conſequence of their private diſſentions, the people formed themſelves into different factions: and their conduct had ſome reſemblance to a ſavage beaſt that, wanting another object on which to exerciſe its fury, turns its rage on itſelf, and preys upon its own intrails.

The ſeparation of the faction was commenced in the temple, through the means of Eleazar, the ſon of Simon, who irritated the Zelotes againſt the people, under the pretext that the turbulent and audacious conduct of John of Giſchala had daily encreaſed till it was at length become wholly intolerable. Eleazar was equally remarkable with John for an unrelenting cruelty of diſpoſition; and he was influenced to deſert his aſſociates, and put himſelf at the head of a faction, from an impatience of inferiority and an inſatiable deſire of tyrannical power. Judas, the ſon of Chelcias; Simon, the ſon of Ezron, men of high diſtinction and great intereſt; and Ezechias, the ſon of Chobar, deſcended of noble anceſtors, attached themſelves to the party of Eleazar, and each of them was attended by a company of Zelotes. This faction took poſſeſſion of the interior part of the temple, and ſtationed guards upon the ſacred doors and porches; and as they had impiouſly determined to obſerve no diſtinction between ſacred and profane things, they entertained a full confidence of gaining a plentiful ſupply of the neceſſaries of life, ſince proviſion would continue to be brought into the place for the purpoſe of the daily oblations. Their only apprehenſion now was that their numbers were not ſufficient to effect any important enterprize.

The party headed by John of Giſchala was conſiderably more powerful than that of Eleazar, whoſe deficiency in point of numbers, however, was fully compenſated for by the elevated ſituation of his poſt, which gave him a great advantage over his adverſary. Notwithſtanding the ſuperior ſtrength of men that John poſſeſſed, he was ſenſible that, on account of his unfavourable ſtation, all attempts to annoy Eleazar muſt terminate to his own diſadvantage: he was unable to determine on what means to purſue; for, if he raſhly followed the impulſe of his rage, he feared he ſhould have cauſe to repent his conduct, and he was uneaſy under the idea of being driven to the neceſſity of repreſſing his deſire of vengeance: but every ſuggeſtion of prudence, at length, yielded to his animoſity, and he made repeated aſſaults upon Eleazar; in conſequence whereof the temple was defiled with dead carcaſſes, and the blood of the ſlain.

The people being in circumſtances of great diſtreſs, had choſen Simon, the ſon of Gorias, for their governor and protector; and he being in poſſeſſion of the whole upper and the greateſt part of the lower town, directed his arms againſt the faction under the command of John; who being hard preſſed from above by Eleazar occaſioned Simon to purſue his attacks with

additional vigour. Eleazar being poſſeſſed of the moſt elevated ſpot, had a conſiderable advantage over John, who had an equal power over Simon, his party being ſtationed on ſtill lower ground. Thus was a double war purſued againſt John, who had but little difficulty in repulſing the attacks made by Simon; and he exerted his utmoſt efforts to defend himſelf againſt Eleazar, whom he annoyed with ſtones and darts caſt by ſlings and machines. The weapons diſcharged by theſe engines killed many of Eleazar's people, and others who had repaired to the temple for the purpoſe of performing the duties of religion. Theſe iniquitous people gave ready admiſſion to all who came to the temple from religious motives; but the Jews were ſubjected to more particular examinations than others. Many of the ſtrangers who eſcaped the rage of the ſoldiers, were killed by the ſtones and lances diſcharged by the faction under John, and numbers of theſe weapons reached the very altar, and deſtroyed the prieſts who were employed in diſcharging the duties of the ſacred function. Perſons who had repaired from diſtant parts of the globe were ſacrificed in the holy temple, where they meant to offer prayers and adorations to the Almighty; and the altar, which not only the Greeks, but even the moſt barbarous nations, held in the greateſt veneration, was polluted with their blood. The carcaſes of perſons ſacred and profane, ſtrangers and natives, were promiſcuouſly heaped together, and the blood iſſuing from them flowed up to the very altar.

Alas, Jeruſalem! Moſt unhappy city! Thou wert now reduced to a ſtate of miſery infinitely ſurpaſſing the horrors that enſued when thou wert entered by the Romans, who endeavoured by fire and ſword to purify thee from thy apoſtacies, factions, and other abominations! No longer wert thou worthy to be called the reſidence of the Almighty, whoſe place of abode thou hadſt changed for the ſepulchre of thy citizens: and it could not be expected that the impious provocations of thy degenerate ſons would eſcape with impunity. But it is, however, ſtill poſſible to appeaſe an incenſed Creator, who hath been pleaſed to afflict thee with a judicial puniſhment; he is all benevolence and righteouſneſs; and, I ſay, by a ſincere humiliation and repentance it is ſtill poſſible that he may be moved to compaſſion. But it is not the province of an hiſtorian to indulge private paſſions: I muſt therefore proceed to a relation of the events which followed the diſſentions above-recited.

Eleazar and his faction, who had the charge of the firſt-fruits and oblations, were frequently in a ſtate of intoxication; and they made repeated aſſaults upon John; who attacked Simon as well as the people who ſupplied Simon with proviſions, thereby the better enabling him to withſtand the other two factions. When John was attacked by Simon and Eleazar at the ſame time, he divided his forces, and annoyed the former with darts diſcharged from the tops of the porches, and againſt the latter he directed his engines for caſting ſtones and arrows. Through the intoxication or fatigue of Eleazar and his people, they allowed John frequent intervals; and he, availing himſelf of theſe opportunities, made more powerful aſſaults upon Simon, whom he compelled to retire, and in the purſuit ſet fire to ſtore-houſes, graneries, habitations and other buildings, wholly regardleſs of what they contained; and

a like conduct was adopted by Simon when John was under the neceſſity of returning to his quarters. In ſhort, they deſtroyed all that was neceſſary for the defence of the city; and had they been actually engaged in a conſpiracy for betraying the place into the power of the Romans they could not have purſued more certain means for effecting that purpoſe. All that ſurrounded the temple was entirely conſumed by fire. There was a ſtock of grain and other neceſſaries of life ſufficient for the maintainance of the inhabitants during a ſiege of ſeveral years; but nearly the whole of this ſupply being burnt, a famine enſued, which produced the utter deſtruction of the city.

Being at the ſame time beſieged by the Romans, and diſtracted by internal diviſions, Jeruſalem reſembled a body expoſed as a prey to ſavage and furious beaſts. The women and ancient men put forth prayers for the ſucceſs of the Romans, hoping to be relieved by a foreign enemy from the intolerable calamities of civil diſcord. The ſituation of the inhabitants was deplorable beyond deſcription: the reſolutions they formed they were wholly unable to execute: there remained no poſſibility of eſcape, all the avenues being ſtrictly watched and guarded; for the leaders of the factions, notwithſtanding their inveterate enmity in other reſpects, united in the determination to ſacrifice to their barbarity ſuch of the people as were even ſuſpected to entertain the moſt diſtant wiſh of ſucceſs to the Romans, and to put every man to death who was worthy to enjoy life. The ſhouts of thoſe who were engaged, the lamentations of the wounded, and the claſhing of arms, were inceſſantly heard both day and night. They were made ſufficiently unhappy by the dread of the evils with which futurity ſeemed to be pregnant; but when thoſe evils actually arrived, their miſeries were greatly encreaſed. When afflictions are multiplied to a certain degree, they throw us into a kind of ſtupefaction, and deprive us of the power of complaint; and then grief, like a canker, ſilently corrodes the heart. All diſtinction of perſons was loſt; nor was more reſpect paid to the dead than the living; for funeral rites, and all other decencies which it is uſual to obſerve towards the dead, were entirely neglected. Thoſe who were not engaged as parties in either of the factions abandoned themſelves to deſpair, and became regardleſs of their ſafety, expecting every moment to be involved in irretrievable deſtruction. The people who compoſed the factions, mounted the heaps of ſlain, and fought with a ſeeming triumph and oſtentation, whence it appeared as if the horrors of the ſcene had rendered the living as inſenſible to the feelings of humanity, as were the dead beneath their feet. Theſe people were ſo determined upon wickedneſs, that they engaged in the moſt cruel and impious undertakings without the leaſt heſitation. John applied to profane purpoſes a quantity of materials appointed for the ſervice of the holy temple. The people and the high-prieſts had formed a deſign of raiſing the temple twenty cubits, and erecting an arch for the ſupport of the work; and for the purpoſe of carrying the plan into execution, king Agrippa, at an amazing expence, and with much labour, cauſed a quantity of timber, remarkable for its length, breadth, and excellent quality, to be conveyed from mount Libanus: but the war taking place, the undertaking was of courſe interrupted. John cauſed the trees to be cut into lengths, and to be employed in forming turrets for defending himſelf againſt the

the attacks of Eleazar. The turrets were erected along the wall to the weſtward, oppoſite the great hall; and indeed there were no other places which would admit of theſe works being formed, on account of the many flights of ſteps by which they were occupied. John cheriſhed the flattering idea that, by the impious contrivance of perverting the ſacred materials to his own uſe, he would be enabled to ſubdue his enemies: but through the providence of Heaven, the Romans were made the inſtruments of rendering his deſign abortive.

Having aſſembled one part of his army, and commanded the remainder to march to Jeruſalem, Titus repaired to Cæſarea. Excluſive of the three legions which had made great devaſtation and havoc in Judæa, while under the command of Veſpaſian, he was accompanied by the twelfth legion, which was compoſed of brave and well-diſciplined troops, whoſe natural intrepidity was greatly encreaſed by the deſire of revenge for the defeat they had ſuſtained under the command of Ceſtius. He commanded the fifth legion to march by the way of Ammaus, and the tenth by that of Jericho; and he himſelf led the reſt of the army, with a more powerful body of royal auxiliaries than had been ſupplied on any former occaſion, and a numerous company of Syrian troops. Detachments from the four legions having been ſent into Italy, under the conduct of Mucianus, Titus completed the companies by ſupplying the places of the draughted men out of the two thouſand choſen Alexandrian troops who accompanied him, and the three thouſand that followed him from the Euphrates. He was joined by his valuable and much reſpected friend Tiberius Alexander, formerly the governor of Ægypt, who, ſoon after he had aſſumed that office, eſpouſed the cauſe of Veſpaſian, and contracted an alliance with him, to which he adhered, without ſuffering the uncertain events of fortune to ſhake his fidelity. He was a man of deep penetration, ſound judgment, great courage and fortitude; and, in ſhort, his experience, and the many other advantages he poſſeſſed, eminently qualified him to direct the operations of war.

CHAP. II.

Titus proceeds to Jeruſalem in order to reconnoitre the ſituation of the enemy, who make a furious ſally, and cut off the communication between the two diviſions of the Roman army. The providential eſcape of Titus, who performs great feats of valour, and returns to the camp.

TITUS led his army into the country of the enemy in the following order: the auxiliaries marched firſt; they were followed by the pioneers; to whom ſucceeded the troops appointed to mark out the ground where the camp was to be formed; next came the baggage of the officers, attended by a convoy; and then followed Titus, eſcorted by his guards and other choſen troops, and attended by the enſign-bearers; theſe were ſucceeded by the tribunes and other officers, with a number of ſelected men under their command; the

the next in courſe was the Roman eagle, ſurrounded by the enſigns of the legions, and preceded by trumpets; then marched the body of the army in rank and file, the men being drawn up ſix in front, and followed by the domeſtics with their baggage: the rear was formed by the victuallers, artizans, and other mercenaries, eſcorted by their guard. Thus, according to the military diſcipline of the Romans, Titus led his army, by the way of Samaria, to Gophna, which Veſpaſian had formerly ſubdued, and therein eſtabliſhed a garriſon. On the following morning he proceeded towards a place called by the Jews the "Valley of Thorns," ſituated near thirty furlongs from Jeruſalem, and adjacent to the village of Gabath Saul, or, the valley of Saul, where he arrived and encamped his army the ſame evening.

Titus now led a body of ſix hundred ſelect cavalry towards Jeruſalem, in order to reconnoitre the city, and inform himſelf of the ſituation of the Jews. He was ſenſible that the people were diſpoſed to peace, and deſirous of being relieved from the oppreſſion of the factious parties, whom they were heartily inclined to oppoſe, but were deterred from attempting the enterprize by the want of a force adequate to the undertaking: and he conceived that the appearance of his army might probably induce them to ſurrender without proceeding to an engagement. Titus marched forward, and while he continued in the direct road to the city, none of the Jews appeared upon the battlements: but upon his croſſing towards the turret called Pſephinos, a great concourſe of Jews ſuddenly iſſued from the gate oppoſite the ſepulchre of Helena, on that quarter called the woman's tower, and forcing a paſſage through the cavalry, intercepted all communication between the two diviſions of the Roman army. Titus found himſelf, accompanied by only a ſmall number of his troops, in a ſituation whence he could not advance on account of the gardens, encloſures and ditches between him and the city, or retreat ſince a powerful body of Jews had ſtationed themſelves between him and the reſt of his army. Such of Titus's men as were ignorant of their general's danger, believing him to be among the croud engaged in providing for his own ſafety, conceived that their buſineſs was to elude the vengeance of the enemy, and to follow their commander. In the terrible extremity to which Titus was reduced, he was conſcious that his ſafety muſt wholly depend on the ſucceſs of an extraordinary effort of courage; and therefore he called to his people, commanding them to follow him, and at the ſame inſtant rode furiouſly amidſt the body of the Jews, in order to force a paſſage to the reſt of his army. He meant not, as we have already obſerved, to encounter the Jews; but his whole view was to make obſervations and diſcoveries; and therefore he had omitted to provide himſelf with armour for the defence of either his body or head: but he received not the leaſt injury, notwithſtanding immenſe numbers of darts, arrows, and other weapons were diſcharged againſt him by the enemy. Titus put every man who oppoſed his progreſs to death, and trampled great numbers of the enemy under his horſe's feet. The ſurprizing exploits performed by Titus, inflamed the Jews with additional rage; and they exhorted each other to exert their utmoſt efforts for effecting his deſtruction, as the only means of interrupting the ſucceſs of the Roman arms. The Jews preſſed upon Titus, both in flank and rear, but wherever he

turned the enemy fled before him, and his people kept close to him, and behaved with great resolution. Titus and his party now conceived that there remained no probable means of escape but by forcing a passage through the adverse army; and this desperate exploit they attempted. In the action two of Titus's friends were slain, and the horse of one of them was killed, and that of the other seized by the enemy: but the general and the remaining part of his company gained the camp without receiving a wound or being otherwise injured. Hence it appears that the providence of the Almighty is interposed to direct the events of war for the preservation of emperors and princes. The slight and temporary advantage obtained by the Jews gave them hopes of more important success: but their flattering expectations were disappointed, as will hereafter appear.

CHAP. III.

The factions unite to oppose the Romans, who are surprized and put to flight. Titus leads a party of troops to the relief of the fugitives, and the Romans kill several of the Jews, and pursue the rest into the valley. Their general being missing occasions a great consternation among the Romans. The Jews retreat, still disputing the advantages gained by the enemy: but Titus drives them into the valley.

THE legion from Ammaus joined Titus that night, and early on the following morning he directed his march towards Scopos, situated seven stadia from Jerusalem, on the northern side. Scopos stands in a hollow, but it commands a view of the city and temple, and therefore it is not improperly denominated. Titus ordered two legions to use all possible expedition for an encampment, and the legion which, by performing a tedious march during the night, was greatly fatigued, he appointed to form their camp at the distance of three stadia farther from the enemy. The troops had no sooner began to carry their general's orders into execution than the tenth legion arrived from Jericho, which had been lately taken and garrisoned by Vespasian. Titus ordered this legion to encamp at six stadia eastward of Jerusalem and the mount of Olives, which is opposite the city, they being separated by the valley of Cedron.

The appearance of the Roman army proved a circumstance highly alarming to the three seditious parties, who now divested themselves of the animosity they had entertained against each other, and united to oppose the common enemy. They thus argued with themselves on the necessity of compromising the domestic contentions: "We are surrounded by an hostile army "who have made every preparation for a vigorous prosecution of war, and "both our lives and liberties are now in the most imminent danger. Thus "situated, shall we suffer intestine divisions to prevail, to the certain destruc"tion of ourselves, and consequently to the advantage of our enemies? Our "conduct (said one of the people) is calculated to give victory to our adver"saries without putting them to the trouble of fighting, or subjecting them

" to the loſs of blood; for the deſtruction of each other ſeems to be the ob-
" ject that claims our principal attention." Hereupon they aſſembled in parties, and furiouſly ruſhing acroſs the valley, with violent ſhouts and clamours, aſſaulted the tenth legion, who were then employed in forming the intrenchments of their camp. The Romans were ſurprized while they were at work, and unprovided with weapons of defence; and they entertained not the leaſt apprehenſion of danger, judging the diſſentions which prevailed in the city a ſufficient ſecurity againſt receiving any annoyance from the enemy. When the attack was made, all the Romans quitted their ſtations in great conſternation; ſome fought their ſafety in flight, others ran to take up arms, but before they could make uſe of them, they were cut off by the enemy. The ſucceſs of the Jews animated conſiderable numbers of people of the ſame profeſſion to reinforce them: and though they were not remarkably numerous, their victory inſpired them, as well as the Romans, with the idea of greater ſtrength than they poſſeſſed in reality. It muſt be generally acknowledged that of all the people of the univerſe the Romans are by far the moſt ſkilful in the art of war, and that they perform all the military exerciſes and duties with unrivalled grace and regularity: but upon being ſo unexpectedly attacked, they trembled with apprehenſion, deſerted their poſts, and were purſued; ſtill, however, as they were overtaken by ſuch as had gained ground of the body of the Jews, they turned in order to repulſe them, and they killed and wounded ſeveral. As, on the one hand, the number of the Jews continued to encreaſe, ſo, on the other, did the terror and conſternation among the Romans, who, at length, abandoned their camp; and the whole legion would inevitably have been deſtroyed had not Titus, attended by a body of choſen troops, arrived to their relief; the appearance of the general put a ſtop to the flight, and he upbraided the fugitives with being deficient in point of courage. He attacked the Jews in flank, killed ſeveral, wounded a greater number, and drove the reſt into the valley: the Jews croſſed the valley in great diſorder, and in their flight a conſiderable number was ſlain: having gained the further ſide of the valley, they made a ſtand, and maintained a conteſt with the Romans till mid-day. Early in the afternoon Titus reinforced the legion with the troops he had led to its ſuccour when it was put to flight by the Jews; and having ſtationed parties in proper places to guard againſt excurſions of the enemy, he ordered the remaining part of his people to proceed up the mountain, on the ſummit of which they were to encamp and raiſe fortifications.

The Jews, obſerving the Roman troops to be in motion, imagined that they were actually flying; and this idea was ſtrengthened by the ſhaking a garment in the air by one of the centinels upon the walls of the town, which was a ſignal that had been previouſly agreed upon. In conſequence of this intimation, the Jews preſſed towards the enemy in ſo impetuous a manner, that they rather appeared to be furious and ſavage beaſts than human creatures. The Jews ruſhed to the aſſault with ſuch violence, that their adverſaries were not able to withſtand ſo great a ſhock, but were diſperſed as if by the ſtroke of ſome terrible engine: but they exerted every poſſible effort to preſerve themſelves by endeavouring to gain the top of the mountain. Titus

made a ſtand about the middle of the hill, being attended by only a ſmall number of intrepid friends, who profeſſed that they entertained the higheſt veneration for his ſacred perſon, which they exhorted him no longer to expoſe to the dangerous rage of a profligate banditti, but to preſerve a neceſſary regard to his exalted ſtation and character; they repreſented that the Jews were driven to ſuch a ſtate of deſperation that death was the beſt event that could happen to them; that he was not to be conſidered merely in the character of a warrior, but as the ſovereign of the world, and therefore it was neceſſary that he ſhould liſten to the ſuggeſtions of prudence, which dictated that it became a point of duty to preſerve a life on which ſo materially depended the honor and ſafety of the Roman empire. Wholly regardleſs of the friendly advice of his companions, Titus maintained his ground, reſolutely oppoſing the aſſailants, ſome of whom he cut over the face, others he killed, and drove ſome into the valley. The bravery of Titus kept the Jews in ſome awe, but ſtill they did not deem it neceſſary to ſeek refuge in the city: they formed an opening to the right and left, and aſſaulted Titus and his party on each ſide; but the Romans attacked them in flank, and fought with aſtoniſhing bravery.

The Romans who were employed in fortifying their camp at the top of the mountain, were ſtruck with ſuch aſtoniſhment and horror upon perceiving their companions fly, that the whole legion deſerted the camp, and ran from place to place in the greateſt confuſion; they imagined that their countrymen were not able to withſtand the ſuperior power of the Jews, and that their general had actually quitted the field, or his troops would not have abandoned him. Some of the Romans perceiving Titus engaged in the midſt of his enemies, called to their companions, apprizing them of their general's danger, and urging them to haſte to his relief. The alarming ſituation of Titus tranſported the Romans to ſo violent a deſire of revenge, that, wholly regardleſs of their own ſafety, they furiouſly aſſaulted the Jews, and purſued them down the mountain. In their retreat the Jews continued to oppoſe their adverſaries, and loſt not a foot of ground without reſiſtance: but the Romans having the advantage of the higher ground, compelled their enemies to retire, and purſued them into the valley. Titus valiantly fought againſt thoſe who oppoſed him, and his example greatly animated his followers. He remained with his own party for the purpoſe of keeping the foe at a diſtance, and ordered the legion to return to the ſummit of the mountain and complete the intrenchments. Without making any flattering additions or envious detractions, I may ſafely aſſert that the legion was twice in one day indebted to Titus for their preſervation. The troops were now at liberty to form their camp and raiſe their intrenchments.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Under a religious pretext John meditates the execution of a horrid ſcene of villainy. The factions form themſelves into two parties. Titus advances towards the city, and orders a conſiderable tract of land to be levelled.

A Suſpenſion of hoſtilities now took place, during which the diſſentions among the Jews revived. The Paſchal feaſt, or the feaſt of unleavened bread, which is celebrated on the fourteenth of the month Xanthicus, whence the Jews date their deliverance out of Ægypt, was now approaching; on which account Eleazar cauſed the gate of the temple to be opened, that all who repaired thither from religious motives might have free admittance.

John impiouſly determined to take advantage of the opportunity which the religious occaſion afforded; and therefore he ſelected a number of his adherents, whoſe perſons were leaſt known, and providing them with daggers and other weapons, to be concealed under their garments, inſtructed them as to the meaſures they were to purſue. According to the directions they had received, theſe people, who were of profane and diſſolute principles, diſperſed themſelves among the people who had aſſembled in the temple for the purpoſe of performing the duties of religion, and then, throwing open their garments, expoſed their weapons. The worſhippers imagined that the deſign of the armed men was hoſtile towards all the other people who were in the building, and the utmoſt confuſion prevailed: but Eleazar and the Zelotes were perfectly ſenſible that they were the objects againſt whom the reſentment of John was principally directed. The guards now drew off from the gates, others leaped from the towers where they were ſtationed, and without attempting the leaſt reſiſtance, fled to conceal themſelves in the vaults of the building. Some of the people who repaired to the altar were preſſed or trampled to death by the croud; others loſt their lives by the ſword, and many were deſtroyed by means of cudgels. Thoſe who entertained private animoſities gratified their deſire of revenge by murdering their adverſaries under the pretence of their being friends to the oppoſite parties. Notwithſtanding the unrelenting cruelty which was exerciſed upon the innocent, many of the guilty were permitted to eſcape from the holes and vaults where they had concealed themſelves. The interior part of the temple being now in poſſeſſion of the Zelotes, they aſſaulted Simon with additional vigour; and the factions were now reduced into two diviſions.

At this time the Roman general formed the reſolution of advancing his army nearer to Jeruſalem; and preparatory to his removal he appointed a ſufficient number of troops to repulſe the Jews in caſe parties of them ſhould attempt to make inroads or offer obſtruction to his progreſs; and another body of his people he ordered to level and make good all the ways between the place where his army was now poſted and the city. In conſequence hereof, the walls, hedges, fences about the gardens belonging to the country people, and all other incloſures were removed; the trees were cut down, not even

thoſe

thoſe producing the moſt choice fruits being ſpared; the hollows were filled up; the crags were made even; and the ſpace of ground extending from Scopos to Jeruſalem was entirely levelled.

CHAP. V.

The Jews concert meaſures for deceiving the Romans: but Titus puts no confidence in their pretence. A ſtratagem formed by the Jews prevails. The Roman ſoldiers condemned to ſuffer the martial law; but, through the mediation of the officers, Titus pardons them. Jeruſalem beſieged.

A Plot was now concerted among the Jews for deceiving the enemy. A number of the moſt reſolute of the people left the city, going out near the place called the women's towers, pretending that their dread of the party who were advocates for a reconciliation had compelled them to leave the town, and keeping themſelves as cloſe together, and as much concealed as poſſible, they appeared to be fearful of venturing farther leſt they ſhould be attacked by the Romans. Another party, who were ſtationed upon the walls, raiſing their voices to the utmoſt extent, in the name of the inhabitants called for peace and alliance with the enemy, ſupplicating them to agree to a compromiſe; and promiſing that the gates ſhould be opened: and to give their deception an air of plauſibility, they counterfeited a domeſtic contention; ſome pretending to be deſirous of going over to the Romans, and others caſting ſtones and uſing other means as if to obſtruct them. After ſeveral feigned attempts and repulſes the former party retired, affecting to be violently enraged and much diſappointed. The deception operated upon the common ſoldiers, who imagined that there was nothing wanting to give them abſolute poſſeſſion of the city but the ceremony of opening the gates, and they eagerly preſſed forward to reap the fruits of ideal conqueſt. On the preceeding day Titus had made the Jews an offer, through the agency of Joſeph, of the very matter which they now ſeemed ſo anxious to obtain, and the propoſal was rejected; and therefore he conceived that they had adopted their preſent conduct with a view of taking advantage of his credulity, and ſtrictly enjoined his troops to maintain their poſts and reſolutely ſtand to their arms. In the interim ſome of the ſoldiers who were ſtationed upon the trenches took up their arms and eagerly went towards the city. The Jews who pretended to have been driven out of the town, permitted them to paſs without obſtruction: but when they had proceeded nearly as far as the towers adjacent to the port, they followed them cloſe upon the rear, and hemmed them round within reach of darts, ſtones, and other weapons diſcharged from the walls. Thus ſituated, great numbers of the Romans were ſlain and wounded: and, being unable to retire, the ſurvivors were greatly affected by the ſenſe of diſobedience and the fear of puniſhment, they became hardened into a determination of purſuing the cauſe in which they had engaged. After a long and obſtinate conteſt, in which the parties ſuſtained an equal loſs, the Romans

forced a paſſage through the body of the Jews, who purſued them as far as the ſepulchre of Helena, continuing to annoy them with lances and other weapons, and uttering contemptuous ſpeeches reflecting upon them for having ſubmitted to be the dupes of their ſtratagem. The Jews expreſſed their ſatisfaction by leaping, dancing, waving their bucklers over their heads, and uttering ſhouts of triumph and joy.

The Romans being returned to their quarters, they were ſeverely reprimanded and threatened by their officers; and the general reproved them in the following terms; "Whence is it (ſaid he) that our enemies, even now, "when reduced to a ſtate of the utmoſt deſperation, behave with ſuch deli- "beration, good policy and courage? The anſwer muſt be, becauſe they are "perfectly obedient to the directions of their ſuperiors, and live in a ſtate of "unanimity among themſelves. But the Romans, on the contrary, who "have hitherto been ſo juſtly celebrated for their exact obſervance of the "military order and diſcipline, and for their conſequent ſucceſs in war, are "now degenerated and ruined by their impetuoſity in preſuming to engage "without the ſanction and directions of their commanders: and what ag- "gravates the crime, is, that it was committed in preſence of the emperor's "ſon. How vile a diſgrace will your late conduct prove to the military pro- "feſſion; and when it is repreſented to my father, how greatly will you be "debaſed in his opinion? In the long courſe of a military life he never ex- "perienced a ſimilar incident. The martial law declares that the ſmalleſt "violation of diſcipline conſtitutes a capital crime. In the preſent inſtance "you have proved yourſelves deſerters: and be informed that, according to "the Roman inſtitutions, when ſoldiers engage without the order of their "commanders, even victory is diſgraceful, and will not ſecure them from "the puniſhment which is due to their diſobedience." From the indignation and reſentment which Titus manifeſted while delivering the above ſpeech, the officers imagined that the martial law was to be put in force; and the offenders, conſcious that they had deſerved the puniſhment that they feared would be inflicted upon them, entertained no expectation of eſcaping deſtruction. But the officers of the legions ſupplicated Titus in favor of their unfortunate fellow ſoldiers, entreating that, for the ſake of thoſe who had in no inſtance violated their duty, he would remit the puniſhment due to a few raſh and inconſiderate people, whoſe future ſervices would compenſate for their paſt offences. It was both the intereſt and inclination of the general to liſten to the mediation of his officers; for though it may be neceſſary to uſe ſeverity towards individuals, political conſiderations will not permit ſimilar meaſures to be purſued in regard to multitudes. Upon receiving an aſſurance that the offenders would in future conduct themſelves in a manner perfectly conſiſtent with their duty, Titus granted a pardon of all paſt offences: and he now directed his attention towards diſcovering the moſt effectual means for wreaking vengeance upon the enemy for the treacherous conduct by which his people had been enſnared.

He ordered the ground from the ſpot where he was ſtationed to the city wall to be formed on a level; and this work was completed in the ſpace of only four days. He now commanded the moſt intrepid and beſt diſciplined

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of his ſoldiers to proceed towards the ramparts between the north and weſt; the infantry were drawn up in ſeven battalions, and the cavalry were formed into three ſquadrons, archers being ſtationed between them. This force being ſufficient to prevent the ſucceſs of any excurſions that might be made by the enemy, the baggage and train belonging to the three legions were perfectly ſecure.

Titus eſtabliſhed his camp at the diſtance of two ſtadia from Jeruſalem, oppoſite the tower named Pſephinos, on that angle of the wall of the city running from the north to the weſtward: he intrenched another part of his army towards the tower Hippocos, about two furlongs from the town; and he appointed the tenth legion to remain on Mount Olivet.

CHAP. VI.

The city of Jeruſalem fully deſcribed. It is ſurrounded by three walls. The ſtrength of the old wall. Account of the towers named Hippocos, Phaſaelus and Mariamne. Mention made of a dreadful conflagration. The ſituation, magnificence and ſtructure of the temple. The place of worſhip for the women. The ſacred ſanctuary. The interior part of it, with its partitions. Account of the candleſtick, table and altar. The beauty of the temple on the outſide. Its roof; and the altar in its front. No admittance for unclean perſons. The holy lives and converſation of the prieſts. Of their veil. Of the ephod. Account of Fort Antonia.

THREE celebrated walls ſurrounded the city of Jeruſalem on every ſide, except on that part which was deemed inacceſſible, on account of the valley beneath; and in this place there was only one wall. This city is built on two hills, the one ſituated oppoſite to the other; and a deep valley lays between them, the whole of which is likewiſe built on. The mountain on which the upper town is ſituated is much more ſteep and lofty than the other. In regard to the ſtrength of its ſituation it originally received the name of the Fortreſs or Caſtle, from king David, the father of Solomon, who erected it: but the Upper Market is the name by which it has been diſtinguiſhed in more modern times.

The ſituation of the lower town is on another hill, which is called by the name of Acra, round about which there is a declivity remarkably ſteep. Oppoſite to this there was formerly another hill, not ſo high as the Acra, from which it was ſeparated by an extenſive valley: but during the power of the Aſmonæan princes, they cauſed this valley to be filled up, and detaching a part of the hill Acra, they united the town with the temple; in conſequence of which it commands and overlooks all the adjacent parts.

Tyropæon is the name given to the above-mentioned valley, which divides the upper from the lower town: this valley extends even to the fountain of Siloe, the waters of which are equally diſtinguiſhed by their great abundance, and the excellence of their flavour.

Without the city there are two other towns, which are rendered almoſt inacceſſible, by the crags and precipices which ſurround them on every ſide.

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The moſt ancient of the three walls was remarkable for its extraordinary ſtrength; being erected on a hanging rock, and protected by the depth of the valley beneath it. Excluſive of the advantages of its natural ſituation, it was repeatedly ſtrengthened, at an immenſe expence, and by all the arts of induſtry, by David, Solomon, and a number of other princes. Its commencement on one ſide was at the tower named Hippocos; and it continued to another place, named the Galleries, ſtretching away by the Town-Houſe, to the weſtern porch of the temple. On the other ſide, reckoning from the ſame ſpot, it extended by Bethſo, down to the Eſſene-Gate, and thence, bending ſouthwards, by the fountain of Siloe, at which place it turned eaſtward, towards the pool of Solomon, and was from thence continued to the eaſt porch of the temple, by the way of Ophlas.

At the gate called Genath, which belongs to the former wall, the ſecond wall commences, and is carried on by the north ſide of the city, to the fort Antonia.

The beginning of the third wall being at the tower Hippocos, it extended northward to that named Pſephinos, oppoſite to the ſepulchre of Helena, mother of king Izates, and queen of the Adiabenians: and hence it continued by the Royal Caves, from the tower at the corner, towards the place which is denominated the Fullers Monument; after which it met the old wall in the valley of Cedron. This was the extent of the third wall, which was built by Agrippa, as a protection to that part of the city which he had erected; which, before this wall was built, had been totally undefended. About this period the city had ſo far encreaſed in the number of its inhabitants, that it was unable to contain them; in conſequence of which a ſort of ſuburbs were by degrees erected: and the buildings encreaſed to a very great degree on the north ſide of the temple next the hill.

Oppoſite to the fort Antonia there was a fourth mountain: but, between this mountain and the fort, ditches of an amazing depth had been cut, ſo that it was impoſſible to come at the foundation of the fort, ſo as to undermine it; and excluſive of this advantage, the ſinking of the ditches apparently added to the height of the tower. This fourth mountain received the name of Bezeth, or the New Town; being, in fact, nothing more than an addition to the former buildings. No ſooner was this place well peopled, than the inhabitants requeſted that it might be fortified: whereupon Agrippa, the father of king Agrippa, adjuſted his plan, and laid the foundation of the wall about it, as hath already been mentioned: but afterwards, on more mature deliberation, he thought that Claudius Cæſar might poſſibly be offended at his undertaking a work of ſuch importance and magnificence: wherefore Agrippa dropped the farther proſecution of his plan, after he had laid the foundations: but if he had proceeded to have completed it, the capture of Jeruſalem would have been rendered totally impracticable.

Twenty cubits was the length of the ſtones that formed this wall, and the breadth of them ten; and they were ſo remarkably hard and firm, that mining or battery could have no effect on them. The thickneſs of the wall was ten cubits, and it would have been built of proportionable height, if Agrippa had

had not dropped his deſign (as hath been hinted) in apprehenſion of the jealouſy of Claudius Cæſar. After this, however, the Jews carried up the wall to the height of twenty cubits, and erected on it battlements of two cubits, and parapets of three, making, in the whole, twenty-five cubits. Towers of twenty cubits ſquare formed the fortifications of the wall; and theſe towers were built with as much ſtrength as the wall itſelf; nor were the ſtones and workmanſhip even of the temple ſuperior in beauty and ſtrength to thoſe of this wall. The towers were elevated twenty cubits above the wall, and they were aſcended by circular ſtair-caſes. On the top of them were dining-rooms and chambers, and ciſterns for the reception of rain-water. The third wall was diſtinguiſhed by having on it ninety towers, all built in the ſame ſtile of architecture, and ſituated from each other at equal diſtances of two hundred cubits. The old wall had ſixty towers, and the middle only fourteen; and the extent of ground round the whole city was thirty-three furlongs.

The architecture of the third wall was deemed a piece of workmanſhip of very extraordinary merit: yet it was conſiderably inferior to that of the tower named Pſephinos: this tower is ſituated on the angle of the wall, to the north-weſt of the city: and it was on this quarter that Titus encamped. Its height was ſeventy cubits; and the proſpect from it ſo extenſive, that, in fine weather, it commands a view of Arabia, the ſea, and the whole extent of the Jewiſh dominions; and there were eight angles to this tower.

Directly oppoſite to it was the tower named Hippocos, and near it were two others, which had been erected by Herod, on the old wall, which were held in the higheſt eſtimation, on account of their magnitude, ſtrength and elegance: for Herod, impelled by other motives than his own ambition, gratified his inclination in conſulting, on all occaſions, the advantage and dignity of the city. His three towers he conſecrated to the memory of three perſons, for whom he maintained a more ſincere regard than for all the reſt of the human race. Theſe three were his brother, his friend and his wife. An honourable death in the field of battle had diſtinguiſhed the two former; and, of the latter, he himſelf, in a tranſport of jealouſy, had occaſioned the deſtruction.

One of the towers received the name of Hippocos, which was that of one of Herod's friends. It had four angles; was thirty cubits in height, and five and twenty in breadth; and the whole body of it was of ſolid ſtone. On the firſt ſtory of it was a platform of ſtones, twenty cubits in depth, formed in a moſt admirable manner, for the reception of rain-water. Above this terraſs were two ſtones, each twenty-five cubits high, which were divided into ſeparate apartments: and above theſe were battlements of two cubits in height; and the parapets ſurrounding the building were three cubits high: eighty-five cubits being the elevation of the whole edifice.

To the ſecond tower Herod gave the name of Phaſael, being that of his brother. It was a ſquare building, being forty cubits every way, and of the ſame height, and was maſſive from the top to the bottom. Upon the building was a porch of ten cubits in height, ſupported by arches, and adorned in a moſt curious manner. Above the center of this porch was another, in

which were rich baths and other apartments correſponding with the magnificent taſte of the royal builder. There were ſeveral battlements and fortifications on the top of the tower, the elevation of the whole building being little leſs than ninety cubits. At a diſtance it had ſome ſort of a reſemblance to the famous watch-tower of Pharos, which was diſtinguiſhed as a celebrated ſea-mark for perſons ſailing towards Alexandria: but it was much larger than Pharos, and, at the period of which I am writing, was inhabited by the tyrannical oppreſſor, Simon.

The third tower obtained the name of Mariamne, from that of the wife of Herod; it was of a ſquare form, being twenty cubits broad, and the ſame in length, and of the height of fifty-five. The other two towers were diſtinguiſhed by the curioſity of their ſtructure, rooms and furniture, the latter being very ſuperb and rich: but this of Mariamne as much exceeded them in every article of curioſity, beauty and ornament, as it fell ſhort of them in ſtrength and dignity: for Herod, in theſe buildings, conſulted the laws of propriety; and therefore made a manifeſt difference between the delicacy of ſuch a lady as Mariamne, and the manly and heroic virtues of Hippocos and Phaſael.

The height of theſe three towers was undoubtedly very great; and yet the ſituation of the place on which they were built made it appear much more than it was in reality. The old wall above which they ſtood was erected on a very high piece of ground; and theſe towers were built on the top of a mountain that was thirty cubits above the top of the old wall. They were not leſs diſtinguiſhed by their admirable ſtructure, than by the ſingular materials of which they were formed. The ſtones were of a ſcarce kind, and too large to be removed without the uſe of machines. They were of white marble, cut into planks of five cubits in depth, ten in breadth, and twenty in length; and they were joined together in ſo ingenious a manner, that no kind of breach was to be ſeen; but each of the towers had an appearance as if it was formed out of a ſingle block of marble.

The ſituation of theſe buildings was on the north ſide of the city; and juſt within them ſtood a royal palace, far more coſtly and magnificent than it is in the power of language to deſcribe. It was entirely encloſed with a wall of thirty cubits high: the turrets which were deſigned and executed by the moſt accompliſhed workmen, were placed at equal diſtances from each other, round the whole building, which contained a great number of elegant apartments, and rooms appropriated to entertainments, ſufficient for the accommodation of an hundred people. The ornaments conſiſted, in part, of an amazing number of the moſt curious marbles, which had been purchaſed at an immenſe expence, and were diſtinguiſhed by their beauty and variety. All the decorations tending to complete the work were incredibly magnificent: and the beams and timbers by which the roofs were ſupported were of a very extraordinary ſize and ſtrength. There were a great number of apartments, and paſſages between them, of the moſt admirable contrivance, equally calculated for convenience and elegance; the whole place being adorned in the moſt magnificent manner with gold, ſilver, and other valuable articles. There was likewiſe a great variety of porches and galleries,

built in a kind of circular communication with each other; and in each of theſe was a row of pillars. Between theſe pillars, which were in the open air, there was the moſt agreeable proſpect imaginable of groves and well-planted gardens. Theſe gardens were ornamented with long and agreeable walks, ciſterns, fountains, and pipes of braſs contrived to throw out the water; while flights of tame pigeons haunted the place for their recreation. It is not in the power of any pen to do juſtice to the elegance of this palace; beſides, I am ſtung to the heart at the conſideration of the ſtory, when I reflect what a horrid devaſtation hath been made there, by the infamous hands of an aſſociated crew of abandoned ruffians: for the conflagration, of which notice hath been already taken, was not occaſioned by the Romans, but by a band of profligate miſcreants, who, at the commencement of the ſeditious proceedings, burnt the place as far as the fort of Antonia, and then, continuing their depredations to the palace, burnt alſo the roofs of the three towers.

I have already remarked that this temple was erected on a ſolid rock, which was ſo ſteep on every ſide, that at firſt its ſummit was inſufficient for the erection of the temple, and to make the incloſure that was to ſurround it: but when king Solomon began to erect this building, he directed that a wall ſhould be built to the eaſtward of it, to ſupport the earth: which being done, he erected a porch on the rampart. At this period there was not any other fortification; but the people continually carrying up earth to ſupply the defective ground, the extent of the hill was gradually encreaſed. In proceſs of time the north wall was likewiſe broken down, and as much ground gained by that circumſtance, as, with the former, ſerved for the foundation of the whole temple.

Every thing having thus ſucceeded even beyond what was expected, the inhabitants encompaſſed the hill with three walls, but in the courſe of a long period, and at an aſtoniſhing expence: for the building of which we are ſpeaking was the work of ages, and religious donations from every part of the world, contributed to the honor of God, and the advancement of his devotion; including the expence of the upper as well as of the lower temple. This laſt was built on a foundation of three hundred cubits in depth; but this depth was not apparent; for the valley was filled up even to the level of the ſtreets of the city. The ſtones of which this immenſe pile of building was erected were forty cubits in length: a proof that no undertaking is ſo difficult, but that riches, reſolution, time, patience, and unremitting aſſiduity may complete it.

The grandeur of the ſuperſtructure of this work was by no means inferior to the extraordinary foundations on which it was laid. The upper galleries were all double, ſupported by uniform pillars of white marble, of the height of twenty-five cubits. Theſe galleries were wainſcotted with cedar, which being of the ſmoothest grain, and wrought up in the moſt curious manner, needed neither the additional ornaments of carving or painting, to render them extremely agreeable to the ſight. The galleries were each thirty cubits in breadth, and, including the tower of Antonia, the whole circumference of them was ſix ſtadia.

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In the open expoſures the ground was paved with a great variety of different ſtones; and the approach to the ſecond temple had ſtone baluſtrades on each ſide of it, of three cubits in height, carved and poliſhed in a moſt curious manner. The pillars in this paſſage were diſpoſed in regular order, and adorned with Latin and Greek inſcriptions, recommending the virtues of continence and charity, and prohibiting ſtrangers from entering into the ſacred place: for the ſecond temple, which was ſituated fourteen ſteps above the firſt, was deemed holy. Its figure was a regular ſquare, and it was ſurrounded by a wall, which was forty cubits on the outſide, and only twenty-five within, the other ſpace being covered by the ſteps that led up to it. This wall being built on a riſing ground, with ſtairs to it, part of the inſide of it was ſo hidden by the mountain, that it did not appear to the view.

Above theſe fourteen ſteps there was a level ground of three hundred cubits up to the wall; from the end of which there were five more ſteps to the gates of the temple. There were likewiſe two ſteps from the eaſt, four from the north, and the ſame number from the ſouth. A particular place was appropriated for the worſhip of the women: it had a partition wall to it, in which were two gates, one on the north, and the other on the ſouth ſide; which were the only places at which the women were allowed to enter; nor was it lawful for them to paſs their own boundaries: but theſe entrances were free to all women, ſtrangers as well as inhabitants, who came thither for the purpoſes of devotion. On the weſt ſide there was only a dead-wall, in which there was no door. Between the gates above-mentioned, and oppoſite the interior wall, near the treaſury, there were galleries ſupported by pillars not much inferior to thoſe below, and in a ſtile of decency and elegance.

Of the gates above-mentioned ſome were plated with gold and ſilver, even to the poſts and front; but on the exterior part of the temple there was one gate of Corinthian braſs, which is deemed more valuable than either of the other metals. Every gate had double doors, each thirty cubits in height, and fifteen in breadth. On the inſide of the doors there were withdrawing rooms, on each ſide, of thirty cubits ſquare, and above twenty cubits in height: they were built according to the faſhion of turrets, and each of them was ſupported by pillars of twelve cubits in thickneſs; and the other gates were, in proportion, of ſimilar dimenſions. With regard to the Corinthian portal, on the eaſtern ſide of the temple, which was the entrance appropriated to the women, it was larger than all the others, and exceeded them in magnificence: for it had forty gates, was fifty cubits in height, and was embelliſhed with a greater profuſion of gold and ſilver plates than had been beſtowed on the other nine gates, by Alexander, the father of Tiberius. From the wall that ſeparated the men from the women there were fifteen ſteps to the great gate; but to each of the other gates there were twenty.

Twelve ſtairs formed the aſcent to the place properly called the temple; that is the ſacred temple or ſanctuary. The height of this building was one hundred cubits; the breadth of it, in front, was of equal extent; but, on the back of it, it was only ſixty: for, on the entrance of it, there were two additional riſed buildings, each of twenty cubits. The firſt gate meaſured ſeventy cubits in height, and twenty-five in breadth: but it had no doors, being

being intended as an emblem of Heaven, and therefore left visible to all mankind. The outsides and the front were gilt in a most costly manner; and the inside of the temple had an equal effect to strike the eye with an idea of magnificence.

The interior part of the sanctuary was separated into two partitions: and of these the first which appeared to view was open to the top, which was of the height of ninety cubits, of the length of forty, and of the breadth of twenty. I have already observed that the inside of the gate was plated with gold, and the wall about it gilt on all parts. Depending from the top there were leaves and branches of vines, and large clusters of grapes hanging down five or six feet, and all these were made of gold. The other division of the temple was covered with a ceiling, and therefore appeared the lower of the two. The doors which opened to it were fifty-five cubits in height, and sixteen in breadth, and were made of gold. Before the doors hung a piece of Babylonian tapestry, of equal height and breadth with the doors; and this tapestry was a mixture of scarlet, purple and blue, interwoven in a most curious manner, and wrought up to the highest degree of art. Nor was this intermixture considered merely as a curiosity, but as a mysterious allusion to the four elements, either by the materials of which the piece was formed, or the colours that were interwoven: for the scarlet represented fire; the silk itself the earth from which that fire was produced; the purple was held to be a resemblance of the sea, and the blue of the air. So that this extraordinary piece of tapestry was a kind of emblem of the universe, the heavenly signs alone excepted.

From this place the next approach is to the lower temple, which is twenty cubits broad, sixty high, and the same number in length. At the period of which I am writing, this length of sixty cubits was divided into two parts, one of forty and the other of twenty. The division which consisted of forty cubits contained three very extraordinary curiosities, which have been celebrated throughout the whole world. These were the candlestick, the table, and the altar of incense. The candlestick consisted of seven branches, proceeding from the same foundation, with seven lights, resembling the seven planets. The twelve loaves of shew-bread on the table had reference to the twelve signs of the zodiack, which take their course through the seasons of the year. In a censer on the altar of incense were placed thirteen kinds of perfumes, many of which were extracted from the bottom of the sea: and by these perfumes it was intended that we should consider God as the great sovereign of the universe, and that every thing most valuable in it should be devoted to his honor and glory.

Twenty cubits only was the height of the interior part of the temple, which was separated from the other part by a veil, and was totally unfurnished. No person was permitted to enter into this place, or even to take a view of it. The name it was called by was the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, or *Holy of Holies*. There were several apartments on the sides of this lower temple, which communicated the one with the other, and had three stories above them; and from them were passages that led out of the great gate. The upper

per part of the building being narrower than the other, the order of the chambers was disproportioned; and though less splendid than the other, they were forty cubits in height. In fact, the elevation of the whole building was one hundred cubits.

The elegance and curious workmanship of the temple on the outside is beyond the power of language to describe: it was adorned with solid plates of gold that rivalled the beauty of the rising sun, and were scarcely less dazzling to the eye than the beams of that luminary. Those parts of the building that were not gilt had, to persons viewing it at a distance, the appearance of a pillar of snow, or a mountain of marble.

A great number of pointed spikes of gold were placed on the roof of the temple, as a preventive against the birds settling on it, and defiling it. Many of the stones which composed this extraordinary building, were five cubits in height, six in breadth, and forty-five in length.

The altar which was situated before the temple had four angles something like horns. It was forty cubits square, and fifteen in height. This altar was approached on the south side; but the ascent was difficult, on account of the declivity of the ground. In the construction of this altar no iron tool was used, nor did a hammer ever touch it.

The temple and the altar were inclosed, and the people separated from the priests by a partition of stone one cubit high, and wrought in the most elegant manner.

Persons infected with the leprosy, or other filthy disorders, were not admitted to come into the temple, or even to reside in the city. Women in certain circumstances were likewise excluded from approaching the temple; and even when they were in perfect health, they were not to enter at any places but those appointed for their admission. No men were permitted to pass into the interior temple without having been first purified; and even when this purification was performed, it was not lawful for them to associate with the priests.

Persons of the rank of the priesthood who were prevented, by some bodily defect, from the exercise of their duty, took their stations with those against whom there was no such objection, and had the customary allowances granted them: but they were obliged to wear the habits of laymen; for no man but he who executes the office of a priest is permitted to wear the garment appertaining thereto.

It was a requisite circumstance that priests who were to serve in the temple and at the altar, should be of exemplary lives and behaviour, so that no kind of objection could be made to their character. They were to be remarkably temperate and abstemious with regard to eating and drinking, for the credit of their order; and their cloathing was of fine linen. On every seventh day the high-priest used to advance to the altar, with the other priests, and likewise on the first day of each month, and also on such annual festivals as occurred in the year. On these occasions he officiated with a veil girt round him, which hung considerably below his waist: under this was a linen veil, which hung to the ground; and over these two garments he wore another of a violet-colour, fringed at the bottom, to which were affixed golden bells and pomegranates admirably intermixed: the former being designed

ſigned to repreſent thunder, and the other lightening. On his breaſt hung an ornament, fixed on with ribbons of various colours, viz. ſcarlet, violet, purple, gold-colour, &c. I have already obſerved that the veils of the temple are of theſe colours.

The ephod was likewiſe a compoſition of the ſame kind of colours, but the gold was the moſt prevalent: and with regard to its ſhape, it bore a conſiderable reſemblance to that of a breaſt-plate. It was embelliſhed with Sardonyx ſtones, the largeſt and moſt coſtly that could be procured, on which were inſcribed the names of the twelve tribes of Iſrael; and it was faſtened together by means of two buckles of gold which united as a claſp. From this ephod hung twelve valuable kinds of ſtones, in four rows of three each, viz. the ſardonyx, topaz, emerald, carbuncle, jaſper, ſapphire, agate, amethyſt, lynx, onyx, beryl and chryſalite: and the names were inſcribed on theſe alſo, as on the above-mentioned.

The prieſt wore on his head a tiara of ſilk, on which was placed a crown of violet colour, and above that a crown of gold, on which the ſacred vowels were engraven.

The habit worn by the high-prieſt on ordinary days was leſs ſumptuous than that above-mentioned, which was reſerved for the ſerious annual ſolemnity, and then appropriated to the uſe of the high prieſt alone; nor might he wear it, except when he entered into the Holy of Holies: for the annual feſtival was obſerved in the ſtricteſt and moſt ſolemn manner. It will be hereafter proper for me to ſpeak of the city, the temple, and of the laws and cuſtoms of the Jews; as occaſions may ariſe.

The fort Antonia was erected in an angle between the two galleries of the firſt temple, which angle faced the north and weſt. Its ſituation was on a rock, fifty cubits in height, ſo ſteep on every ſide as to be inacceſſible; and, in fact, a proof of the magnificent taſte and ingenious contrivance of Herod. The rock on which this fort was built was faced with thin ſlabs of marble, deſigned equally as an ornament and a ſecurity; for this marble was ſo ſlippery that it could not be aſcended or deſcended. The encloſure of the fort, or tower, conſiſted only of a wall of three cubits in height, within which was ſituated the caſtle of Antonia, of forty cubits in extent. This caſtle was as ſtately, ſplendid, and convenient as a court; being provided with lodging-rooms and offices for a variety of purpoſes, together with extenſive halls, and places of parade for the uſe of the military: ſo that, in fact, the whole place, in point of convenience, might be conſidered rather as a city than a fort; and with regard to its magnificence it had the appearance of a palace. To the view it looked like a tower, encompaſſed by four other towers, ſituated, in a quadrangular form, at equal diſtances from each other. Of theſe towers, three were fifty cubits high, and the fourth ſeventy cubits. This fourth looked towards the eaſt and ſouth, and from it there was an excellent view of the whole temple. There were two pair of ſtairs, one on the right, and the other on the left hand of the ſpot where the galleries joined. Theſe ſtairs were for the purpoſe of the ſoldiers going into the temple: for at the time that Jeruſalem was in the hands of the Romans, guards were conſtantly ſtationed in this quarter, to prevent ſeditious riots, on occaſion of any

public meeting or feſtival. The city was commanded by the temple, in the ſame manner as the temple was by the fort Antonia. On this fort there was a guard placed, and the palace of Herod was a kind of fort to the upper town. The mountain Bezeth (the higheſt of all the mountains) was detached, as I have before obſerved, from the fort Antonia, and annexed to part of the new town; and this was the only defence on the north ſide of the temple. I have nothing farther to add at preſent, reſpecting the city or its walls, as I ſhall have occaſion to make mention of them in future.

CHAP. VII.

Simon at the head of fifteen thouſand men. The temple in the poſſeſſion of John; the upper town in that of Simon, and the hill Acra in that of Monobazus. At this time the Romans were at the gates, and the ſedition within the walls continued with its former violence. The place reconnoitred by Titus, to determine on a proper ſpot for the attack. Nicanor, while adviſing peace, is wounded. Titus determines on revenge, by beſieging the place. He divides his army, ſo as to make three ſeparate attacks. The factions unite in a common defence. The machines are ſupported by Titus. The Romans ſurprized, and driven back to their camp. The honor of the day recovered by a party of Alexandrians. The work completed by Titus. An Arabian kills John of Idumæa with an arrow.

AT this time Simon had an army of ten thouſand men, excluſive of the party of Idumæans, who were five thouſand in number; ſo that he was at the head of fifteen thouſand. Of theſe, fifty captains were appointed over the ten thouſand, and twenty officers over the other five thouſand, which laſt were the moſt mutinous of the whole faction: the chief of theſe mutineers were deemed to be Simon, the ſon of Cathlas, and James, the ſon of Soſas: but Simon was commander in chief of the united forces.

The poſſeſſion of the temple was now held by John, who had under him twenty captains commanding ſix thouſand men. Two thouſand four hundred of the Zelotes now likewiſe repaired to him, and enliſted under the command of Simon, the ſon of Jair, and Eleazar, who had formerly commanded them.

The two parties now violently oppoſing each other, the people fell a ſacrifice to their mutual rage, and the moſt unoffending were the ſevereſt ſufferers. At this time Simon had poſſeſſion of the upper town, with the great wall as far as Cedron, and the old wall that extends to Siloe, and then, turning eaſtward, is continued to the palace of Monobazus. Now Monobazus, who was king of the Adiabenians, a people coming from the other ſide the Euphrates, was in poſſeſſion of the hill Acra (the ſtation of the lower town) even to the royal reſidence of Helena, who was his own mother.

During this period John ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the temple, and ſome of the places in its neighbourhood: but Ophlas, and the vale of Cedron, which was ſituated between him and Simon, had been conſumed to aſhes, and could anſwer no other purpoſe than that of a field of battle. The Romans were

now

now in arms before the gates of the city, yet the tumult within it continued to rage with its former violence. Occaſionally, however, when the enemy preſſed hard upon them, the inſurgents appeared to change their ſentiments for a ſhort time: but on the ſlighteſt relaxation of this vigilance, they had immediate recourſe to their uſual animoſities and contentions, and a renewal of all their former quarrels. Now this was a circumſtance highly advantageous to the intereſt of the Romans, for they treated each other with greater ſeverity than either party would have been treated by the common enemy: yet they had this conſolation amidſt their misfortunes, that they had little to fear beyond their preſent ſufferings. Something more, however, they did ſuffer, before the city was utterly deſtroyed. But the Romans obtained a greater conqueſt than that of taking the place; for whereas the city was deſtroyed by the ſedition, the conqueſt of it tended to deſtroy the ſedition itſelf. Wherefore, in the iſſue of the affair, the Romans were nothing more than the executioners of that Divine juſtice which the impiety of the Jews had brought on themſelves. But this will be more evident by the ſequel.

During the preſent ſituation of affairs within the city, Titus, taking with him a ſelect party of cavalry, made a general ſurvey of the walls, to ſee where they might be approached with the greateſt probability of ſucceſs. He found that neither horſe nor foot could make any penetration by way of the vallies; and he found that it would be equally fruitleſs to attempt an attack by battery on the other ſide, owing to the ſtrength of the wall; wherefore, after ſome deliberation, he concluded that the part of the line towards the ſepulchre of John, the high-prieſt, would be beſt expoſed to an attack, for the following reaſons: the firſt wall was lower in that place than any other, and detached from the ſecond wall; the fortifying of it had been alſo neglected; the inhabitants of the new city not being yet ſufficiently numerous to have attended to it; wherefore it would not be a difficult enterprize to paſs from this place to the third wall, and thence to the upper town; and through theſe means, poſſeſſing themſelves of Antonia, even to the temple.

During the time that Titus was debating theſe things in his mind, and while he was exerting all the power of his oratory with Joſeph to prevail on the Jews to ſolicit a peace, an arrow was ſhot from the wall, which wounded Nicanor (an intimate friend of Titus) in the left ſhoulder. This inſtance of the ingratitude of theſe people towards their friends, who would have adviſed them to peaceable meaſures, incenſed Titus to ſuch a degree, that he inſtantly reſolved to make a formal attack on the town, and reduce it by force. Hereupon he ordered his ſoldiers to plunder the ſuburbs without loſs of time, and to uſe the rubbiſh and ruins of what they ſhould deſtroy for platforms and other works. His army he ſeparated into three diviſions, aſſigning to each its proper duty. On the mounts, in the midſt of the main body, he ſtationed his archers and ſlingers, who were provided with engines to throw ſtones, and other miſſive annoyances; which anſwered the double purpoſe of keeping the enemy engaged on the walls, and of repelling their attacks. No time was loſt in felling the trees, and laying the ſuburbs bare; and the fortifications were made good with the timber thus obtained. In fact, on the part of the Romans every hand was engaged, nor did the Jews loſe their time in idleneſs.

The inhabitants, who had been heretofore so much exposed to the calamities of robbery and murder, finding the insurgents so earnestly engaged in defending themselves, began to conceive a hope that they should at length be at ease; flattering themselves that if the Romans should be successful, they would enable them to do themselves justice, by revenging their own quarrel. The forces under the command of John opposed the besiegers vigorously; while himself, in fear of Simon, dreaded to quit the temple. In the mean time Simon, being stationed near the temple, was constantly in action. The shot and engines which he had heretofore taken from Cestius, and out of the fort Antonia, he placed along the wall: but his troops, being unskilled in the use and management of these engines, made very little advantage of them; and this little arose from the knowledge they occasionally acquired from deserters. However, the Jews used these engines to assail the enemy from the ramparts with arrows and stones: and, occasionally, they sallied forth, and fought hand to hand with the Romans; who, on the contrary, defended their agents by gabions and hurdles. Each of the Roman legions was provided with extraordinary machines for repelling an attack of an enemy, particularly the tenth legion, which could throw larger stones, and farther than any other. Each stone weighed a talent, and not only did execution on the spot, but even to the top of the ramparts. They would destroy at a furlong distance, and a whole file fell before them wherever they came. The Jews had three opportunities of being informed of the approach of these stones: the first by their colour, which being white, they were seen at a distance: the second by the noise they made in passing through the air: and the third by an intimation that was constantly given by persons that were appointed to watch them: for a number of people being stationed on the towers, to observe when the engines were played, whenever they observed this operation, they constantly cried out, "A stone is coming;" by which every man had an opportunity of retreating, and securing himself from the impending danger. This becoming known to the Romans, they coloured the stones, so that they might not be seen in their passage; and by this device a number of Jews were frequently killed at a stroke. All this, however, did not deter the Jews from making an opposition to the Romans in the erecting of their fortifications; for they still endeavoured, equally by the exertions of courage and policy, to do every thing within their power to retard their proceedings.

The works of the Romans were no sooner completed, than they took the distance between the mount and wall by a line and plummet; for this could not be effected in any other manner, owing to the shot and darts which were thrown down in abundance. When the place was found to be properly adapted for the battering rams, Titus directed that they should be brought forward, and the other machines likewise brought nearer the wall, that they might play with the greater convenience. In obedience to these orders three batteries began to play at the same time on three different parts of the wall. The noise occasioned by these engines was heard in all parts of the city, and appeared not to be less dreaded even by the faction than it was by the citizens. At length the insurgents, though divided among themselves, finding that

that their danger was general, thought it might not be improper to unite in the defence of each other. Their argument was, that, while thus disputing among themselves, they were only advancing the interest of the enemy; and that if they could not agree for a continuance, it would at least be proper, for the present, to make a joint opposition to the Romans. Hereupon Simon dispatched a herald, to inform those who had enclosed themselves within the temple, that as many as were disposed to quit it, and approach to the wall, had full permission so to do. The purport of this embassy did not strike John as a circumstance that could be relied on; but he permitted his people to act as their own inclinations might direct them.

Hereupon the different factions united, and, forgetting their old animosities, marched immediately in a body to the walls, where they had no sooner taken their stations, than they co-operated with their fires and torches on the Roman engines; plying darts and other weapons, without intermission, on those who had the conducting of them. During the violence of this determined rage, great numbers of the Jews adventurously descended from the walls, on the engines, the covers of which they tore off, and attacked the guards who were appointed to their defence.

At this juncture Titus, who was never deficient in aiding his friends at a time of necessity, appointed a party of horse and archers to guard the machines, and find employment for the Jews on the walls, while the engineers should carry on their operations. This attack, however, had, for the present, very little effect: indeed the battering-ram of the fifth legion shook the corner of a tower, which being placed higher than the wall, the tower fell to the ground, without bringing any of the wall with it.

Some time having passed since the Jews had made any sally, the Romans thought they were either tired or disheartened, and thereupon wandered about carelessly, as in a state of security. This inattention on the part of the Romans being noticed by the Jews who were in the town, they rushed violently from a sally-port belonging to the tower Hippocos; set fire to the Roman works, and, during the heat of the action, drove the Romans back to their own camp. An alarm being immediately spread through the whole army, the Romans assembled from all parts to the assistance of their associates; so that the courage of the Jews was unequally matched with the admirable discipline of the Romans. The former, indeed, were for a while victorious, making an attack on every combined company they found: but the greatest struggle was near the engines, one party seeking to burn, and the other to preserve them. The outcries of the contending parties rent the air, and many a gallant man fell a sacrifice in the encounter. The Jews behaved with the most determined courage, and intrepidity. By this time the fire had taken hold of the machines; and there is not a doubt but that they would all have been destroyed, with all those who attended on them, but for the critical arrival of a select party of Alexandrian troops, whose behaviour on the occasion cannot be sufficiently applauded, since it contributed, in a great degree, to the honor of the day.

The proceedings of the Jews were impeded by these troops, till the arrival of Titus, with a body of cavalry. He killed twelve men with his own hands, and

and drove the remainder of the party into the city: and by this enterprize the engines were ſaved from deſtruction.

A Jew being made priſoner in the above-mentioned engagement, Titus gave orders that he ſhould be crucified on the walls, in ſight of the people, to try what degree of influence might be produced by terror. Notwithſtanding this circumſtance, an Idumæan officer, named John, was ſhot by an Arabian through the heart, with an arrow, as he was converſing before the walls with a ſoldier. As he was a man equally diſtinguiſhed by his courage and wiſdom, his unfortunate end occaſioned great diſtreſs among thoſe to whom he was known, whether Jews or Zelotes.

CHAP. VIII.

The Roman camp terrified in a high degree by the fall of a tower. The Jews not in fear of any difficulties but what aroſe from the towers. The firſt breach made by the ram called Nicon. The Jews abandon the firſt wall, and retreat to the ſecond. Several deſperate ſallies made by the Jews. The Roman diſcipline more than a counterpoiſe to the Jewiſh temerity. Every danger reſolutely braved by the Jews. The ſingular veneration Simon's men entertained for their commander. Longinus performs a gallant action.

ABOUT this period a ſingular alarm happened in the camp of the Romans. Orders having been given by Titus, for conſtructing three towers, each fifty cubits in height, on the ramparts, in order to have the command of the wall of the city, one of theſe towers fell ſuddenly to the ground during the night, and made ſo horrid a noiſe in its fall, that the whole army was alarmed in the higheſt degree. The Romans, unacquainted with the cauſe of the noiſe, had immediate recourſe to their arms, and every legion was in a perfect tumult of confuſion. Some of them imagined that the Jews cauſed the commotion; but very various were the conjectures on this occaſion. After a while, when no enemy appeared, they began to form ſuſpicions of each other; and every one demanded the "Watch word" of the man who was next him, with as much ſtrictneſs as if the Jews had actually been in the camp. The terror ariſing from this circumſtance continued for a conſiderable time; till Titus having informed himſelf of the particulars of the cauſe of the confuſion, ordered proclamation of the matter of fact to be made in every part of the camp; in conſequence of which, though not without great difficulty, the tumult at length ſubſided.

In the interim the Jews maintained their courage in the higheſt degree, and appeared not to dread any other difficulties but what aroſe from the towers; and the danger from them was indeed very obvious. They were unavoidably aſſailed from theſe turrets, by archers, ſlingers, &c. and by various ſorts of machines: for the Jews could not carry up their platforms to a level with theſe towers, and they were of too ſolid a conſtructure to be thrown down: and, as they were all plated over with iron, it would have been a work of equal impracticability to burn them. Wherefore all that remained in the

power of the Jews to do, was to keep at ſuch a diſtance as not to be wounded by the darts, arrows and ſtones of the Romans: for it was fruitleſs for them to think of oppoſing the force of the battering-rams, which, by degrees, effected the purpoſe for which they were deſigned. The Romans were poſſeſſed of one ram, dreadful in its execution, which the Jews diſtinguiſhed by the name of "Nicon," or "the Conqueror," the firſt breach having been made thereby.

The Jews had now been at hard duty during the whole night, and were extremely fatigued by fighting and watching. Thus diſpirited, they came to too haſty a determination to abandon the firſt wall, as they had yet two others to depend on for their ſecurity. Having formed this reſolution they immediately retreated to the ſecond wall: on which ſome of the Romans aſcended the breach which had been made by the battering-ram abovementioned, and opened the gates to the whole army. The Romans became maſters of the firſt wall on the ſeventh day of the month Artemiſius, and deſtroyed a great part of this wall, and alſo of the northern quarter of the city, which very quarter had heretofore been ravaged by Ceſtius.

This being done, Titus withdrew to a place known by the name of the Aſſyrians Camp, poſſeſſing himſelf of all between that and the valley of Cedron, the diſtance of which from the ſecond wall is ſomething more than a bow-ſhot. From this place he came to a reſolution of beginning his attack, and immediately commenced his operations. The Jews took their ſtations in a regular manner on the wall, where they made a formidable oppoſition. John and his aſſociates commanded the troops in the fortreſs Antonia, and from the ſepulchre of Alexander on the north of the temple. From the monument of John, the high-prieſt, to the gate by which water is conveyed to the tower Hippocos, Simon and his people held the command. A number of reſolute ſallies were made by the Jews, in which they came to cloſe quarters with the Romans; but the military knowledge of the latter was more than a counterpoiſe to the deſperation of the Jews, who were repulſed with conſiderable loſs: yet, on the walls, the Jews had the advantage. Skill and good fortune equally favoured the Romans; while the Jews, from a native hardineſs, and an animation ariſing from deſpair, ſeemed inſenſible to danger or fatigue. It ſhould be obſerved that the Romans were now fighting for glory, and the Jews for life and ſecurity: each party equally diſdaining to yield. They were continually employing themſelves in violent aſſaults, and deſperate ſallies and combats of every kind. Their labours commenced with the day, and they were ſeparated only by the darkneſs of the night: and, even during the night, both parties were kept watching, one to protect their wall, and the other their camp: they continued all night under arms, and were ready for battle by break of day. On this occaſion the Jews deſpiſed danger and death ſo much, that they ſeemed emulous who ſhould brave them moſt undauntedly, as the beſt recommendation to their ſuperiors. They entertained ſo great a fear of, and ſuch a perfect veneration for Simon, that they would have ſacrificed their lives at his feet, on the ſlighteſt intimation that ſuch a ſacrifice would be agreeable to him.

The Romans had been so accustomed to victory, that they were perfect strangers to defeat: wherefore they wanted no other incitement to their valour, than the recollection of their former successes. Add to this, that war was familiar to them, being in constant exercise, in the service of the empire: and they were now inspired with more than common courage, by the presence and assistance of a warlike prince. They considered that cowardice, witnessed by the general, would be infamy in the abstract: and, on the contrary, that Cæsar's bounty and esteem would be such a reward of, and such an honor to, glorious actions, as were worthy their highest ambition. It must be confessed that the military ardor thus inspired and encouraged, tempted many of them to aim at exploits which were wholly beyond the compass of their abilities to perform.

At this period a large party of Jews were assembled in military order before the walls, and had approached so near to the Romans, that lances and blows might be mutually exchanged. At this critical juncture one of the Roman cavalry, named Longinus, galloped forward into the midst of his foes, two of the best soldiers among whom he killed: one of these he struck through the jaws with his lance, and then, with the same weapon, ran the other through the body; which being done, he expeditiously retreated to the Romans, unhurt. By the singular gallantry of this action he acquired great reputation, and tempted others to emulate his conduct.

During this period the Jews were so anxious to destroy their enemies, that they paid no regard to their own sufferings. They looked on death as an object unworthy their notice, provided they could destroy as many of their opponents as fell of their own party. Titus, on the contrary, consulted the preservation of his troops as much as the acquiring victory, and looked upon an intemperate zeal as a degree of madness. He insisted that caution and prudence were the essence of true valour, consisting equally in the annoyance of our enemies, and the most effectual preservation of our own forces.

CHAP. IX.

The courage, craft, and treachery of a Jew named Castor. A treaty solicited by Castor, and granted by Titus. A proof of the falsity of the whole device. Castor fires the tower, and escapes through the flames.

THE tower on the north side of the city was the object against which the battering-ram was now directed. Those who defended this tower were assailed by Titus with such repeated flights of arrows, that every man of them abandoned his post, except a crafty Jew, of the name of Castor, and ten of his associates, who concealed themselves behind the battlements. These having remained quiet for a considerable time, at length felt a shock, by the force of which the tower appeared to be shaken to its foundations. On this alarm they quitted their present station, when Castor, assuming the language, manner and behaviour of a supplicant, en-

treated that Titus would pardon all that was paſt, and grant him quarter. Titus, willing to believe that the Jews were now tired of the war, directed that his archers ſhould ceaſe their operations, and that the battery ſhould play no longer: at the ſame time informing Caſtor, that if he had any propoſals to make, he was willing to attend to what he had to ſay. To this Caſtor ſaid that, it was his utmoſt ambition to commence a treaty: and Titus replied, "I grant it with all my heart, and if all your companions coincide "with you in ſentiment, I am freely diſpoſed to extend my pardon to you." This offer being made, five out of the ten who aſſociated with Caſtor pretended to join with him in opinion, while the other five exclaimed that they would never ſubmit to live ſlaves, while it was in their power to die freemen. A ſtop was put to all hoſtilities, during the period that this diſpute was in agitation. In the interim, however, Caſtor ſent privately to Simon, deſiring that he would make the beſt advantage of the preſent opportunity, and ſubmit to his management the beſt method of amuſing the Roman general, under pretence of recommending terms of peace to his aſſociates. In a word, Caſtor acted his part with ſo much artifice, that ſwords were drawn, mutual blows paſſed, and men appeared to be killed: but the whole device was founded in falſhood and diſſimulation.

Titus and his people were aſtoniſhed at the ſtubborn obſtinacy and perſevering reſolution of the Jews; and, at the ſame time, entertained a generous compaſſion for their diſtreſs; but having the diſadvantage of the ground, they could not be proper judges of what was done above them. At this juncture Caſtor received a wound in his noſe from an arrow; but immediately drawit out, he ſhewed it to Titus, ſeeming thereby to demand juſtice.

Titus was ſo highly enraged at this injury, that he turned to Joſeph, who ſtood near him, deſiring that he would go immediately, in his name, to Caſtor, and give him all poſſible aſſurances of friendſhip and fair treatment. Joſeph, however, deſired to be excuſed from executing this commiſſion, in which he not only conſulted his own ſafety, but likewiſe diſſuaded his friends, who would have undertaken it, aſſuring them that this apparent ſubmiſſion was founded in the deepeſt treachery. However, notwithſtanding what was ſaid, Æneas, one who had deſerted to the Romans, ſeemed willing to undertake this expedition, to which he was the rather encouraged, by Caſtor's directing him to bring with him ſomething in which to put a ſum of money that he intended to compliment him with. Thus encouraged by the hope of advantage, Æneas advanced ſo as to accept the preſent, when Caſtor let fall a large ſtone from the wall, and Æneas narrowly eſcaped being cruſhed by it, while it wounded the man who ſtood next to him.

From this circumſtance Titus was aware of the ill conſequences that might ariſe from benevolence ill-timed; and was convinced that determined rigour ought to be oppoſed to plauſible pretenſions, and fair promiſes. He thereupon began to ply his batteries with greater violence than heretofore, in order to revenge himſelf for the contumacious affront that had been offered him by Caſtor, and his aſſociates. When the batteries had played ſome time, Caſtor and his people found that the tower ſhook under them, and appeared to be on the point of falling; on which they ſet it on fire, and running through the

the flames, escaped into a vault. The Romans, imagined that, by this action, they had devoted themselves to certain destruction, and were generous enough to extol their courage and magnanimity to the skies.

Titus took possession of this part of the wall, at the end of five days from the time that he had become master of the first. As the passage to the second wall was now opened, he made the Jews fly before him; and having selected a thousand of his best troops, he entered the city at that quarter inhabited by the salesmen, clothiers, and braziers, and passed up the narrow cross streets to the wall. The laws of war would now have justified Titus in breaking down this wall, and if he had instantly demolished the greater part of it, he would certainly have obtained a compleat victory with a very inconsiderable loss; but reflecting on the utter distress to which the Jews would on the one hand be reduced, if they continued to make resistance, and on the other, how easy a matter it would be for them to effect their escape, if they were disposed so to do; generous sentiments once more prevailed in his breast; as he flattered himself that they would think properly of their situation; and not be so ungrateful as to betray a man who had consulted their welfare and preservation with so peculiar a zeal.

CHAP. X.

Instances of the great lity and humanity of Titus. The malicious disposition of some of the faction. Some smart encounters, in which the Jews have the advantage of the Romans; after which the party of Titus prevails. The Romans are driven from the second wall, after they had gained it. A severe famine rages in the city. Titus makes an attempt to recover the second wall, of which he gets possession after three days opposition.

NO sooner had Titus entered the town than he issued out his orders that not a single house should be burnt, nor even one prisoner put to the sword. He was so indulgent likewise even to those of the faction, that he offered to permit them to end their own disputes among themselves, on the single condition that they should not oppress the inhabitants. To these last likewise he promised that he would support them in all their legal possessions, and that what had been taken from them by violence should be restored.

These terms were highly agreeable to the majority of the people, of whom some wished that the city might be spared for their own sakes; and others, that the temple might be spared for the sake of the city. However, the abandoned part of the faction ascribed all the generous benevolence and humanity of Titus to fear; and they argued in this manner; that Titus would never have offered such favourable terms, if he had not himself despaired of accomplishing the work he had undertaken: and the faction now threatened instant death to any person who should propose a peace, or a treaty of reconciliation.

No sooner had the Romans entered the city, than the Jews did all in their power to obstruct their proceedings: they blocked up the narrow passages, shot

ſhot at them from the houſes, and making frequent ſallies from the walls, often compelled the guards to abandon the towers, and ſeek refuge in the camp. The ſoldiers within the city were in the utmoſt confuſion; and thoſe without were agitated in the higheſt degree, on account of the apprehended fate of their companions. Several ſmart encounters enſued between the oppoſing parties; but the Jews being more numerous than the Romans, and likewiſe better acquainted with bye-ways and ſecret paſſes, they obtained repeated advantages: the breaches being likewiſe too narrow for any number to march out a-breaſt, the Romans would have been preſſed to ſuch a degree that ſcarcely a man of them would have eſcaped, if Titus had not arrived in the critical conjuncture: and this gallant officer placed a band of archers at the end of every ſtreet; was himſelf preſent in every place of the greateſt danger, and being ſeconded by Domitius Sabinus (a gallant man, who performed ſingular feats of courage on the occaſion), the Jews were ſo annoyed by darts and lances, that the Romans had an opportunity of bringing off their men. Thus were the Romans driven from the ſecond wall, after they had gained poſſeſſion of it.

This piece of ſucceſs gave ſuch ſpirits to the moſt determined of the inhabitants, that they flattered themſelves, that the Romans would not again venture to attack them; or that, if they did, it would be totally impoſſible to ſubdue them: whereas, if theſe deſperate men had not laboured under an actual infatuation, they muſt have reflected that the Romans, over whom they had at preſent obtained an advantage, were not to be mentioned with the immenſe numbers that were yet to be encountered. But, excluſive of this conſideration, a ſevere famine now raged in the city, the effects of which were daily felt in a more ſenſible manner. Hitherto the ruin of the public had been the ſupport of the inſurgents, and they had, almoſt literally, drank of the blood of the citizens. In fact, the moſt worthy of the inhabitants were reduced to great diſtreſs, and many of them fell a ſacrifice to abſolute famine. The faction, however, rather pleaſed themſelves in the loſs of theſe people; thoſe only who wiſhed to continue the war with the Romans, being objects of their regard. The reſt they conſidered only as uſeleſs in themſelves, and burthenſome to the public.

The Romans having once gotten poſſeſſion of the wall, and then loſt it, they made another attempt to recover it. They made repeated, and almoſt conſtant aſſaults, for the ſpace of three ſucceſſive days: during which period they were repulſed with as much valour as they ſhewed in the attack: but Titus made ſo furious a charge on the fourth day, that his opponents were no longer able to reſiſt his force: whereupon he took poſſeſſion of the wall, the northern part of which he deſtroyed, and in all the towers to the ſouthward he placed garriſons without loſs of time.

CHAP. XI.

After four days spent in procuring provisions for the camp, Titus prepares for action. He tries what may be done by persuasion and advice. The Jews addressed by Josephb. He represents the effects of the famine: gives instances of relief afforded to the distressed by Providence: particularly mentions the cases of Pharaoh Necho; the Ægyptian bondage; the plagues of Ægypt; the taking of the ark by the Assyrians; the prodigious army of Sennacherib, king of Assyria; the destruction of Jerusalem in the time of Zedekiah; the history of Antiochus Epiphanes: he mentions the mercy of God to those who repent; and makes a generous offer for the good of his country. The burning of Jerusalem represented as the act of the Jews.

THE storming of the third wall was now an object that engaged the attention of Titus: but as he did not deem it a work that would be attended with much time or difficulty, he first considered how, by more lenient methods, he might bring the people to consider their true interest; hoping that they might be induced to listen to him, through the dread of his power, and the fear of famine; for by this time their plunder and provision were nearly consumed; while, on the contrary, the forces under Titus were supplied with every thing they could wish for their ease and accommodation. This being the case, Titus issued orders that, on the day of a general muster, his troops should be drawn up, and paid within view of the enemy. On this occasion the infantry advanced with drawn swords, and the led horses were adorned in so splendid a manner, that gold and silver seemed to prevail over all the field. This sight was equally agreeable to the Romans, as disgusting to the Jews, who had assembled in immense numbers on the old wall on the north side of the city: the houses were likewise crouded, and every part of the city was filled with people, gazing at this splendid spectacle. In fact, the courage of the bravest among the Jews was repressed by the appearance; and, in all probability, they would have now submitted to the Romans, had it not been for a consciousness that they had offered provocations of such a nature as not to be readily pardoned; and that if they abandoned the point in dispute, they would be devoted to certain destruction: wherefore, rather than submit to be sacrificed at present, they chose rather to fall in the bed of honor, by the chance of war. But in fact, Providence had so determined, that the faction was to prove the ruin of the city, and the innocent were to be involved in the consequence of the crimes of the guilty.

After four days spent without any act of hostility, and in procuring provisions for the camp, Titus, on the fifth day, separated his army into two divisions; and finding that the Jews were not in the least disposed to peace, he caused works to be thrown up against the fort of Antonia, near the monument of John, in the hope that from that quarter he might get possession of the upper-town, and then, from Antonia, become possessed of the temple: for it was impossible to keep possession of the city, unless the fort was taken. He made separate attacks against each of these two places; and at

every rising ground he placed a legion of soldiers to defend and protect the engineers. Those who carried on their works near the monument were violently assailed by the Jews, and the people under the command of Simon; while those who opposed the fort Antonia were still more vigorously opposed by the party of John, and the Zelotes in his direction: for these had the advantage of the higher ground, and were also supplied with machines, of the use of which they were now perfectly acquainted, in consequence of daily practice. The Zelotes had likewise the possession of forty slings for stones, and three hundred cross-bows, by which the Romans were much annoyed, and a check was given to their proceedings.

Though Titus had hitherto entertained no doubt but that he should make a compleat conquest of the city; yet, while, on the one hand, he continued to urge the siege, he, on the contrary, joined to the power of force every effort of persuasion and advice, in order to induce the Jews to a compliance with the terms of reason. Reflecting that an appeal to the passions had sometimes a better effect than that to the law of arms, he, in the first place, personally addressed the Jews, requesting that they would have so much regard to their own interest as to surrender a place of which he could make himself master at any time. This done, he committed the rest to Joseph; thinking that when they were addressed by their own countryman, and in a language familiar to them, success would probably be the consequence of the humanity which inspired him to undertake so benevolent an office. Agreeable to the directions given by Titus, Joseph first walked through several parts of the city, and then stopping on an elevated spot, within the hearing of the enemy, though not within reach of their shot, he made a speech, the substance of which is as follows:

"Countrymen and friends; it is my earnest request to you, that if you "have any esteem for your lives and liberties, any veneration for your city, "your temple, and your country, you will, on the present occasion, give a "proper testimony of your sensibility, and learn, even from strangers and e-"nemies, to have a true regard for your own interest. You may have ob-"served that the Romans entertain so great a veneration for sacred things, "that they make a scruple of seizing any thing that is deemed holy; and "this they do, though they never presumed to have any share, concern, or "interest, in your communion: whereas you, on the contrary, instead of "protecting the religion in which you were educated, seem conspiring to "compleat its destruction. Are you not by this time convinced that, your "fortresses being beaten down, and your walls left in a defenceless condition, "your weakness is sufficiently exposed; and that it is an absolute impossibi-"lity to support yourselves much longer against so formidable a power as that "with which you have to contend? However, in any event, if the Jews "should be compelled to submit to the Romans, it will be no more than "what has frequently happened before. It is true, that engaging in the cause "of liberty is a glorious task, provided it be undertaken before that liberty "is lost or forfeited: but after a people have once submitted to the yoke, "and became confirmed slaves, it is idle then to think of attempting to throw "it off; and is, indeed, rather the way to die in disgrace, than to live in

"freedom,

" freedom. A ſtate of bondage to a maſter whom a man of honour would " bluſh to acknowledge his ſuperior, is, indeed, a ſcandalous ſtate: but " ſubmiſſion to a people whoſe authority is acknowledged by the whole world, " is by no means thus diſgraceful. I would aſk if you think there is any part of " the Globe that has not ſubmitted to the Roman power, except thoſe inhoſ- " pitable regions where the extremities of heat and cold prevail? Fortune " appears to have devoted herſelf to theſe people; and even the providence " of the Sovereign Diſpoſer of empires hath, for the preſent, decreed Italy " the ſeat of univerſal empire. Agreeable to that ſupreme law of nature " which rules even beaſts as well as men, the weaker muſt ever yield to the " ſtronger; for ſuperior power will ultimately prevail. Conſcious of this " truth, your anceſtors, who were more wiſe and powerful than you are, " were induced to pay allegiance to the Romans; which they would have " diſdained to have done, if they had not been fully convinced that it was " the will of Heaven that they ſhould ſubmit. But wherefore would you any " longer urge a conteſt that is, in effect, already decided? For if your walls " were yet perfect, and the ſiege was actually raiſed, you would ſoon be " ſtarved into ſubmiſſion. Famine has already made great havoc among the " lower orders of the people: the ſoldiers will be the next ſacrifice; and the " calamity will daily encreaſe; for there is no guarding againſt the conſe- " quence of the ſeverities of hunger. It will therefore well become you to " recollect yourſelves in time, and not refuſe to take good advice while ſuch " advice may avail you. Your enemies, the Romans, are of a liberal diſpo- " ſition; and will be ready to forgive all that is paſt, if you do not continue " to exaſperate them till forgiveneſs would look like weakneſs. Theſe peo " ple are not accuſtomed to ſacrifice their intereſt to ſentiments of revenge, " and to burthen themſelves with uninhabited cities, and deſolate provinces: " they will rather receive you into the arms of friendſhip. But if you reſiſt " till they ſtorm the city, you muſt expect death from the point of the ſword; " particularly ſuch of you as ſhall preſumptuouſly reject the laſt mercy of- " fered by the conqueror. You have nothing farther to expect with regard to " your third wall, but that it will ſhare the fate of the other two, which are " already deſtroyed. But ſuppoſing that your fortifications were abſolutely " impregnable, I have before-mentioned what you know to be true, that fa- " mine would be your portion."

The people, far from being grateful for this friendly admonition of Joſeph, reviled him in the moſt contemptuous manner from the walls, and accompanied their ſarcaſtic ſpeeches with darts and ſtones: ſo that finding neither the diſtreſſes they had undergone, nor the advice he gave them had any effect, he had recourſe to the hiſtory of ancient times, to enforce his documents; and now delivered himſelf to the following effect.

" Ungrateful and unhappy people! How is it that you can be ſo thought- " leſs as to forget your beſt friends, and attack the Romans with common " weapons; as if you could attribute to your own wiſdom and virtue the vic- " tories you have formerly obtained. Will you preſume to inſinuate that the " Omnipotent Creator of heaven and earth ever denied his aſſiſtance to the " Jews under all their oppreſſions? Will you never learn wiſdom? Reflect,

" but

" but for a moment, on whence you came, your preſent ſituation, your pre-
" ſent conduct: and how the outrages you are now committing muſt incenſe
" your generous protector. Reflect, I beſeech you, on the glorious exploits
" of your truly venerable anceſtors; and the ſignal and aſtoniſhing deliver-
" ances with which they were favoured by Heaven, through the ſacred-
" neſs of this place. I am filled with horror to think of recounting the hiſ-
" tory of the manifeſtations of the Divine favour to a people ſo unworthy of
" it: but on this occaſion, I ſhall repreſs the ſentiments that would otherwiſe
" reſtrain me, and endeavour to convince you that the conteſt in which you
" are now engaged, is rather againſt the power of God, than that of the
" Romans.

" Sarah, the common mother of us all, was carried away by Pharoah Ne-
" cho, king of Ægypt, who commanded a powerful army. Now as Abra-
" ham, our common father, and the huſband of Sarah, had at that time
" three hundred and eighteen officers, who were at the head of a prodigious
" number of troops, you would conceive that he ſhould have attempted to do
" himſelf juſtice by force of arms; inſtead of which he only entreated the Di-
" vine aſſiſtance, by offering up his prayers towards this holy place, which you
" have polluted. The conſequence was, that the king, on the ſecond night
" after Sarah had been taken away, ſent her back to her huſband, unconta-
" minated. In the mean time Pharaoh began to venerate a place which you
" have polluted with the blood of your countrymen: and being uneaſy in
" mind, he was terrified with viſions and dreams; till, at length, he retired
" into his own country: but not till he had gratified the inhabitants with large
" preſents of gold and ſilver, in teſtimony of his reſpect for a people ſo highly
" favoured by Heaven.

" In what language ſhall I deſcribe our anceſtors travels into Ægypt;
" their reſidence there, under a foreign tyranny, for four hundred years; and
" their patient ſubmiſſion and reſignation to the will of God, at a time when
" they were ſufficiently numerous and powerful to have forcibly obtained
" their own liberty? If I were to recite to you how the Ægyptians were in-
" feſted with ſerpents; how they were contaminated with all kinds of di-
" ſeaſes: if I were to ſpeak of the blaſting the fruits of the earth; the cor-
" ruption of the river Nile, and the ten plagues which ſucceeded each other,
" I ſhould relate only circumſtances that are generally known. Thoſe of our
" progenitors, whom God had pre-deſtined to ſucceed to the prieſthood, were
" conducted under the guidance of an eſpecial Providence, free from blood-
" ſhed, and even from danger.

" In another inſtance; when the Aſſyrians took away our holy ark by
" force, Palæſtine and Dagon, and the whole people concerned in this infa-
" mous tranſaction, had ample cauſe to repent of it; for they were ſeized
" with ſuch racking inward pains, that their bowels came out of their bodies:
" and the conſequence of this judgment was, that thoſe very perſons who had
" carried our ark away, anxious to make ſome atonement for the guilt they
" had perpetrated, brought it back again, accompanied by the ſound of mu-
" ſical inſtruments. This was evidently the operation of Providence in fa-

" vour of our fore-fathers, as a reward for their abſtaining from the com-
" mon means of ſeeking redreſs, and relying abſolutely on the mercy and providence of God.

" I might now mention Sennacherib, king of Aſſyria, and that immenſe " army of his, compriſing the whole ſtrength of Aſia, with which he ſat " down before this place. It will not be ſaid that this army was deſtroyed " by any human power. On the contrary, while the Hebrews were engaged " in their devotions, the angel of the Lord deſcended, and, in a ſingle " night, confounded that immenſe army; for, on the following morning, " Sennacherib found no leſs than one hundred and eighty five thouſand of " his troops dead on the ſpot, and the remainder flying in terror from the " Hebrews, who were unarmed, and did not entertain a thought of purſuit.

" It is no ſecret to you that our anceſtors were ſeventy years under the Ba- " byloniſh captivity, without attempting to obtain their liberty; till Cyrus, " inſpired by Heaven, permitted them to return to their own country; " where they inſtantly offered up ſacrifices to God, as to the great author of " their deliverance. In a word, what great atchievement, with, or without " arms, have our anceſtors ever effected, but by the immediate aſſiſtance of " God, when acting in ſtrict obedience to his commands? When they " remained at home, it often happened that victory was obtained without " fighting, as it was the ſupreme will of God that it ſhould ſo happen: " while they were always unſucceſsful, when they fought in a confidence of " their own ſtrength. For inſtance; when the king of Babylon beſieged this " city, our king, Zedekiah, in oppoſition to the advice of the prophet Je- " remiah, would give him battle: the conſequence of which was, that the " whole army of Zedekiah was put to the rout, himſelf taken priſoner, and " the city and temple deſtroyed, even in his own preſence. It is worthy your " regard to obſerve the difference between the moderate conduct of that " prince and people, and of yourſelves. The prophet aſſured them that the " diſpleaſure of God was the certain conſequence of their wickedneſs: and " that the city would be taken from them by violence, if they did not ſur- " render: yet notwithſtanding this melancholy warning, he was not in the " leaſt inſulted, either by the prince or people. I would not advert to your " preſent conduct within the walls of the city; which is, in fact, more atro- " cious than I can expreſs. It is ſufficient if I hint at the inhumanity with " which I have been treated, both by your words and actions: and of what " crime have I been guilty, except it be criminal to offer you good inſtruc- " tion and advice, and freely to recount your faults? But the mere recital of " your daily practices is more than you have patience to bear.

" Somewhat ſimilar to the caſe above-mentioned, is that reſpecting Antio- " chus Epiphanes, when he laid ſiege to this city. Our anceſtors, who, by " various methods had incurred the diſpleaſure of the Almighty, urged the " enemy to a battle, without waiting the direction and aſſiſtance of Al- " mighty God. The conſequence was that the city was taken and plundered, " and the ſanctuary was totally abandoned for the ſpace of three years and a " half. It was owing to the incorrigible obſtinacy of our own people, that " the Romans were firſt irritated againſt them. To what are we to attribute

" our ſlavery, but to the ſeditious diſpoſition of our countrymen, who di-
" viding themſelves into factions under Ariſtobulus and Hyrcanus, gave
" Pompey an opportunity of entering the city; when he made ſlaves to the
" Romans, ſuch Jews as were undeſerving of liberty. After a reſiſtance of
" three months they ſurrendered the place, though they were then better
" able to have defended it than you are at preſent, and had by no means
" ſuch offences againſt the laws and liberties of their country to anſwer for,
" as you have. The fate of Antigonus, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, is known to
" us all. In his reign, the ſins of the Jewiſh people were viſited by another
" judicial captivity. You are not unacquainted that Herod, aſſiſted by the
" Roman general, Soſius, and at the head of a Roman army, laid ſiege to
" Jeruſalem; when after a reſiſtance of ſix months, the judgment of Heaven
" puniſhed the ſins of the inhabitants, by a reduction of the city, which was
" entirely plundered by the conquerors.

" I have ſaid ſufficient to make it evident that this mode of proceeding by
" arms and battle hath always been fatal to the Jews, and that inevitable ru-
" in would be the conſequence of ſuch a war. For my part, I heſitate not
" to declare, that thoſe who are in poſſeſſion of this ſacred place, ſhould rely
" implicitly on the diſpenſations of the Divine providence, which will never
" fail thoſe who worſhip God in ſincerity, and obey his righteous commands.
" For your parts, your lives have been ſpent in a total oppoſition to his holy
" will, foraſmuch as you have done every thing that was forbidden, and left
" undone all that was commanded you. Thoſe whom you have known to
" have been deſtroyed by the avenging hand of juſtice in the full career of
" their wickedneſs, have been in many inſtances leſs guilty than yourſelves!
" The ſins of treachery, fraud, theft, and adultery, you have conſidered as
" venial offences; while you have prided yourſelves in oppreſſion, murder,
" and other crimes of the blackeſt dye, which ought never to be thought of.
" You have even made our holy temple the ſcene of your horrid impieties;
" a place which the Romans themſelves venerated, though their religion be
" ſo inconſiſtent with ours: this very temple, which even they have held in
" ſuch veneration, has been blaſphemed and polluted by you, who were edu-
" cated to worſhip therein. How then can you expect to receive aſſiſtance
" from that Divine power whom you have defied in ſo impious a manner?
" But admitting, for the ſake of argument, that you are righteous, humble
" and juſt; and that your hands are as unpolluted as were thoſe of our king,
" when he lifted them towards Heaven, to pray for aid againſt the Aſſyrians,
" and the conſequence was the deſtruction of the enemy's army on the follow-
" ing night: if you can prove that the Romans conduct themſelves as the
" Aſſyrians did, you might expect that the vengeance of the Almighty would
" puniſh them in a ſimilar way; but the caſes are widely different: for the
" Aſſyrian, after having received a ſum of money to ſpare the city, afterwards
" violated his oath, and cauſed the temple to be ſet on fire: whereas the
" Romans demand nothing more than an annual tribute; and of this they aſk
" not a greater ſum than has been paid them in former times. Let then this
" tribute be paid, and you will have nothing to apprehend for your city and
" temple: you will be ſecure in your perſons, your families, your liberty,

" your

" your fortunes: the free exercise of your religion, and the full dispensation " of your laws, will be granted you. You ought to understand that tyrants " and murderers, and men of justice and honor, will be treated according to " their deserts by the Almighty: and this will strike you forcibly, if you " reflect that vengeance, in his hand, is but the work of a moment.

" The above recital informs you how the Assyrians were destroyed on the " first night they sat down before the city; and if the Divine vengeance had " determined that one party should be chastised, and the other protected, that " vengeance would have fallen on the Romans, as it did on the Assyrians. " This would have been evident when Jerusalem was reduced by Pompey; " when Sosius made a similar assault; when Galilee was ravaged by Vespa- " sian; and in this final attack made by Titus. But the vengeance of Hea- " ven did not pursue either Pompey or Sosius, for they were both successful " in their attempts on this place. With regard to Vespasian, the command " of the empire was the reward of the successful war he made against us. " What idea can you form of an affair which appears almost miraculous, and " which has happened in favour of Titus? You know that Siloa, and the " other fountains without the city, were so defective of water before the ar- " rival of Titus, that it was scarcely to be purchased at any price: but since " he came, the springs have supplied them so plentifully, that the Romans " have not only sufficient for their own immediate use and accommodation, but " likewise for the use of cattle, and the watering of the gardens. A similar " circumstance happened, when the king of Babylon, whom I have already " mentioned, advanced to Jerusalem with his army, took possession of the " town and city, and burnt them both to the ground: and this portentous " event preceded the ruin and conflagration.

" Now it is not within the scope of my imagination to conceive that the " people of those times were more abandoned than those of the present; but " it appears as if God took part with the enemy, to the punishment of his " own house and people. Let us imagine the case of the master of a family, " whose dependants are wicked and corrupt. If he be a man of strict honor " and character he will abandon them, disdaining a cohabitation with " people of their infamous character. Is it then possible you should think " that God will abet your abominable proceedings? A God of infinite dis- " cernment, who is acquainted with all the sentiments of your minds, and " knows all your thoughts in the very moment you conceive them? But the " fact is, that you have no reserves, no secrets: but even your enemies are " the confidents of all your transactions. You seem to endeavour at a rival- " ship in the prostitution of your behaviour, and pride yourselves in a display " of your enormities.

" You know that God is merciful to all such as acknowledge and truly " repent of their crimes; and this course you must pursue, if you expect to " receive favour from Heaven. Wherefore I beseech you to abandon your " arms, and repent of the calamities your country has derived from your " conduct. Look around you with attention: consider the elegance of this " situation, the magnificence of the city, and the dignity of the temple " which you are labouring to bring to ruin. Reflect on the immense trea-

" sure

" ſure which it contains, and which conſiſts of offerings from all parts. Is " it poſſible that any of you can patiently ſubmit that theſe valuable effects " ſhould be plundered and burnt; or that you would wiſh to ſee thoſe things " deſtroyed which are better worth preſerving than all others in the world? " You would be influenced by theſe conſiderations, if your hearts were not " leſs penetrable than a ſtone. But if nothing elſe will have weight with " you, conſider the miſerable ſituation of your parents, your wives, your " children, and all of thoſe who depend on you, to whom the famine or the " ſword threaten equal deſtruction, even in the moment I am thus appealing " to you. It is poſſible it may be urged that as I have a wife, a mother, " and a family (heretofore of ſome conſideration), whoſe fate will be in- " volved in the common danger, I have given this advice on their account, " and with a view to my own intereſt: but I hereby pledge myſelf that if the " ſurrendering their lives, or my own, or the lives of all of us, will contri- " bute to the common ſafety, the ſacrifice ſhall chearfully be made, on the " ſingle condition that you will act with more wiſdom and integrity when " our lives have paid the forfeit."

Joſeph wept abundantly at the recital of his own ſpeech; but it appeared to make no impreſſion on the oppoſing faction, who did not think that they could, with ſafety, agree to the terms offered by the Romans, even if they had been diſpoſed ſo to have done. But of the common people, many were ſo impreſſed with what had been ſaid, that they began to conſider on the moſt effectual means of conſulting their ſafety by flight: and for this purpoſe they ſold all their moſt valuable effects, though at prices greatly inferior to their real worth; and ſwallowed the gold they received as the purchaſe money, leſt they ſhould be ſtripped of it in their journey. Thus provided, they repaired to the Romans, where they were ſupplied with what they wanted. In the interim Titus permitted the deſerters to enjoy their full liberty; which was an encouragement to others to deſert, as they avoided the misfortunes of thoſe in the city, without being ſubjected to the enemy. However, Simon and John, and their adherents, placed guards at all the outlets, and were not leſs aſſiduous to keep the citizens from departing, than the Romans from making an entrance. The leaſt cauſe of ſuſpicion was ſufficient to deprive a man of his life; or even a pretence on which to found a ſuſpicion, had the ſame effect. Perſons in affluent circumſtances were certain to be ſufferers: thoſe who had any thing to loſe were aſſuredly ſuſpected, and that ſuſpicion ended in their final deſtruction.

The faction now grew more tumultuous, and the famine daily encreaſed. When corn was no longer offered to ſale, they broke open houſes in ſearch of it; and, if none was diſcovered, the owners were tortured, to make them declare where their ſtores were depoſited: and if it was diſcovered, they were ſeverely puniſhed for concealing it. The very appearance of the wretched was conſtrued into the effect of guilt. If they ſeemed to be in health, it was inferred that they had a ſecret ſupply of proviſions. Thoſe who were in a low habit of body were immediately killed: though it appeared to be a work of ſupererrogation to deſtroy thoſe who were already periſhing for want of the

common neceſſaries of life. At length, ſuch was the diſtreſs, that people in tolerable circumſtances diſpoſed of their whole effects for a buſhel of wheat, and the poorer people for an equal quantity of barley. The purchaſes being made, they ſecluded themſelves from all obſervation, when ſome of them began to eat the corn before it was ground, while others waited till it was baked, according to the different degrees of their hunger. The ceremony of ſetting out a table was totally diſpenſed with, and happy was he who could ſnatch a morſel of meat, half raw, half roaſted, from the fire.

The calamity above-mentioned afforded a ſight truly melancholy. The moſt powerful fared the beſt, while the weaker had only to lament their misfortunes.

Starving is certainly the moſt deplorable kind of death, as it deprives people of the common emotions of humanity. The wife ſeized the meat from the mouth of the huſband; the child from that of the parent, and even the mother from that of the infant which lay periſhing in her arms; thus depriving it of the laſt ſuſtenance in the moment of the utmoſt neceſſity: yet theſe horrid robberies were not ſo privately committed, but that others robbed them of what they had pilfered from their friends. Whenever the inhabitants ſaw a houſe ſhut up, they concluded that the people in it had ſomething to eat; wherefore, breaking it open, they ſeized the meat, even from the mouths of the perſons who were ſwallowing it. Neither age nor ſex was ſpared: the old men who endeavoured to defend the proviſion they poſſeſſed were violently beaten: while the women who ſought to conceal any thing were dragged by their hair. Even children at the breaſt eſcaped not the general fury: ſo that the ſame treatment attended infancy and old age.

Among the freebooters, who were continually in ſearch of prey, nothing was deemed a more atrocious offence, than for the unhappy man who was purſued to outrun him that followed, and eat his bread before he was robbed of it. No kind of cruelty was omitted in the ſearch for food: perſons were tormented in the moſt exquiſite manner, and in thoſe parts the moſt ſenſible of pain. Sharp ſticks were thruſt up their bodies, and they were otherwiſe ſo ſeverely treated that the recital would give horror; and all this, perhaps, in order to diſcover a handful of flour, or a loaf of bread, which had been concealed. Theſe crimes, however, were greatly aggravated by the conſideration that thoſe who executed the tyranny had not the plea of unavoidable neceſſity to urge in their behalf. In fact, it was the mere effect of barbarity, when they were provided with ſix days proviſion in advance. Some unhappy creatures, who had evaded the vigilance of the guards, and ſlipped out of the town by night, in order to gather ſallad and herbs, were unfortunate enough to fall into their hands at a time when they thought themſelves leaſt in danger; and having been ſtripped of all they had procured, at the hazard of their lives, were happy to receive a ſmall part of their own property, in conſequence of their earneſt prayers and entreaties.

Such was the treatment that the common people received from the ſoldiers: but perſons of a ſuperior degree were carried before the uſurpers, who directed that ſome of them ſhould be put to death, on a charge of treaſon; falſe witneſſes being continually produced, to ſwear that they had an intention

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of betraying the city to the Romans; and one of the conſtant charges againſt them was, that they were diſpoſed to have combined with the enemy. Thoſe who had been plundered by Simon were carried to John, and the priſoners brought to John were tranſmitted to Simon, as if they had mutually agreed to triumph in the diſtreſſes of their fellow-creatures. In a word, though Simon and John conteſted for the ſuperiority, they appeared to entertain ſimilar ſentiments with reſpect to the practices of uſurpation and the arts of tyranny. They were partners in robbery; and he was accounted the greateſt villain, who cheated his accomplice of that part of the booty which each deemed to be equally his property.

To recite the whole hiſtory of their iniquities would be an endleſs taſk: but to ſum up all in a few words, I am fully convinced that ſo barbarous a people, or ſo miſerable a city, never before exiſted in the world. Theſe wretches, as a ſort of apology for their inhumanity to ſtrangers, calumniated the whole Hebrew people, and acknowledged themſelves to be, what they were in fact, an aſſociation of lawleſs vagabonds, and abandoned ſlaves. In truth they were the occaſion that the city was laid in aſhes, and that the temple was burnt; for their precipitancy gave riſe to theſe horrid facts, againſt the inclination of Titus, who was compelled to the violent procedure. While the upper town was burning the Romans gave many proofs of their benevolent feelings, as will appear in the ſequel; but the Jews neither heaved a ſigh, nor ſhed a tear on the occaſion. But of this I ſhall hereafter treat more at large, and make proper remarks on the event.

CHAP. XII.

The unhappy ſituation of the Jews, who are tortured and crucified. Titus compelled to act ſeverely for his own ſecurity. The obſtinate perſeverance of the Jews. Four capital works raiſed by the Romans. The bulwarks burnt by the Jews. Simon makes an attempt on the Roman erections. A gallant action performed by three of the Jews. The Romans driven from their works. No Roman to quit his poſt, on pain of death. An obſtinate encounter between the Romans and Jews. The Romans deſpair of accompliſhing their deſign.

IN the interim Titus plied his operations with inceſſant aſſiduity, in the courſe of which he loſt many men from the walls. The Jews had a practice of quitting the city during the night, in ſearch of the neceſſaries of life; and in theſe excurſions they were often attended by ſoldiers, who could not obtain within the city ſufficient to ſatisfy the demands of nature. The people who thus went out were chiefly very poor: but they were afraid to deſert abſolutely, leſt their wives and children, whom they left behind, ſhould be murdered: nor did they dare to take their families with them, from the apprehenſion of diſcovery.

Theſe circumſtances being well known to Titus, he ſent a party of his cavalry to wait for the Jews in the vallies; and theſe latter, being reduced to deſpair through hunger, fell into the ſnare laid by the enemy. When they found their unfortunate ſituation, they were compelled to fight, in the dread

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of a punishment even worse than death in battle: and, in fact, it was now too late for them to think of demanding quarter. In a word, the Jews were subdued; and having first been put to a variety of tortures, were crucified in sight of their brethren who were besieged. The exertion of this rigour was disagreeable to Titus, but he could not spare men enough from their military duty to attend them as prisoners, nor did he think it prudent to give liberty to such a number. Exclusive of these considerations, he hoped that the terrible example might tend to influence those within the city to avoid a similar fate. The unhappy persons above-mentioned were all crucified, but in a variety of forms, expressive of the hatred, contempt, or rage of the enemy: but the number of miserable wretches was so great, that crosses were wanted, and even room for executing them. Yet this horrid spectacle was so far from having its proper influence on the faction, that it wrought an effect directly contrary to what was intended: for the friends and relations of the fugitives, and all those who seemed inclined to listen to terms of accommodation, were compelled to come down to the walls, and observe what was to be expected by those who deserted to the Romans: and on this occasion it was instilled that the sufferers were not prisoners of war, but deserters who had made their submission, and implored mercy. By this contrivance many were prevented from going off, till the fact came to be known: though there were a number who escaped to the enemy, in the mere dread of being starved, which they considered as a more deplorable death than that of crucifixion.

Hereupon Titus gave orders that several of the prisoners should have their hands cut off; and in this condition he sent them to John and Simon, so that it was not possible they should be mistaken for deserters: and by these people he sent his advice that an end might be put to the war, before he should be absolutely compelled to destroy the city; intimating that the Jews, on a proper submission, had yet an opportunity of preserving their lives, their country, and their temple. In the mean time, however, Titus did not neglect to forward his works, encouraging those who laboured on them to be indefatigable; having determined that his preparations should be followed by convincing proofs that what was not to be effected by the laws of reason should yield to those of force.

In the interim the Jews on the walls vented their execrations, cursing both Vespasian and Titus; declaring that they held their liberties more sacred than their lives; that they were above the fear of death; and that if they could be happy enough to torment the Romans, they despised all consequences to themselves or their country, though Titus had asserted that both were on the point of destruction. With regard to their temple, they said the universe was by far the more magnificent edifice: or, at any rate, they entertained no doubt but that the Almighty would protect his own house: that they depended on him for protection, nor feared the threats of the Romans, which God would never permit to be carried into execution. This was the substance of what the Jews said on the occasion.

By this time Antiochus Epiphanes was arrived, having under his command a body of armed troops, among whom was one particular company of young men, nearly of an age, who were accoutred, and had been trained

after the Macedonian faſhion, from whence they obtained the name of Macedonians: though their birth gave them no claim to that name, nor did their characters correſpond therewith. There never was a prince who had been ſo fortunate and ſucceſsful in the former part of his life as the king of Comagena: but fortune forſaking him in the decline of life, he furniſhed a proof of the truth of the ancient obſervation, that "No man is to be declared "happy till his death." This king had a ſon diſtinguiſhed by great perſonal ſtrength, a ſpirit uncommonly enterprizing, and a degree of courage that approached to raſhneſs. On a particular day this ſon obſerved that it was amazing the Romans ſhould thus loſe their time before the walls, and not vigorouſly aſſault the place. To this Titus, in a ſmiling manner, replied that the way was open to thoſe who were diſpoſed to make the attack. He had no ſooner ſpoken theſe words than Antiochus advanced with his Macedonians, and in the courſe of the aſſault gave equal proof of his courage and military ſkill; while his followers, who had heretofore boaſted what wonders they would perform, thought it inconſiſtent with their honor to retreat, and, in conſequence, moſt of them were either killed or wounded; the latter being brought off by their companions, who were obliged to abandon the attempt; and were hereby taught that Macedonian courage muſt be ſeconded by the good fortune of Alexander to enſure ſucceſs.

The Romans began their platforms heretofore mentioned on the twelfth day of the month Artemiſius, and, after ſeventeen days inceſſant labour, completed them on the twenty-ninth. There were four of theſe platforms, and they were works of a very capital nature. One of them, which was near the fortreſs of Antonia, was conſtructed by the fifth legion, oppoſite the middle of the Struthian Pool: the twelfth legion threw up another, at the diſtance of twenty cubits from the former: oppoſite to the pool named Amygdalon, another work was thrown up by the tenth legion, which was more numerous than the other legions: and a fourth mount was erected by the fifteenth legion, at a ſmall diſtance from the monument erected to the memory of John, the high-prieſt.

As ſoon as the works above-mentioned were completed, John gave directions for digging a mine under that facing Antonia, and that a number of props ſhould ſupport the earth from falling. This being done, the woodwork was covered with a bituminous inflammable matter; after which John ordered that the pillars ſhould be fired; and the props being deſtroyed, the whole fortification fell to the ground, with a hideous craſh. At firſt no fire appeared; only duſt and ſmoke, till at length the flames burſt forth to view. The Romans were aſtoniſhed at the ſight, and perfectly diſtracted to think that their views were thus defeated, in the moment that they thought themſelves certain of ſucceſs. As their ramparts were deſtroyed, they conceived it would be fruitleſs to attempt to quench the fire.

Two days after this circumſtance Simon and his aſſociates made an attempt on the other mounts, where the Romans had by this time planted their battering-rams, and began their operations. Jepthæus, a Galilæan, of the city of Garſis, Megaſſarus, a domeſtic of queen Mariamne, and Agiras (other-

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wife the lame), the fon of Nabatæus of Adiabena, greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion. They ran with torches in their hands, and forcing their way through the troops of the enemy with as much unconcern as if there had been no oppoſition, they ſet fire to the works; and though they were oppoſed by darts and arrows, they reſolutely perſevered in their intention till the whole erection was in a flame. Theſe three men were eſteemed among the braveſt that took part in the war of which I am relating the particulars.

When the flames began to aſcend, the Romans ſent a body of troops to the relief of their brother ſoldiers; but, in the mean time, the Jews violently aſſailed them with ſhot from the walls, and, in total diſregard of their own ſafety, made a vigorous attack on thoſe who were endeavouring to ſtop the progreſs of the fire. The Romans uſed every effort in their power to ſave the battering-rams, the covers of which were by this time conſumed; while the Jews advanced even into the flames to prevent them; nor would they let go their hold, though the iron work was then of a burning heat. There was now no poſſibility of preventing the fire paſſing to the ramparts; and when the Romans found that they were encompaſſed with flames, and that no hope remained of ſaving their works from deſtruction, they retreated to their camp.

Such numbers from without the city now came in as reinforcements to the Jews, that this additional aid gave them ſuch freſh ſpirits and courage, that, flufhed with the hope of conqueſt, they advanced even to the camp, and made an attack on the guards. The office of the Roman guards, according to the ſtrictneſs of their diſcipline, was to perform their duty alternately, relieving each other; and the man who quitted his ſtation, under any pretence whatever, was certain of ſuffering death without mercy. Thus aſſured, from the very nature of their ſtation, that they muſt ſuffer the infamous death of deſerters, if they did not fall like men of honor, they made ſo reſolute an oppoſition, that ſome of thoſe who had fled thought themſelves under a neceſſity of returning; when they made ſuch reſiſtance by means of their engines, that the excurſions of the Jews from the city were ſtopped. Theſe Jews had ſallied forth with the utmoſt fury, unprovided even with weapons for their defence, attacking all they met with, without diſtinction, raſhly ruſhing among their enemies, and throwing themſelves on the points of their pikes. In a word, the advantages the Jews at any time gained over the Romans were leſs acquired by real courage than raſh precipitancy: while the Romans, little afraid of any eſſential injury the Jews could do them, often yielded to the violent impetuoſity of their opponents.

When Titus returned from Antonia, where he had been to fix on a proper ſpot for carrying on the ſiege, he ſeverely reprimanded his troops for permitting themſelves to be attacked in their own works, when they had poſſeſſed themſelves of thoſe of the enemy, and yielding to be beſieged by thoſe who could be conſidered as no other than priſoners. After this Titus made a ſelection of ſome of his beſt troops, and ſurrounding the Jews, charged them in the flank; while they, on the other hand, ſuſtained the charge with aſtoniſhing reſolution. When the two parties met there was ſuch a horrid noiſe,

noiſe, and the duſt flew in ſuch clouds, that it was impoſſible to ſee or hear any thing diſtinctly; nor could friends be diſtinguiſhed from foes. This obſtinate reſiſtance of the Jews aroſe more from deſpair than from any great idea they had of their own power. On the contrary, the Romans were ſo enraged, partly from a ſenſe of military honor, and partly from a concern for the ſafety of their general, who was in imminent danger, that if the Jews had not retreated to the city in the very moment that they did, every one of them would have been utterly deſtroyed. Still, however, the Romans were hurt at the reflection of having loſt their bulwarks; and that what they had been ſo long in erecting ſhould be demoliſhed almoſt in an hour. In conſequence of this diſappointment the Romans began to deſpair of accompliſhing their deſign.

CHAP. XIII.

A council of officers ſummoned by Titus, in which ſome adviſe a general aſſault, others the reparation of the ramparts, and a third the prevention of proviſions being carried into the city. Orders given by Titus that a wall ſhould be built round the city. The courſe and extent of the wall, which is completed in the ſpace of three days.

DURING this ſituation of affairs Titus iſſued orders that his principal officers ſhould be ſummoned to a council, to adviſe with him how to act in the emergency. Some of the moſt violent among them recommended an immediate attack with the whole army, and coming to a general battle, alledging that nothing had yet been done but by way of ſkirmiſh; but if once a vigorous aſſault was made, the darts and arrows alone would inſure victory over the Jews. Thoſe of more reflection gave their voices for the re-edification of the ramparts; while a third party were totally againſt the having any fortifications, but adviſed that care might be taken that no proviſions ſhould be carried into the city: truſting that famine would effectually do the buſineſs, and that victory might be obtained without a blow being ſtruck: alledging that perſons driven to deſpair would hold their reſolution even to death.

Though Titus did not think it perfectly honourable to lie inactive at the head of ſo large an army, yet he was not diſpoſed to attack a people, who fought their own deſtruction with ſuch determined reſolution. The want of materials rendered it impracticable that he ſhould erect new ramparts; and with regard to the preventing proviſions being carried into the city, he thought it would be equally impoſſible, on account of the extent of the place, and the number of avenues. He conſidered that if the common roads were to be all blocked up, yet the Jews, who were acquainted with all the ſecret paſſes in the neighbourhood, would, when driven to abſolute neceſſity, find out ſome ſecret places of conveyance. He reflected that if the Jews ſhould, by ſtealth, convey any relief into the city, it would only tend to protract the ſiege, and the delay thereby occaſioned would leſſen the honor of the victory. "But (ſaid he) let us ſuppoſe that what I have imagined "might poſſibly be carried into execution: yet there is ſtill a mode of pro-

"viding

" viding for the safety of the army, and the reputation of the Romans. Ex-
" pedition ought to be preferred to glory, and the effectual way to obtain the
" object of our wishes, in a short and certain manner, will be to erect a wall
" round the whole city. By this it will be impossible that the inhabitants
" should make excursions: and the Jews at length, incapable of defending
" themselves, and reduced to the utmost distress by famine, will be com-
" pelled to surrender the city through mere despair: otherwise there will
" never be an end to the contest. However, though I cannot erect new ram-
" parts, I will order the old to be repaired; notwithstanding those that re-
" main are sufficient to stop the proceedings of the enemy. Some may think
" the plan I propose will be difficult of execution; but if it had been other-
" wise it would have been beneath my dignity to have undertaken it. Works
" of great importance are not effected without considerable labour, except
" the immediate interposition of Heaven aid their execution."

The speech of Titus being ended, he directed his officers immediately to begin the erection of the wall, and let the whole army take a share in the business, assigning to each party its proper station. These orders were no sooner issued than every soldier was animated with a wish to exceed his fellows in this work. The ground was measured out, the legions were divided, and every man was emulous who should most effectually distinguish himself. The common soldiers copied the example of the serjeants; the serjeants that of the captains; the captains that of the tribunes; and the tribunes that of their superior officers; the whole being under the direction of Titus, whose zeal for the dispatch of this business was such, that he was continually taking his rounds to superintend the whole proceeding.

This wall commenced at a place named the Camp of the Assyrians, where Titus himself held his head quarters. Hence it was continued to the lower Cænopolis; carried forward by the way of Cedron to Mount Olivet, which was enclosed to the south as far as the rock Peristereon, and this inclosure comprehended an adjacent hill which commands the vale of Siloah. From this place it inclined somewhat to the west, and was carried on to the valley of the Fountain. Its next direction was to the sepulchre of Ananus, the high-priest; after this it inclosed the mountain on which Pompey had heretofore encamped. It then turned to the north, and was extended to a village named Erebinthonicus. It included the sepulchre of Herod on the east side; and soon afterwards was joined to that part of the wall where the building originally commenced.

Nine and thirty furlongs was the whole extent of this wall, and thirteen forts were erected on the outside of it, ten furlongs being the compass of each fort. It is somewhat extraordinary, but no less so than true, that this amazing work was completed in three days, though an equal number of months might have been supposed a reasonable time for it. As soon as it was finished, garrisons were placed in all the forts, who did duty under arms every night. On each night, likewise, Titus went the first round in person, Tiberius Alexander the second, and the officers who commanded the legions the third. Some persons were constantly on guard in the forts during the whole night: but

ſome of the ſoldiers were allowed to reſt, alternately with others who were appointed to watch.

CHAP. XIV.

Account of the exceſſive diſtreſs occaſioned by famine. Some of the Romans make an oſtentatious ſhew of their abundance, in order to mortify the Jews. Four ramparts, of greater magnitude than the former, erected at the fortreſs Antonia.

THE above-mentioned incloſure of the Jews within the town reduced them to the laſt degree of deſpair; for by this time the famine had encreaſed to ſuch a height that whole families fell a ſacrifice to its rage. The dead bodies of women and children were ſeen in every houſe: the old men were found dead in all the narrow lanes of the city, while the younger men, who were yet able to walk, appeared like ghoſts parading the ſtreets. It became impoſſible to commit the bodies of the dead to the ground. Many of the living were unable to perform this charitable office; while others were unwilling to undertake it; partly diſcouraged by the numbers of the deceaſed, and partly by the reflection that themſelves could not ſurvive any conſiderable time. Numbers of them expired even while they were burying their fellow-citizens; and ſome, prompted by deſpair, fought their own graves, and interred themſelves, that they might be certain of a place of repoſe. Yet miſerably diſtreſsful as the preſent ſituation of theſe wretched people was, not a ſingle complaint or lamentation was heard: for the pangs of exceſſive hunger abſorbed every other paſſion. Thoſe who laſt expired beheld thoſe who had gone before them, with unweeping eyes, and looks marked with the near approach of death. The moſt profound ſilence reigned through every part of the city; and during the courſe of the night, heaps of dead bodies were frequently piled on each other. Yet a more melancholy part of the ſtory (if more melancholy can be), ſtill remains untold. This aroſe from the brutal inſolence of a number of abandoned thieves, who broke into the houſes, that at this time appeared only like charnel-houſes, and having ſtripped the bodies of the dead, they derided their ſituation: excluſive of which they ran their ſwords into the bodies of perſons who lay half expiring. When any deſpairing wretch called for ſome friendly hand to diſpatch him by a ſword, that he might no longer endure the miſeries of famine, this earneſt requeſt was conſtantly refuſed with the moſt unfeeling barbarity. When any of the unfortunate reached the moment of death, they turned their faces to the temple, and thus cloſed their eyes; lamenting at the ſame time, that the vile incendiaries who had profaned the holy place, ſhould be yet left among the living. When the offenſive ſmells ariſing from the corruption of the dead bodies became inſupportable, an order was given that all of them ſhould be buried at the public expence: the abandoned incendiaries threw them from the walls into the vallies: a ſight that occaſioned ſo much horror to Titus, that while he was going his rounds, and found the ditches infected with dead bodies, and peſtilential vapours ariſing from them, he extended

his hands towards Heaven, and made a ſolemn appeal to God, that theſe misfortunes aroſe not from any orders that he had given. At the period of which I am writing, this was the unfortunate ſituation of the city.

The inſurgents were now ſo pent up within the walls, that they found it impoſſible for any of them to quit the place. In the mean time they endured all the pangs of famine, aggravated by the tortures of deſpair; while, on the contrary, the Romans lived at their eaſe, and paſſed their time very agreeably, being amply ſupplied with the neceſſaries of life from Syria, and the adjacent provinces. Encouraged by their better fortune, many of the Romans advanced to the walls, and made an oſtentatious diſplay of their poſſeſſions, with a view to reflect on the neceſſities of thoſe who were in circumſtances of diſtreſs. All this appeared to have no effect on the unfeeling minds of the ſeditious multitude: whereupon Titus, in mere compaſſion to the reſidue of an unhappy people, determined immediately on the erection of new works, and reſolved that no time ſhould be loſt in their completion. One conſiderable difficulty, indeed, now occurred, which was the providing the proper materials for carrying theſe works into execution; for all the wood in the neighbourhood of the city had been cut down for the erection of the former works: wherefore they were under a neceſſity of fetching all the timber for this ſecond ſupply from a place at the diſtance of ninety furlongs: and herewith four ramparts, of greater magnitude than the former, were erected at the fortreſs Antonia. Titus carried on this buſineſs with great aſſiduity, and the beſieged being now at his mercy, he plainly hinted to them that he knew their ſituation. Still, however, they ſhewed no concern for what had happened: they ſeemed to have no regard for themſelves or each other. Thoſe who were decaying with ſickneſs they confined in priſons, and tore the dead in pieces, as dogs would have done.

CHAP. XV.

Simon having been introduced into the city by Matthias, the former cauſes him to be firſt tortured, and then murdered; Ananus, the moſt cruel of men, being the executioner. Ananias and others put to death. The deſtruction of Simon concerted by Judas. The city ſurprized by Simon. Joſeph being wounded by a ſtone, is ſaid to be killed; but is reſcued by Titus, and recovers. The Jews having ſwallowed their gold, the bodies of two thouſand of them are cut open in one ſingle night. The reſentment of Titus on this brutal behaviour. Reflection on the inordinate love of money.

THE ungrateful return which Matthias received from Simon, for procuring him to be admitted into the city, was, that he firſt cauſed him to be tortured, and then put to death. The ſtory of this event is as follows: Matthias was the ſon of a prieſt named Boethus, whom the people held in as high eſteem as any man of his function. The Zelotes having treated the Jews with very unwarrantable ſeverity, and John having joined the former, Matthias recommended that Simon might be called in to their aſſiſtance; but took no previous precaution, nor made any condition with regard to his conduct.

duct. Such, however, was the ingratitude of Simon, that as ſoon as he had become maſter of the city, he treated Matthias as one of his worſt enemies, and the advice the latter had given for opening the ports was attributed to mere thoughtleſsneſs and ſimplicity. On this ridiculous pretence he was brought to a trial, and charged with holding a correſpondence with the Romans; and, without any kind of proof, ſentence of death was paſſed on Matthias and three of his ſons: but without permitting them to urge a ſingle argument in their defence: but a fourth ſon had made his eſcape to the Romans. The venerable old man made it his earneſt requeſt, and the only favour he aſked, in return for his admitting Simon into the town, that he himſelf might firſt ſuffer: but even this poor favour was denied by Simon, who gave orders that Matthias ſhould be executed the laſt, with the cruel reſolution of prolonging the term of his ſufferings. The iſſue of this horrid affair was that the good old Matthias was put to death on the bodies of his ſons, and within view of the Romans, agreeable to an order which Simon gave to Ananus, the ſon of Bamadus; which Ananus was diſtinguiſhed from all the dependants of Simon, by the extreme cruelty of his diſpoſition. Simon, however, was not contented with the ſimple execution of this barbarous ſentence; but in the moment that Ananus was preparing to give the fatal ſtroke, he ſaid to Matthias, with an air of the moſt inſolent deriſion; "You "had intended to have deſerted to the Romans: let them now afford you "aſſiſtance if it be in their power." When the execution was over the barbarity was carried ſtill farther: for Simon gave expreſs orders that the bodies ſhould be denied the rites of ſepulture.

At this period the following perſons were likewiſe put to death: Ananias, the prieſt, the ſon of Maſbalus, deſcended of a noble family; Ariſteus, a native of Ammaus, and fifteen others of the principal people in the city. The father of Joſeph was apprehended and committed to priſon, and a proclamation was iſſued that no man ſhould go near him, on pain of incurring the penalties of treaſon. It was likewiſe declared that thoſe who expreſſed any ſentiments of pity for the unfortunate ſufferers ſhould be puniſhed with death.

Not long after theſe events, Judas, who commanded one of the turrets (and was ſon of Judas, one of Simon's officers), being concerned in a high degree for the ſufferings of the people, and being willing alſo to conſult his own ſafety, ſummoned ten of thoſe friends in whom he could implicitly confide, whom he addreſſed in the following manner: "Is it not unreaſonable "that we ſhould longer bend beneath the yoke of this tyranny? What ex"pectation have we of ſafety while in the ſervice of ſo barbarous and trea"cherous a maſter? We have already the famine and ſword to contend "with, and the enemy is almoſt within our walls. Simon is certainly the "moſt ungrateful of any man exiſting: he lives in perpetual fear of the pu"niſhment he deſerves. On the contrary, the faith and honor of the Ro"mans is not to be doubted. Wherefore the moſt prudent meaſure we can "take will be to ſurrender our walls, thereby conſulting our own ſecurity "equally with that of our country. With regard to Simon, he can have "nothing to complain of, only that his ſufferings will be in ſome degree "accelerated."

Judas

Judas and his ten associates having come to a resolution in what manner they would act, he sent the rest of his people different ways, in order to keep his intentions secret; and, about the third hour of the day, he advanced to the turret, and addressed himself to the Romans, intimating what had been agreed on. Some of the Romans paid no regard to what he said; others who heard him did not believe his assertions; while a third party thought the conquest of a place which they might possess without danger was not worth the least hazard.

Titus had by this time advanced some of his troops quite close to the wall; but the city being instantly surprized by Simon, he killed a number of the guards, even in sight of the Romans, and threw the bodies over the wall. As Joseph was taking his rounds, and offering every assistance possible to the Jews, by advice and encouragement, it happened that he was wounded by a stone from the battlements, which beat him to the ground. Hereupon the Jews sallied forth in a violent manner, and would have carried him off a prisoner, but that Titus, in the critical juncture, sent a number of men to his relief. While the opposite parties were contesting the matter, the friends of Joseph carried him off, before he recovered his senses. The faction, supposing that Joseph had been slain, gave themselves airs of great exultation on the occasion.

This report being currently spread through the city, the inhabitants were exceedingly concerned for the loss of a man whom they considered as their friend and mediator among the Romans. Intelligence of the death of Joseph being conveyed to his mother, who was then in prison, she told the guards that she had been already informed of the circumstance, and that she should never again have the happiness of seeing her son. The women attending her condoled her on this melancholy occasion, while she deplored her own unhappy fate, in having been the mother of a son whom she hoped would have committed her remains to the ground; yet, as things had happened, she was not now in a situation to pay the funeral honors to her son. This suspense, however soon ended: the faction received no advantage, nor Joseph's mother any injury from the false report that had been propagated. The danger that Joseph had been in from his wound was soon at an end; and, on his returning to his former station, he intimated that the delinquents should severely suffer for the outrage they had been guilty of: but he still, in the most earnest manner, recommended submission to the people. Joseph's friends were highly pleased, and the faction as much dispirited, on his making his reappearance.

At this juncture a number of the inhabitants went off to the Romans. Some of them deserted under pretence of pursuing the enemy with stones; while others made their escape by leaping over the walls. But while they sought to avoid the distresses which prevailed within the city, they met with greater calamities without; for they contracted surfeits in the camp, still more hastily destructive than the famine from which they had fled: for after long fasting, and being infected with a dropsical complaint, they durst not venture to eat freely, for fear of bursting. But the most melancholy part of the history remains yet to be recounted.

Among the Syrians a fugitive Jew was diſcovered while he was ſearching for gold which he had ſwallowed, and which had paſſed through his body. At the period above-mentioned there was a very great ſcarcity of gold in the town, and twelve atticks was as valuable as twenty-five had been in former times; and the faction had ſearched all the people in the ſtricteſt manner. On the above-mentioned diſcovery it was immediately reported through the camp that the Jews who had deſerted had ſwallowed all the gold. Hereupon the Arabians and Syrians ſeized on the deſerters, and cut open the bodies of two thouſand of them in one night. This I deem to have been the moſt inhuman butchery that ever was ſuſtained by the Jews.

The horrid inhumanity of this action gave ſo much offence to Titus, that he would undoubtedly have ordered his cavalry to deſtroy every one of the offenders with darts, if their number had not been more conſiderable than that of thoſe they had murdered: but as this was the caſe, he ſummoned together his officers, as well the Romans as the auxiliaries; and finding that ſome of his own people had been concerned in this inhuman butchery, he delivered his ſentiments on the occaſion in the following manner. In the firſt place, addreſſing himſelf to the Romans, he ſaid, "I am aſtoniſhed that "any ſoldier of mine ſhould be guilty of an action ſo unmanly, in order to "poſſeſs himſelf of ſo uncertain an advantage, without bluſhing at the mean-"neſs to which he had been induced by his avarice." Then turning to his auxiliaries, he exclaimed, "Do you think it reaſonable that the inſolencies "offered, and the inhumanities and murders perpetrated by the Syrians and "Arabians in a foreign war, in which they act without controul, ought to "be imputed to the Romans; and that the crimes of one party ought to be "laid to the charge of the other?"

Titus, ſo far from excuſing his own people, was tranſported to the higheſt degree of rage at their conduct, and threatened immediate death to any man who ſhould be guilty of ſimilar acts of barbarity for the future. At the ſame time he gave orders to his legions to make a ſtrict ſearch after every perſon who ſhould be ſuſpected, and declared that he himſelf would ſit in judgment on his trial. The love of money, however, will combat every danger. The cruel are covetous by nature; and avarice is the moſt inſatiable of all our appetites and inclinations. In ſome caſes it may happen that a reaſonable and upright conduct may be the conſequence of fear: but when people are loſt to all ſenſe of moral honeſty, their deſtruction may ariſe from the very efforts made to ſave them. What Titus prohibited publicly with ſuch ſeverity, was repeatedly practiſed in ſecret on the deſerters from the Jews. Their mode only of proceeding was varied: for when any of the deſerters were taken, the cuſtom of the murderers was, firſt to be aſſured that they were not within view of any of the Romans, and then to rip up the bodies of the Jews, in ſearch of treaſure: though they were ſeldom ſucceſsful in the finding money ſought after by theſe infamous means. However, the ſhocking practice had ſuch an effect on the Jews, that they now no longer deſerted to the Romans, being apprehenſive of the fatal conſequences that would enſue.

CHAP. XVI.

From plunder John proceeds to sacrilege. Immense numbers of the Jews destroyed. It is computed that six hundred thousand dead bodies are carried out of the city.

JOHN having obtained all he could by plunder, then proceeded to sacrilege, seizing and appropriating to his own use several cups, dishes, tables, with other necessary vessels appropriated to divine service, which had been presented as gifts, or offered as oblations; not excepting even the pieces dedicated to the honor of the temple, by Augustus and the empress. The Roman emperors had ever entertained a great esteem and veneration for the temple, though at this time it was profaned by a Jew, who stripped it of the presents bestowed on it by strangers, and encouraged his companions to make free with every thing that was sacred; saying, "It was but reasonable that "those should live by the temple, who had fought for it." In pursuance of these sentiments he made no scruple of distributing among his people the holy wine and oil which had been reserved for sacrifices in the interior part of the temple: and as John was free of his distributions, the people were equally free of receiving them, drinking and anointing without ceremony. On this occasion, I am so distressed that I cannot express my feelings. I am fully convinced that if the Romans had forborne to punish the atrocious wickedness of these people, the city would either have been drowned, or swallowed by an earthquake; or it would have been destroyed by thunder and lightning, in the same manner as Sodom; for the Jews were a more abandoned people than those of that place. However, in the event, the whole race of them was destroyed, as the reward of their iniquity.

The task of recounting the various miseries of the Jews on this occasion would be endless. One of the gates of the city was commanded by Mannæus, the son of Lazarus, who deserting to Titus, informed him that from the day when Titus first encamped before the city, which was on the tenth of the month Xanthicus, to the first of the month Panemus, no less than one hundred and fifteen thousand and eighty dead bodies were carried through that gate; this being the number that he had kept a register of, in consequence of the duties of his office. But this did not include those buried by their relations, or, more properly, thrown out of the city, for they had no other mode of burial.

Some time after this several men of eminence, who had deserted, made a computation, by which it appeared that six hundred thousand dead bodies had been carried out of the gates; besides which, incredible numbers, who had not friends to carry them out of the city, were either enclosed in large buildings, or laid in heaps in the open air.

At this juncture wheat had arisen to the price of a talent for a bushel: and since the city had been surrounded with the wall, the inhabitants were prevented from obtaining any kind of provisions; and were at length re-

duced to such an extremity of distress, that they were under a necessity of searching vaults and sinks for sustenance; and even fed on ox-dung, and other articles too offensive to be mentioned in this description.

This bare recital of their misfortunes engaged the compassion of their enemies: yet, in the mean time, the rebellious faction in the city, who witnessed, and even felt these sufferings, seemed insensible that they arose entirely from their own pertinacious obstinacy. Still they continued, fatally blinded by an infatuation which led them insensibly to the destruction of themselves, and the ruin of the city.

End of the Sixth Book.

THE

THE

WARS

OF THE

JEWS.

BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.

Account of the dreadful miseries that prevailed in Jerusalem, and the desolation of the circumjacent parts. The Jews appear too powerful for their adversaries: they form a design of setting fire to the Roman machines, but the attempt proves unsuccessful. The Romans assault the city, which is bravely defended by the Jews. The assailants employed in undermining the wall. In the course of an address to his soldiers Titus declares his sentiments on futurity, and exhorts his auditors to a strict observance of their duty. One of Titus's guards, named Sabinus, performs an heroic exploit.

IN proportion to the calamities which prevailed in Jerusalem, and continued daily to encrease, the faction became more desperate and outrageous. The famine had now arrived to such a height that all ranks of people were equally affected by it; the streets and passages afforded a most dreadful prospect, being encumbered with dead bodies, by which the air was infected

infected to an intolerable degree; and so dead to every sense of remorse were the people, that they trampled upon the carcasses with as little scruple as they would have done in a field of battle; nor did they appear to be in the least affected by the consideration that every moment threatened to number them among the deceased. In the domestic contentions they barbarously murdered their countrymen, and then directed their attention to a war with a foreign enemy; thereby seeming to offer an impious insult to the Divine Being for having withheld the punishment due to their enormous crimes; for their despairand rage urged them to a war with the Romans, in which they entertained but little hope of escaping destruction.

The Romans were put to great difficulty in procuring the necessary materials for completing their works: but they cut down all the woods within the circuit of ninety furlongs of the city, and finished their platforms in the space of twenty one days. A most dismal alteration took place in this delightful part of Judæa, which abounded in curious gardens, plantations, and houses of pleasure: not a building or tree was now to be seen, but the marks of devastation and ruin occupied the whole prospect. So great was the difference between the present and the former state of Jerusalem, that even strangers could not refrain from tears on the comparison. So terrible was the devastation and havoc of the war, that people in the heart of the city might reasonably have enquired where Jerusalem, that place so peculiarly favoured by Heaven, was situated.

The Romans having raised the mounts, the Jews became greatly alarmed; for matters were now arrived to such an extremity that they were conscious they must inevitably surrender the city if their endeavours to destroy the Roman works proved ineffectual: on the other hand the Romans were exceedingly apprehensive left the attempts of their adversaries should prevail; for the wood of the adjacent parts of the country being wholly exhausted, and the men greatly harrassed by incessant and hard duty, if the mounts were destroyed, all hopes of success must end, since there appeared no possibility of constructing other works.

Notwithstanding the enmity subsisting between the parties, the Romans were more concerned on account of the miseries of the Jews than they were themselves. In despite of all the difficulties and dangers they had undergone, and the prospect of what they had still to encounter, the Jews preserved their spirits and resolution. The disadvantage they had sustained in several combats, the inefficacy of their engines against a wall of such surprizing strength, and the disappointment of divers stratagems by the superior policy of the enemy proved highly discouraging to the Romans. They reflected that they had to contend with people, who, notwithstanding the disadvantages of intestine divisions, the miseries of famine, and the horrors of a foreign war, suffered no abatement of fortitude and courage; but, on the contrary, appeared to derive additional vigour from the difficulties in which they were engaged; and they exclaimed: "Were these people favoured by fortune, to "what great undertakings would they not be equal, since, in despite of the "great disadvantages under which they at present labour, they conduct

" themſelves with ſuch ſurprizing courage and addreſs!" The Romans now doubled the number of their guards, and took ſuch other precautions as occaſion required.

Before the rams were mounted no meaſures that were likely to prove effectual were omitted by John and his adherents, who guarded the caſtle of Antonia, to prevent a breach being made in the walls. They made a ſally with a view of ſetting fire to the mounts, but they went out in ſmall parties, and they did not act with that courage and unanimity which was uſual to the Jews. Their meaſures were not well concerted, nor were they carried into execution with the neceſſary ſpirit, to which may be attributed the failure of their deſign. The Romans became unuſually vigilant; and, leſt their works ſhould be ſet on fire, they planted a ſtrict guard upon the bulwarks, and adopted ſuch other precautionary meaſures as were neceſſary for preventing any advantages being taken by the enemy. Rather than ſubmit to the irreparable injury of relinquiſhing their advantageous ſtation, they unanimouſly reſolved to die in defending the mounts. They conſidered that the honor of the Roman name would incur indelible diſgrace if they ſuffered their courage and diſcipline to be baffled by the headſtrong impetuoſity of a deſperate and outrageous multitude; and to ſubmit to the power of the Jews was a circumſtance that they could not reflect upon with any tolerable degree of patience.

The Romans were prepared with darts to encounter the enemy as they advanced; and ſuch of the foremoſt as were ſlain or wounded obſtructed the progreſs, and damped the courage of their companions. Thoſe who preſſed forward were aſtoniſhed and deterred upon obſerving the exact regularity of the Roman diſcipline; others were alarmed at the great numbers of the enemy; and thoſe who were wounded availed themſelves of the firſt opportunities that offered for effecting an eſcape. In ſhort all the Jews retired, each man endeavouring to preſerve himſelf from cenſure by attributing the common calamity to the miſconduct of his companions.

The Jews having retreated, on the firſt day of the month Panemus, the Romans advanced their rams in order to batter the walls of the caſtle of Antonia. To prevent the approach of the engines the Jews had recourſe to their ſwords, fire, ſtones, and ſuch other means as were likely to prove effectual; and they defended themſelves with ſingular reſolution: they greatly depended on the walls being ſufficiently ſtrong to reſiſt the force of the machines, but ſtill they exerted every poſſible effort to prevent their being advanced, and placed in a manner proper for action. Hence the aſſailants concluded that the great activity of the Jews proceeded from a conſciouſneſs of Antonia being in danger. For a conſiderable time the battery was continued without effect; but, deſpairing of being able to effect a breach by means of their engines, the Romans applied themſelves to mining, carefully guarding themſelves with their bucklers from the ſtones, lances, and other weapons diſcharged from above. With immenſe labour they, at length, looſened four ſtones of the foundation. The night now arrived, and both parties retired to repoſe. In the mean time that part of the wall which John had undermined with a view of deſtroying the former works, ſuddenly

gave

gave way. This unexpected event had a contrary effect upon the contending parties. The Jews, who by a proper attention might have prevented the accident, were but little concerned when it arrived; for they deemed the place to be ſtill ſufficiently ſecure. The Romans were greatly rejoiced at a circumſtance ſo favourable to their views as the falling of the wall: but their tranſports abated upon obſerving a wall which John had conſtructed within the circuit of that wherein the breach appeared. They ſtill, however, entertained hopes of conquering the place; for the ruins of the outward wall greatly facilitated acceſs to the other, which was not yet ſufficiently ſettled and hard to make any conſiderable reſiſtance to the force of the battering-rams. The aſſailants judged that inſtant death would inevitably be the fate of thoſe who ſhould attempt to ſcale the walls; and therefore all thoughts of that exploit were declined.

Being ſenſible that by plauſible inſinuations, the force of argument, encouraging exhortations, and the promiſe of reward, men of enterprizing ſpirits were to be animated to an equal diſregard of dangers, difficulties and death, Titus aſſembled ſuch of his people as were moſt remarkable for bravery and military ſkill, and addreſſed them to the following effect:

"My faithful followers and brave fellow-ſoldiers! To exhort you to undertakings where the danger is not great would be equally inglorious to you and to myſelf. But the cauſe in which we are engaged is worthy the Roman character. I muſt acknowledge that the wall before us is an obſtacle which we ſhall find it difficult to ſurmount: but enterprizing ſouls are given us for the performance of great and heroic achievements; and to yield our lives when the reward will be immortal glory is an event too deſireable to be conſidered with indifference. Such of you, my friends, as ſhall manifeſt a conduct entitling you to favour will find me neither inſenſible to merit nor deſtitute of liberality. The fortitude, conſtancy, and perſeverance of the enemy, inſtead of depreſſing your ſpirits, ſhould animate you to an extraordinary exertion of courage; for true valour conſiſts in a generous contempt of danger, and a readineſs to attempt the removal of every obſtacle that obſtructs the way to honourable victory. It is the conſtant practice of the Romans to ſtudy the art of war in times of tranquillity; and their ſucceſſes have been ſo great and frequent that to conquer ſeems to be almoſt natural to them. How degrading then will it prove to the character we have hitherto maintained if, at this time, when we are evidently favoured by the providence of Heaven, we ſhould ſuffer our reſolution to relax, and yield to the ſuperiority of the Jews, who do not maintain the war from a principle of martial honor, but are urged to acts of deſperation by the extravagance of deſpair? Their inteſtine diviſions, famine, ſiege, and the deſtruction of their wall, rendering our endeavours to effect a breach unneceſſary, ſufficiently indicate that we purſue the war under the immediate protection of Heaven, while our adverſaries daily ſuffer the judicial vengeance of an offended Creator. To ſubmit to the enemy would not only brand us with eternal ignominy, but would even be offering an inſult to the Almighty, who, in his Divine pleaſure, hath

"granted

" granted us assistance and protection. Being accustomed to slavery and ser-
" vitude, the Jews have but little reputation at stake: and shall the prospect
" of being again reduced to a servile state inspire these people with suffici-
" ent courage to rush amidst the body of the Roman troops? They cannot
" entertain the most distant prospect of success, but their situation has ren-
" dered them desperate and regardless of death. We are actually the lords
" of the universe, having subjected so great a part of the land and sea to our
" dominion; and to be conquered, or fail in our endeavours to subdue our
" enemies, would reflect upon us an equal share of disgrace: and shall we
" neglect to attempt some glorious enterprize, and remain in a shameful
" state of inactivity till famine and other calamities shall deliver the enemy
" into our power, and deprive us of the honor of conquest? Let us assault
" Antonia, and when that place is subdued we may consider ourselves as un-
" der an absolute certainty of obtaining a complete victory. If any oppositi-
" tion should be offered from the city (but that is a circumstance that we
" have no sufficient reason to apprehend will arrive), it must necessarily be so
" feeble as scarcely to deserve our attention; for having possession of the
" more elevated ground will afford us so considerable an advantage over
" the enemy that they must inevitably yield. It is not my purpose to extol
" those heroes who, having gloriously concluded their lives in the field of
" battle, shall still survive in the memory of the latest posterity. Let those
" contemptible creatures who can descend so far beneath the dignity of hu-
" man nature as to wish their souls and bodies may sink into the grave toge-
" ther; let them, I say, meet their fate in a manner proportioned to the ab-
" ject and groveling state of their minds. Are there any among you so
" grossly ignorant of the state of departed souls as to imagine that upon being
" separated from the body the spiritual part is not instantly translated to the
" Heavens, and placed among the stars, there to influence their descendants,
" and prepare them for the regions of eternal bliss? This is the case with
" men of honor, who fall by the chance of war. But those who fall miser-
" able sacrifices to the infirmities of the body, and ingloriously die in their
" beds, however virtuous their dispositions, are sunk in obscurity, and their
" names are buried in eternal oblivion. Since death is the inevitable lot of
" the human race, and the sword is to be greatly preferred to any other
" means of yielding our lives, must not that man be degenerate and base
" who has not virtue sufficient to hazard his existence in the service of the
" public, when life is a debt, which, according to the course of nature,
" must unavoidably be discharged? From what I have said you may, per-
" haps, infer that I suppose death will be the certain consequence to those
" who shall adventure to assault the walls: but, bravery and fortitude are
" superior to every danger; and the man who boldly despises fear can never
" despair of success, in despite of obstacles which to mean spirits may ap-
" pear impossible to surmount. The ruin of the outward wall has opened a
" passage for victory; and the second wall will prove an obstacle of no ma-
" terial consideration, provided that you animate and support each other
" with a generous firmness and resolution. Our numbers are so great that

" it is ſcarcely poſſible we can ſuffer a repulſe: and perhaps we may be able " to effect a complete conqueſt without proceeding to ſuch extremities as will " be attended with the loſs of blood. Reſt firmly aſſured that the enemy " will not be able to withſtand our force; and that the man who ſhall firſt " mount the breach, whether it proves his fortune to fall or to ſucceed in " the glorious exploit, ſhall have ſignal honors paid to his memory, or be " rewarded with benefactions worthy his heroic character."

Though it might have been expected that the generous addreſs of Titus would have inſpired his ſoldiers with extraordinary valour, the danger of the intended enterprize had made ſo deep an impreſſion upon them, that a ſoldier of the guards, named Sabinus, a Syrian by birth, was the only man who had courage to undertake the hazardous commiſſion of making the firſt aſſault. He was a man of remarkable courage and military ſkill; but ſo unpromiſing was his appearance that ſtrangers would ſcarcely have ſuppoſed him to be of a martial character. He was of low ſtature, thin, and of a black complexion; but he was of a diſpoſition ſingularly active and enterprizing. He made a reverential obedience to Titus, and addreſſed him to the following purpoſe: " I preſume, mighty prince, to offer myſelf as the man to be en- " truſted with the honor of making the firſt aſſault upon the enemy's walls. " May the ſucceſs of the Roman arms prove correſpondent with the hopes of " Sabinus. If it ſhall be my fortune to fail in the propoſed enterprize I " ſhall be amply recompenced for the loſs of life in the glorious reward of " yielding my laſt breath in the ſervice of my general; life and death are, " therefore, with me conſiderations of equal indifference."

Having delivered the above words, Sabinus graſped his ſword in his right-hand, and caſting his ſhield over his head with the other, he advanced towards the wall, being followed by eleven men, who were induced to ſupport him merely by an emulation of his ſuperior bravery and generous contempt of danger. It was about the ſixth hour of the day when Sabinus attempted the brave exploit: and he was annoyed by innumerable darts and arrows diſcharged by the enemy; notwithſtanding which he continued to purſue his purpoſe with a degree of reſolution that appeared to be more than human; and in the action ſome of his followers were ſlain. Having nearly mounted the wall, his extraordinary courage, and eſcape amidſt ſuch a variety of dangers, proved ſo alarming to the Jews that they quitted their ſtations, fearing that the example of Sabinus would encourage his companions to ſupport him, and that they ſhould be oppreſſed and overpowered by numbers.

But the fate of Sabinus affords reaſon for lamenting the inconſtancy and malevolence of fortune, who frequently delights in the diſappointment of glorious deſigns. When Sabinus had nearly accompliſhed the great exploit, he was moſt unhappily encountered by a ſtone of conſiderable bulk, which forced him to the ground. The noiſe occaſioned by the fall of the ſtone induced the Jews to return; and upon obſerving Sabinus lying alone on the earth, without motion and apparently ſenſeleſs, they violently aſſaulted him with darts and other weapons. He raiſed himſelf upon his knees, and

throwing his buckler over his head, bravely revenged himself with his sword, by killing many of the enemy and wounding others. But such immense showers of darts were aimed at him that he became wholly unable any longer to maintain so unequal a contest, and, at length, he resigned his breath.

When we consider the astonishing bravery of Sabinus, we cannot but lament that he did not experience a more happy fortune: but his death, however, like his life, was perfectly consistent with the character of a true hero. The death of Sabinus happened on the third day of the month Panemus. Three of the companions of Sabinus were crushed to death by the fall of stones from the wall; and the other eight being wounded were conveyed to the Roman camp.

CHAP. II.

A silent march to the walls of Antonia, where the guards are surprized, while asleep, and destroyed by the Romans; in consequence of which an obstinate engagement ensues, wherein terrible slaughter is committed. The Jews prove victorious after a contest for the space of ten hours.

TWO days having elapsed, twenty of the guards of the platforms, the ensign of the fifth legion, two cavaliers, and a trumpet, assembled; and in the dead of the night these people silently advanced over the ruins of the wall up to Antonia. They marched without meeting the least obstruction, and finding the advanced guard oppressed with sleep, they cut their throats, and having gained possession of the wall, the trumpeter sounded his instrument, which aroused the rest of the guard, who were thrown into so great a consternation that they instantly fled, being ignorant that only a small number of the enemy had entered the place, but strongly possessed of the opinion that they were exceedingly numerous.

Upon receiving intimation of the state of affairs at the fort, Titus put himself at the head of his most resolute troops, and immediately marched thither over the ruins already mentioned. So astonished were the Jews by the sudden and unexpected attack that some fled for safety to the interior temple, and others to the mine that John had formed with a view of destroying the Roman works. The factions under the command of John and Simon were convinced that every prospect of success must end if the enemy obtained possession of the temple: and hereupon a desperate engagement ensued before the doors of the sacred building; one party fighting for the preservation of life, and the other for the honor of conquest. Neither party could use lances or darts with effect; for they were so closely engaged that the sword was the only weapon on which the issue of the battle was to depend. Jews and Romans were promiscuously crouded together, and neither order or discipline was observed, but the utmost confusion prevailed. The outcries were so loud and various that, notwithstanding the difference of language, there was no possibility of distinguishing from which party they respectively

ſpectively proceeded. A very conſiderable ſlaughter was made on either ſide, and the ground was encumbered with the bodies and weapons of the ſlain and wounded. The ſpot where the battle took place would not admit of a retreat, or a purſuit: but when either party obtained an advantage they preſſed forward with ſhouts of triumph, while the other retired, exclaiming againſt the ſeverity and injuſtice of fortune.

The rear of each army ſo violently preſſed forward that the ſoldiers in front were wholly unable to retreat; and therefore they had no alternative but either to deſtroy their adverſaries, or ſurrender their own lives. The encounter was maintained for the ſpace of ten hours, being commenced at the expiration of the ninth hour of the night, and not concluded till the end of the ſeventh on the following morning. The determined rage of the Jews, however, proved too powerful for the diſcipline and bravery of the Romans; and that this was the caſe was a fortunate circumſtance for the former, whoſe laſt adventure being at ſtake, had they been vanquiſhed in this action utter deſtruction to them muſt inevitably have been the conſequence. The Romans judged that they had reaſon to be ſatisfied with the advantage they had acquired in gaining poſſeſſion of the fort of Antonia; for they had performed the exploit with only a part of the army, the legions on whom the greateſt dependance was placed not being yet arrived.

CHAP. III.

A centurion, named Julian, performs an heroic exploit. Account of a remarkable accident, by means of which he loſt his life. The Romans are repulſed, and ſhut up in the fort of Antonia. The Jews who ſignalized themſelves in the action are particularized.

A Centurion, named Julian, who was a native of Bithynia, and a man deſcended of an honourable family, obſerving, while he ſtood near Titus in the fort of Antonia, that the Romans were ſo hard preſſed as to be on the point of retiring before the enemy, availed himſelf of a favourable opportunity, and with a degree of intrepidity truly aſtoniſhing, made a ſudden and deſperate leap into the thickeſt part of the adverſe forces, who, by the efforts of his ſingle arm, he put to flight, and purſued to the moſt interior court of the temple. The bravery and great exploits of this man ſo aſtoniſhed the Jews that they could not believe but that he was influenced by a ſupernatural power. Julian continued his progreſs with undaunted courage and unremitting agility, fearleſs of danger and inſenſible of fatigue, putting ſome of the enemy to death, and wounding others; and the wonderful feats of valour that he performed proved a moſt glorious and pleaſing ſpectacle to the Romans, while the Jews were affected in a very different manner, being terrified and aſtoniſhed beyond the power of deſcription.

A fatal accident, however, which neither his wiſdom could foreſee, nor his beſt judgment avoid, attended this heroic ſoldier: according to the cuſtom of

the martial people among the Romans, he wore ſhoes ſtudded with iron, which, while in purſuit of the enemy upon a part that was paved with ſtones, occaſioned him to ſlip down. Upon hearing the ſound cauſed by the daſhing of his armour againſt the pavement, the Romans united in a loud and general outcry, being terribly apprehenſive of his having received ſome injury by the fall. At the ſame inſtant the Jews turned, and furiouſly aſſaulted him with ſtones and darts. He for ſome time bravely defended himſelf againſt the aſſailants, ſeveral of whom he wounded, and made divers efforts to riſe, but was as conſtantly oppreſſed and overborne by multitudes. Being unable any longer to guard himſelf with his buckler, he fell at his length upon the ground: and even while in this ſituation the Jews found ſome difficulty in depriving him of life. The loſs of blood, the pain occaſioned by his wounds, and fatigue produced ſuch weakneſs that Julian, being unable any longer to contend with the frailties of human nature, yielded to inevitable fate: but by his heroic actions his memory is immortalized; and he died an honourable object of admiration to both friends and enemies.

I may ſafely aſſert that I have not heard of a man, who, in the whole courſe of the war, was ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed by military qualifications as Julian. Titus was exceedingly grieved upon ſeeing ſo great and valuable a warrior fall, and be expoſed as a public and miſerable ſpectacle; and when he had obſerved him to be in danger from the Jews, he was deeply concerned, and ſeverely lamented the total impracticability of haſtening in perſon to the ſpot where ſo valuable a life was threatened with deſtruction. There were, however, many of the Roman army, who, on account of their ſituation, might have gone to the reſcue of Julian, had they poſſeſſed ſufficient bravery to venture their own perſons for the preſervation of a man of the moſt exalted martial character.

Alexas and Gypthæus *, adherents to the faction under the conduct of John; Judas, the ſon of Merton; James, the ſon of Sozas, captain of the Idumæans; Simon and Judas, the ſons of Jair; and Malachias, who were attached to the intereſts of Simon, were the Jews who ſignalized themſelves in the above-recited action.

* Al. Tipthæus.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The Roman general commiſſions Joſeph to urge John to an encounter with what number of forces he may think proper to lead into the field. The ſcurrilous reply of John. In an argumentative addreſs Joſeph inſtances the caſe of Jechonias, king of the Jews, to prove that humiliation and repentance are ever acceptable to the Almighty; he ſays that the future deſtruction of Jeruſalem is frequently mentioned in hiſtory; that the time is approaching when the predictions will be verified; and concludes with obſerving that the Romans are made the inſtruments of Heaven for puniſhing the iniquities of the Jews. The Jews circulate a report that the Romans put all deſerters from the adverſe party to death: but Titus cauſes the fugitives to appear, and thereby confutes the calumny. The Roman army venerate the holy temple. Titus ſolemnly diſclaims all concern in the abominations of the temple, and declares that he will preſerve it from indignity.

HAVING formed the determination of breaking up the foundations of the fort Antonia, and forming a level paſſage for the more convenient march of his army, Titus commanded Joſeph into his preſence, and, underſtanding that on this day, being the ſeventeenth of the month Panemus, the Jews were greatly diſtreſſed on account of their incapacity of performing the daily ſacrifices and oblations, through the want of a congregation, commiſſioned him to repair a ſecond time to John, and repeat a former propoſal, which was to the following effect: that if John was ſtill diſpoſed to reſiſt, the Romans would be ready to give battle to any numbers that he might bring into the field; that he propoſed this method of deciding the controverſy from no other motive than that of preſerving the city and temple from being involved in the common deſtruction: if John accepted the propoſal it was to be on the condition that he ſhould offer no farther profanations to the ſacred name and worſhip of the Almighty: and it was added that if he was inclined to reſtore the ſervices of religion, he had full liberty to nominate ſuch Jews as he approved to officiate in the duties of the ſacred function.

Joſeph was not ſatisfied with acquitting himſelf of the matter which Titus had entruſted him to communicate to John; but repairing to an eminence, for the purpoſe of being more diſtinctly heard, he exalted his voice, and in the Hebrew language related to the multitude what, in obedience to the command of Titus, he had already reported to John. He exhorted the Jews to reflect upon the deplorable ſtate to which their country was reduced, and leſt the opportunity ſhould elapſe, immediately to purſue the neceſſary meaſures for preventing the deſtruction of the temple; adding that they would not be abridged of the privilege of ſolemnizing prayer, offering ſacrifices, and obſerving their other cuſtomary ceremonials of religion.

The Jews were greatly affected by the diſcourſe of Joſeph, but they dared not venture to expreſs their ſentiments. John violently exclaimed againſt Joſeph, and ironically ſaid that, "Since Jeruſalem was the city of God, it

" could not poſſibly be liable to danger." He was now interrupted by Joſeph, who, raiſing his voice to a louder tone than before, ſpoke as follows:

" The great concern you manifeſt for preſerving the city in purity and holineſs, muſt, undoubtedly, inſure to you the favour and protection of " Heaven. Should a man deprive you of the means of daily ſubſiſtence, you " would naturally conſider him as your bittereſt enemy. And yet you make " no ſcruple of committing the moſt horrid impieties, and are ſo aſtoniſhingly abandoned as to apply to profane uſes the victims dedicated for the " daily ſacrifices and oblations in honor of the Almighty. Whence ariſes " your contention with the Romans, but becauſe they reſolutely undertake " the defence of the legal inſtitutions and religious worſhip, as eſtabliſhed by " your anceſtors, which even yourſelves labour aſſiduouſly to aboliſh? Without being ſenſible of the moſt poignant ſorrow, what man, who is not diveſted of every virtuous principle, can behold the deplorable change in " the ſtate of civil and religious matters. Strangers and enemies, who are " actually engaged in hoſtilities againſt you, are left to aſſume the friendly " office of reſtoring your religious worſhip. The Jews, connected by blood, " and educated according to the laws of our nation, are guilty of more ſhocking acts of cruelty to each other than could be expected from the moſt uncultivated barbarians. Notwithſtanding the enormity of your guilt, a ſincere humiliation and repentance may ſtill prove acceptable to the Almighty. That repentance is not rejected, even in the moſt deſperate " caſes, may be proved in the inſtance of Jechonias, king of the Jews: the " Babylonians having entered Judæa with a mighty army, Jechonias quitted " Jeruſalem, ſurrendering himſelf, his mother, and other near relations, as " hoſtages to the enemy; and to this pious conduct he was influenced by " the deſire of preſerving the holy city and temple from the deſtruction with " which it was threatened. An anniverſary ſolemnity is obſerved, even to " this time, in acknowledgment of the great obligations which our nation " owe to Jechonias; whoſe illuſtrious conduct in the above inſtance, I earneſtly recommend to your ſerious conſideration, as a precedent inſtructing " you in the only means by which you can relieve yourſelves from your preſent calamities. Deſperate as your ſituation is, an happy change may yet " arrive; for I here ſolemnly pledge my word that the Romans will pardon " your offences againſt them, and relieve your calamities, provided you do " not ſo exaſperate them as to render yourſelves wholly unworthy of forgiveneſs. That you may repoſe a due confidence in what I ſay, recollect that " it is one of the Jewiſh profeſſion who has given a promiſe to inſure your " ſafety; conſider his character, the motives by which he is influenced, and " under the authority of whoſe name it is that he thus exerts his endeavours " to perſuade you to avert impending deſtruction. Heaven defend me from " degenerating into ſo great a wickedneſs as that of diſregarding the place " to which I owe my birth, and the laws eſtabliſhed by our anceſtors! Is it " juſt that my zeal in your ſervice ſhould meet ſo ungrateful a return as new " and repeated injuries and inſults? But I acknowledge that I deſerve this " treatment from you, ſince I have preſumed to interfere in behalf of a

" peo-

" people whom the juſtice of Heaven has condemned to exemplary puniſh-
" ment. You cannot be ignorant of the frequent predictions that are to be
" found in hiſtory, evidently alluding to the utter ruin of this moſt calami-
" tous city: and the prophecies are ſo far verified that not only the habita-
" tions are rendered impure, but even the holy temple is polluted with the
" blood and carcaſſes of thoſe of your own tribes, who have been moſt bar-
" barouſly maſſacred. Hence we can draw no other concluſion than that
" the Romans are ſent as the inſtruments by which the Almighty means to
" expiate by flames the various abominations of this miſerable and devoted
" city." Joſeph's voice was now interrupted by ſobs and tears, and he was unable to continue his diſcourſe; which had already impreſſed the Romans with an admiration of the great tenderneſs he entertained towards his country. But as Joſeph's grief encreaſed, ſo did the inveteracy of John and his adherents againſt the Romans; and they became ſtill more anxious to diſcover ſome ſtratagem by means of which they might get him into their power. Joſeph's addreſs, however, was not entirely without effect; for it had made a deep impreſſion upon many people of diſtinguiſhed rank.

The arguments of Joſeph prevailed with divers of thoſe people who compoſed the faction, and heartily diſpoſed them to revolt to the Romans; but, notwithſtanding they deemed it impoſſible that the city ſhould eſcape ruin, a dread of the guards which many of them entertained prevented a compliance with their inclinations: others ſeized the opportunity of eſcaping to the Romans; and in the number of theſe were Joſeph and Jeſus, the high-prieſts; the three ſons of Iſmael, who was beheaded at Cyrene; four ſons of Matthias; and one ſon of another Matthias, who eſcaped to the Romans, after Simon, the ſon of Gioras, had put his father and three brothers to death, as we have already related; and excluſive of the above, a conſiderable number of other perſons of rank revolted to the enemy. They experienced a moſt gracious and generous reception from Titus, who conceiving that it would prove both inconvenient and diſagreeable to reſide among people whoſe laws, cuſtoms and manners, ſo materially differed from thoſe under which they had been uſed to live, ordered them to Gophne, promiſing to grant them conſiderable poſſeſſions when the war ſhould be concluded: and the fugitives expreſſed the warmeſt ſentiments of gratitude for the liberal treatment they had received from the Roman general.

When the faction obſerved that the fugitives were no longer to be ſeen from the city, they circulated a rumour that the Romans had put them to death. For ſome time, this ſtratagem had the deſired effect by deterring other Jews from following the example of the deſerters: but being apprized of the deſign with which the report had been propagated, Titus recalled the deſerters from Gophne, and ordered them to make the tour of the walls attended by Joſeph. The calumny being thus refuted, a ſtill greater number of the people were induced to revolt to the Romans. Being aſſembled on this occaſion within ſight of the Romans, with tears and lamentations they ſupplicated the faction to preſerve their country by admitting the Romans into the town; or, at leaſt, to depart from the temple rather than provoke the enemy to de-

ſtroy it by fire, to which extremity they would not proceed, unleſs aggravated to adopt the meaſure by an inconſiderate perſeverance in a fruitleſs oppoſition. This conduct ſerved but to inflame the faction to a more extravagant degree of outrage; and having planted machines even at the gates of the temple, they aſſailed the deſerters with darts, arrows, ſtones diſcharged from ſlings, and other miſſive weapons; ſo that the ſacred building had a greater reſemblance to a place of war and ſlaughter, than a houſe dedicated to the worſhip of God; and the bodies of the deceaſed lay in ſuch numbers in the ſpace of ground before the temple as to give it the appearance of a cemetery. They forcibly entered the holy ſanctuary, their hands yet reeking with the blood of the murdered citizens, and were guilty of the moſt horrid impieties, which proved the ſource of great affliction to the Romans, there not being a man in the army under Titus that did not obſerve a due reſpect to the holy temple, and the rights and ceremonies of the Jewiſh religion, and entertain the higheſt veneration towards the eternal Being to whoſe ſervice the ſacred edifice was dedicated; and they were unanimous in the wiſh that the faction would repent of their horrid impieties and abominations, and thereby avert the deſtruction with which they were threatened.

Greatly affected by the miſerable ſituation of the Jews, Titus determined to adopt another effort to reclaim them to reaſon, and addreſſing himſelf to John and his aſſociates, he ſpoke to the following purport:

"Ye barbarous and ſacrilegious people, are you not conſcious that your "anceſtors environed the holy place with partitions, and that the pillars "bear Latin and Greek inſcriptions, on ſevere penalties prohibiting all "perſons from treſpaſſing beyond the incloſure? Have not the Romans "given a ſignal proof of their tender regard to your privileges, by denouncing death as the puniſhment of thoſe who ſhould preſume to paſs the preſcribed limits, without exception even of their own countrymen? Whence "is it, then, that you ſuffer yourſelves to be tranſported by an extravagant "rage to profane the ſanctuary with maſſacres and aſſaſſinations, and pollute "the holy temple with domeſtic and foreign blood? I here ſolemnly appeal "to the gods of my country; to that power who was of late the patron of "the temple, but who has now abandoned it; to the army under my command; to the Jews who have revolted to me; and even to yourſelves, "that I have in no manner been concerned in, or acceſſary to, any of the "profanations that have been committed; and I pledge my word that, "if you will acquieſce in my deſire of quitting the holy place, it ſhall be "my peculiar care to prevent its being approached, or the leaſt violation "offered to it by the Romans; and that, even in oppoſition to your inclinations, I will exert my utmoſt endeavours to preſerve and protect the ſacred "edifice."

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The provocations offered by the Jews determine Titus to profecute the war; and, in compliance with the advice of his officers, he ſtations himſelf upon the fort Antonia. The aſſault is made in the night, and a terrible confuſion enſues. Upon the return of day light the Jews are reſtored to order. An obſtinate engagement: it is doubtful which party gains the advantage. The Jews who ſignalized themſelves in the action are named. The poſſes about fort Antonia are levelled, and four mounts are erected. A deſperate and bloody engagement. A Roman cavalier, named Pedanius, performs an heroic exploit. The Jews ſet fire to that part of the temple-gallery, extending from the north to the eaſt, and facing the fort Antonia. A Jew named Jonathan, a man of contemptible character, inſolently propoſes to encounter any man of the Roman army in ſingle combat. Pudens is ſlain by Jonathan, and Jonathan by Priſcus.

JOSEPH, as the interpreter of Titus, delivered the above addreſs in the Hebrew language; but the faction put a falſe conſtruction upon it, attributing the application made by the Roman general as proceeding from motives of fear rather than good-will; and in conſequence hereof their inſolence encreaſed. Finding that the Jews were wholly regardleſs of their own ſafety and the preſervation of the temple, Titus determined vigouroufly to proſecute the war. The place not being ſufficiently extenſive for drawing up his whole army, he ſelected from each company thirty of the moſt reſolute troops, appointing a tribune to head every thouſand men, and Cerealis to the chief command of the party that was thus choſen for making the aſſault. He ordered all neceſſary preparation for proceeding to action about the ninth hour of the night, intending himſelf to lead his troops to the attack. The officers of Titus's army being aſſembled in a council of war, they were unanimouſly of opinion that it would be highly impolitic for the general to expoſe his perſon to danger; and therefore they adviſed him to ſtation himſelf upon the fort Antonia, whence he might iſſue orders, and obſerve the behaviour of his troops, who would be inſpired with extraordinary valour by the conſideration of fighting under the immediate inſpection of their general.

Titus informed his troops that, in compliance with the advice of his officers and friends, he meant to withdraw to Antonia, whence he might give the neceſſary inſtructions to his officers, and, at the ſame time, accurately diſtinguiſh thoſe who, during the action, ſhould merit puniſhment or reward; adding that thoſe who ſhould prove themſelves worthy the character of Roman ſoldiers ſhould be recompenſed with liberal donations, and that, on the other hand, the delinquents ſhould be conſigned to the ſeverity of the martial law. The hour was now appointed for making the aſſault, and Titus repaired to a watch-tower in the fort Antonia.

The Romans were deceived in the expectation they had formed of ſurprizing the Jews while aſleep: the advanced guards reſolutely oppoſed the aſſail-

aſſailants, and, at the ſame time, joined in a general ſhout, which awakening their companions, great multitudes immediately came to their ſupport. The Romans bravely withſtood the ſhock made by the advanced guard; and when the other Jews came up, a ſcene of horror took place: through the darkneſs of the night, the confuſed ſound of voices, fear, and the impulſe of rage, their conſternation was ſo great that they deſtroyed both friends and enemies without diſtinction; and the Jews who fell by the hands of their own countrymen were conſiderably more numerous than thoſe who were ſlain by the enemy. The loſs on the part of the Romans was not great; for they preſerved a regular diſcipline, carefully defended themſelves with their bucklers, and had the advantage of knowing each other by means of the watch-word. Upon the appearance of day-light the Jews diſcovered their error, and purſued the encounter with more regularity. Each party now employed darts, arrows and other weapons, and, notwithſtanding the conteſt that had been maintained in the night, they appeared to ſuffer no abatement of courage or ſtrength. The Romans, conſcious that their general was poſted in a ſtation where he could form an exact judgment reſpecting the behaviour of his troops, and conſidering that their future proſpects in life would depend on their conduct in the preſent action, fought with a noble emulation to ſurpaſs each other in martial exploits. The preſence of John, who threatened and even ſtruck thoſe of his people who appeared to be tardy in their duty, and encouraged the reſt with promiſes of reward, added to the conſideration that their own lives and the ſafety of the temple were at ſtake, induced the Jews to exert their utmoſt endeavours in oppoſing the enemy. Neither party was able to make any conſiderable retreat, the place not being ſufficiently large for that purpoſe, and the battle was moſtly maintained hand to hand, victory ſometimes appearing to incline to one and ſometimes to the other ſide. The fort of Antonia was as a theatre, whence Titus and his friends commanded a full and perfect view of thoſe who were actively engaged in the ſcene, urging the Romans reſolutely to purſue the advantages they gained, and exhorting them firmly to maintain their ground when they appeared to be in danger of a repulſe from the Jews, and giving ſuch directions as circumſtances required. In ſhort, the conteſt continued from the ninth hour of the night to the fifth on the following day; and when it was concluded, ſo reſolutely had the combatants maintained their ground, it could not be decided which party had gained the advantage.

In the above action ſeveral noble Romans diſtinguiſhed themſelves by feats of great heroiſm; and the Jewiſh captains who ſignalized themſelves on this occaſion were the following: Judas, the ſon of Merron, and Simon, the ſon of Joſias, adherents to the party under Simon; Jacob, the ſon of Soſa, and Simon, the ſon of Cathlas, who were Idumæans; Gyfthæus and Alexas, friends to the party under John; and a Zelote, named Simon, who was the ſon of Jair.

Titus ordered the foundations of Antonia to be broken up to the very bottom; and in the ſpace of ſeven days this work was compleated, and a level paſſage formed for admitting the Roman legions to march conveniently up

to

to the walls. Titus now employed his troops in erecting four mounts: the firſt facing the angle of the interior temple that looked towards the north and eaſt; a ſecond againſt the gallery, to the northward between the two gates; a third towards the weſt porch, and the fourth towards the north porch of the outward temple. This work was not compleated without great difficulty and expence; for the Romans were under the neceſſity of conveying what materials they had occaſion for from places at an hundred furlongs diſtant from Jeruſalem; and placing great confidence in their ſtrength, they neglected to guard againſt ſurprizes from the Jews, who waiting for them on the way, frequently made deſperate ſallies from ambuſhes, and put them to conſiderable loſs and inconvenience.

When the Romans went out in foraging parties, they frequently unbridled their horſes, and turned them to graze; and when opportunities offered, the Jews ſallied forth, ſeized and carried off the animals. This being often repeated, Titus attributed the loſs to the negligence of his troops rather than to the enterprizing ſpirit of the enemy. He was not deceived in his conjecture; for having cauſed one of his ſoldiers to be put to death, as a puniſhment for loſing his horſe, no inſtance of the like nature occurred in future.

The platforms being now raiſed, and the Romans having made every other preparation neceſſary to the aſſault they had meditated, on the following day a number of Jews belonging to the faction, who, being unable to procure the neceſſaries of life by their uſual practice of pillage, were nearly on the point of ſtarving, formed the reſolution of attacking the Roman guards who were ſtationed on Mount Olivet; and they advanced about the eleventh hour of the day, when they imagined their attempt would be moſt likely to ſucceed, as at that time it was uſual for the enemy to take ſome reſpite from the fatigue of duty.

The Romans obſerving the approach of the ſeditious multitude, collected all their force in order to repulſe them. A terrible conteſt enſued, in which great exploits were performed by both parties. The Romans founded their hopes of ſucceſs on their ſuperior knowledge in the art of war: and the furious rage and impetuoſity of the Jews induced them to believe that they were able to ſucceed in the moſt deſperate attempts. The valour of one party was excited by the dread of ſhame, and that of the other by the preſſing exigency of their ſituation; for the Romans conceived that they ſhould incur indelible diſgrace if they did not revenge themſelves upon the Jews for the inſolent attempt they had made; and the Jews had no proſpect of eſcaping the vengeance of the enemy but by mere dint of force.

The following exploit, which is ſo remarkable as almoſt to exceed credibility, was performed by a Roman cavalier, named Pedanius: the Jews being repulſed, and purſued into the valley by the Romans, Pedanius rode after the fugitives, and overtaking a corpulent young Jew, bearing very heavy arms, who, in order to preſerve his life, was urging his horſe full ſpeed, he ſeized him by the leg, and carrying him away a priſoner, preſented him to Titus. The general complimented Pedanius on his courage, and ſurprizing

ſtrength

ſtrength and activity; and he conſigned the Jew to death for having been concerned in the audacious attempt to ſurprize the Romans in their camp. Titus continued to direct his principal attention towards compleating the mounts, by means of which he entertained the hope of becoming maſter of the temple.

Finding themſelves conſiderably weakened by the loſſes ſuſtained in diverſe combats; that the war daily raged with additional violence; and that the temple was in the moſt imminent danger of being deſtroyed, the Jews reſolved to ruin a part of the ſacred edifice in order to preſerve the reſt: as it is uſual to amputate the extremities leſt mortification ſhould be communicated to the more noble parts of the body. They ſet fire to that part of the gallery extending from the north to the eaſt, and facing the fort Antonia; and in a ſhort time as much of the building as occupied a ſpace of near twenty cubits was entirely conſumed. Thus were the Jews the firſt who actually put the deſign in execution of effecting the deſtruction of the ſuperb and holy ſtructure, ſo deſervedly celebrated throughout the univerſe.

Two days having elapſed, the Romans, on the twenty-fourth of the ſame month, ſet fire to the remaining part of the gallery; and when the flames had gained fourteen cubits, the Jews deſtroyed the roof, as well as every other matter which was likely to ſerve as a communication with fort Antonia, though they might, had they been ſo inclined, have ſaved the place from the rage of the flames: but they were wholly regardleſs as to what courſe miſchief took ſo it tended to promote their private views. During this time daily ſkirmiſhes took place in the neighbourhood of the temple.

A Jew named Jonathan, a man of obſcure birth, deſperate fortune, low ſtature, and every way contemptible in appearance, at this period repaired to the ſepulchre of John, the high-prieſt, and, making himſelf the ſubject of a vain-glorious diſcourſe, he inſolently challenged any man of the Roman army to come with his ſword in his hand, and engage him in ſingle combat. Some of the Romans were actually afraid of meeting the vain-boaſter; ſome held him in the moſt ſovereign contempt; others declined the combat, urging the folly of encountering a man grown deſperate by deſpair, and equally regardleſs of God and man; and that the challenger being influenced by a brutal fury rather than the ſentiments of honor, no ſhare of glory could poſſibly be acquired by the conqueſt of ſo contemptible an adverſary. Jonathan waited a conſiderable time before any champion appeared to oppoſe him; and during that interval he continued to inſult the Romans by charging them with cowardice. At length a Roman cavalier, named Pudens, being naturally of an impetuous temper, and no longer able to brook the provoking inſults offered by Jonathan, inconſiderately accepted his challenge. The contemptible idea he entertained of his adverſary rendered Pudens careleſs, and by ſome accident he unfortunately fell: the Jew ſeized the opportunity, and put him to death while he lay on the ground: he now trampled the body of the deceaſed under his feet; and, his ſword yet reaking with blood in his right, and his buckler in his left hand, he exultingly clattered his arms together, and vented the moſt ſcurrilous reflections upon his deceaſed adver-

ſary and the whole Roman army. A centurion, named Priſcus, being provoked at the inſolence and vanity of the Jew, diſcharged an arrow, which ſhot him through the heart, and he inſtantly expired, and fell on the body of Pudens. This circumſtance cauſed a great clamour among both Romans and Jews, who were, however, actuated by very different motives. The fate of Jonathan was conſidered as a judgment upon him for having arrogated to himſelf the merit of performing a great exploit, when the advantage he had gained was not in conſequence of any exertion of valour or other martial qualifications, but owing merely to an accidental circumſtance.

CHAP. VI.

The faction in the temple make war upon thoſe on the mounts. The Jews make uſe of a ſtratagem to confound the Romans. The ſufferers compaſſionated by Titus. The ſingular valour of Longus. Artorius eſcapes in a manner almoſt miraculous.

AT this juncture the faction in the temple were engaged in open war with the ſoldiers on the mounts; and the Jews deviſed the following ſtratagem on the twenty-ſeventh day of the month above-mentioned. They placed a large quantity of dry wood, ſulphur, and bituminous matter between the timbers and the top of the roof of the weſtern porch; and then affecting to give way, as if an attack had been made on them, they retreated, with every appearance of being driven out of a place of which they could no longer hold the poſſeſſion. Hereupon a number of their opponents purſued them cloſely, with the utmoſt eagerneſs, and put up ladders, to get poſſeſſion of the place, which the others had abandoned: but thoſe who reflected on the affair, deemed it to be a mere artifice, and therefore did not join the purſuit.

As ſoon as the Romans had crowded into the porch, the Jews ſet it on fire, and the whole building was immediately in flames, to the horror and confuſion of thoſe who were within their power, and the aſtoniſhment of thoſe who viewed the conflagration at a diſtance. Some of the unhappy people threw themſelves into wells and pits; others leaped from the houſes, and ran for their lives; others again were ſmothered in the flames, while ſome threw themſelves on their ſwords, to avoid a death ſtill more dreadful.

Titus was greatly affected by this horrid ſight, compaſſionating in a high degree the misfortunes ariſing from ſo fatal a miſcarriage. In the mean time he was highly offended at his ſoldiers for having embarked in ſuch an enterprize, without previouſly receiving his orders. They had, however, one ſatisfaction in the midſt of their diſtreſs, to compenſate for the loſs of life; that they were pitied by the prince in whoſe ſervice they ſuffered: for they could behold him giving his orders, and uſing his utmoſt endeavours to afford them relief; and all the evidences he gave of his regard were deemed memorials to his laſting honor. With regard to thoſe perſons who eſcaped the fury of the flames, they were attacked by the Jews, and every man of them was ſlain, after they had made all the reſiſtance in their power.

Great numbers of gallant and courageous men fell on this unhappy occasion; among whom one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed was Longus, whom it will be neceſſary to mention in particular, while I am paying all poſſible reſpect to the valour of the reſt in general. Longus was by birth a Roman, and in the prime of life. The Jews, who were acquainted with his bravery, and thought him a dangerous perſon, ſaw no mode by which they could deſtroy him; unleſs they could prevail on him to come to them by pledging their honour that he ſhould return in perfect ſafety. This being done, his brother Cornelius called to him, warning him by all that was ſacred, not to be guilty of any act, for which either himſelf or his country ſhould have cauſe to bluſh. Thus ſituated, Longus ſtopped within ſight of both parties, and killed himſelf with his own ſword.

On the above-mentioned occaſion, a perſon named Artorius eſcaped from the fire in a very extraordinary manner. Being reduced to the utmoſt extremity of danger, he obſerved Lucius, his fellow-ſoldier and companion, within hearing: on which he called out to him, "Catch me in your arms, "and break my fall, and I will make you heir to my eſtate." Lucius prepared himſelf to catch him; Artorius leaped down, and with his weight cruſhed his friend to death, for he was daſhed to pieces on the ſpot. The misfortunes I have juſt related cauſed great uneaſineſs among the Romans for the preſent: but it made them in future, more cautious againſt the ſubtle craft and inſidious artifices of the Jews; which were of the moſt dangerous tendency to thoſe who were not provided by prudence againſt their ſtratagems.

The fire deſtroyed the porch as far as the tower which John had built (during his war with Simon) on the pillars that led to this porch. After the Romans had been burnt by the Jews, in the manner above recited, they deſtroyed the remainder of the building: and, the following day, the Romans ſet fire to the north porch, and continued this fire to the porch facing the eaſtward, which commands the valley of Cedron, from a precipice to take a downward view of which affords a proſpect almoſt diſtracting.

CHAP. VII.

The exceſſive diſtreſs attendant on famine.

THUS unhappily were affairs ſituated in the neighbourhood of the temple. The extreme ſeverity of the famine had almoſt depopulated the city; and the miſeries conſequent on this calamity are beyond all number or recital. If it was but ſuſpected that there was any concealed food in a family, this circumſtance was ſufficient to diſſolve the tendereſt ties, and create a general inſurrection among the parties. Thoſe who abſolutely periſhed of mere hunger were not credited, even at the hour of death, when they declared that they had no food: for no ſooner had the breath left their bodies, than immediate ſearch was made about their perſons on the ſuppoſition that they had concealed ſome bread. When the ſurvivors found not

what they ſearched for, they ranged the ſtreets like mad dogs, reeling like drunkards through weakneſs, repeatedly prying into every corner of every houſe; ſeizing whatever they could find; even ſuch articles as a canine appetite would have refuſed. The ſkins of beaſts, leather girdles, and ſhoes were eaten, and even a handful of old hay bore the price of four atticks. But wherefore ſhould I trouble myſelf with a deſcription of this dreadful calamity, in the mention of theſe inanimate ſubſtances, when I have before me a pregnant inſtance of a circumſtance never equalled among the Greeks and Barbarians; a ſtory of ſo horrid a nature that it ſhocks humanity but to think of it? I ſhould be willing to omit this unfortunate narrative, leſt future times ſhould cenſure me for relating falſhood: but I have ſo many teſtimonies of its veracity, that if I ſhould ſeek to ſuppreſs it through partiality to the deceaſed, I ſhould be deficient in duty to my country.

CHAP. VIII.

The fleſh of a ſon dreſſed and eaten by his mother. Titus ſolemnly declares his innocence in the whole affair.

IN the village named Vetezobra (that is the *houſe of Hyſſop*), beyond the river Jordan, lived one Eleazar, who had a daughter named Mary. The family was rich, and the deſcent reſpectable. Now this Mary fled, in company with ſeveral other perſons, and took refuge in Jeruſalem, where it was their misfortune to be beſieged. All the more valuable effects that this woman brought with her ſhe was deprived of by the tyrants; and with regard to ſuch articles as ſhe had concealed, whether goods or proviſions, the ſoldiers frequently broke open her houſe, and ſtole them from her. Irritated by this treatment ſhe reviled the faction in terms of the utmoſt acrimony; but no language of which ſhe was miſtreſs, however ſevere, could provoke any of this abandoned ſet to put her to death, either from motives of rage or pity. At length, tormented with the excruciating pangs of a devouring famine, from which ſhe ſaw no poſſibility of eſcaping, having no farther means of ſuſtaining life, and being abandoned to the utmoſt rage of deſpair, ſhe determined on a reſolution more horrid than it is in the power of language to deſcribe.

At this time Mary had a child ſucking at her breaſt, whom ſhe took haſtily to her embraces, and regarding it with the tenderneſs of a mother, ſhe cried, "In what terms ſhall I addreſs thee, moſt unhappy infant, who art "born during the raging of ſuch horrid judgments as rebellion, famine, "and war! To which of theſe ſhall I reſerve thee? It is poſſible the Romans will grant thee thy life, but not thy liberty: famine will prevent "ſlavery: but our preſent tyrants will be worſe foes than the other two. "What, in thy preſent ſituation, canſt thou do better than to ſupply a meal "to thy ſtarving mother, and terrify the party with the horror of the deed? "Thus ſhalt thou compleat the hiſtory of the Jews, with the only atrocious "act that is yet wanting to render their miſery perfect."

Having

Having made this apoſtrophe, ſhe killed her infant, and having boiled it, ſhe ate the half of it, and covering up the remainder, put it away. This circumſtance ſoon came to the knowledge of the faction, ſome of whom went to the houſe of the woman, and threatened her with immediate death, if ſhe did not produce what proviſions ſhe had in the houſe. Hereupon ſhe fetched out that part of the child which ſtill remained undevoured, and told them that was all the food ſhe poſſeſſed. This ſight had ſuch an effect on the ſpectators, that they at firſt appeared petrified with horror, then trembled at the idea of what had paſſed, and were ſhocked at the conſequences to be dreaded from it. On this the woman addreſſed them as follows: "Be aſ-"ſured that this is my ſon, and that I have dreſſed this diſh, the half of "which I have eaten myſelf, and requeſt that you will eat the remainder. "I flatter myſelf that you will not pretend to have more delicacy than a wo-"man, or more compaſſion than a mother. But if you refuſe the oblation "through ſcruples of conſcience, you are welcome to leave the food where "you have found it; only remember that I have eaten a part of it already." She had no ſooner ended ſpeaking, than they departed with evident ſigns of terror, leaving, though againſt their inclinations, the remainder of the child with the unfortunate mother: the only circumſtance of their whole conduct attended with any degree of delicacy.

This horrid deed became immediately the ſubject of converſation throughout the whole city; and every man appeared to deteſt the crime as much as if he himſelf had been immediately concerned in it. The famine now raged with ſuch violence, that the people wiſhed for immediate death, in the mere fear of ſtarving; and thoſe remaining alive envied thoſe who had died before the calamity encreaſed to ſuch an alarming degree. The melancholy tale ſoon ſpread from the Jews to the Romans, ſome of whom commiſerated the calamities of the Jews, while others hated them the more for their misfortunes, and a third ſort gave no credit to the recital. In the mean time Titus ſolemnly declared his innocence reſpecting the whole matter, vowing, in the preſence of God, that he had exerted his utmoſt influence to render the Jews eaſy and happy in their fortunes, lives and liberties: "But (ſaid he) if the "Jews were determined rather to deſtroy each other, than to live in the "bands of fraternal affection; if they preferred war rather than peace, and "famine rather than plenty, it was not in my power to prevent them. As "they were determined to ſet fire to the temple with their own hands, while I "did every thing in my power to preſerve it, the fleſh of their own children "is as good food as ſuch parents deſerve. For my part, I am reſolved that "their iniquities ſhall but be the forerunners of their ruin; for I will not "longer permit the exiſtence of a city, in which mothers feed on their own "children; and the fathers, with a ſtill more horrid degree of impiety, con-"tinue the war, after ſuch plain and evident demonſtrations, that the ſo do-"ing is contrary to the will of Almighty God." Having ſaid this, and reflected on the amazing obſtinacy, and incurable ſtubbornneſs of the faction, he looked on them as a people devoted to deſtruction: for he thought that the miſeries they had already endured, would have changed their ſentiments, if it had been in nature that ſuch an effect could be wrought.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Mines and batteries are tried without effect. The Romans have recourse to the scaling-ladders. An obstinate resistance on the part of the Jews. The bravery of the Romans. Titus commands his people to set fire to the gates. Two deserters from the Jews repair to Titus. He suspects and pardons them: but resolves not to trust them. The Jews encircled in flames, which totally destroy the galleries. Titus calls a council of general officers, to advise respecting the temple. The difference of their opinions. Titus delivers his opinion for sparing the temple. The Jews sally forth desperately on the Romans: but Titus advancing with a number of cavalry, effectually relieves them, and compels the Jews to take refuge in the temple. This second burning of Jerusalem happens on the same day of the year as the former conflagration.

TWO of the legions having compleated their platforms, Titus directed his battering-rams to be planted against the western gallery of the outward temple, on the eighth day of the month Lous. For the space of six days successively he played his best piece of battery against this place; but without effect; for the engines could make no impression on the work. In the interim some of the troops were employed in sapping the foundations on the north side: but, after a prodigious labour, they found that they could only move the outward stones, the porch still remaining firm: wherefore finding that mines and batteries were ineffectual to answer the purpose, the Romans had recourse to the use of their scaling-ladders.

Though the Jews were unable to prevent their enemies fixing their ladders, yet they made an obstinate resistance in every part where it was possible to be made. Those who ascended the ladders they attacked immediately, before they had time to put themselves in a posture of defence: others they threw down as they were ascending: some they destroyed as they were advancing with relief, and sometimes they overturned the ladders with the men upon them. On the whole, the Romans sustained a very considerable loss in this attack; especially in those contests which happened for the defence or recovery of their colours, which military people deem to be an affair of the utmost consequence. In the end, however, the Jews killed a number of the ensign-bearers, keeping such ensigns as they got possession of; a circumstance which so discouraged the rest of the assailants, that they thought it prudent to retreat. However, to do justice to the besiegers, it must be acknowledged that not a single man among the slain disgraced the character of a Roman. Their opponents of the faction, who had behaved well on former occasions, lost not their character for intrepidity; and Eleazar, the nephew of the tyrant Simon, was distinguished by his courage. Titus now finding that his own men were only devoted to ruin, by his wishes to spare the temple of the enemy, he issued orders that his troops should set fire to the gates without loss of time.

At this juncture two deſerters from the Jews repaired to Titus, flattering themſelves that their abandoning the faction at the time they had ſome advantage in their favour, would ſecure them the better reception. One of theſe deſerters was Archelaus, the ſon of Magadathes, and the other Ananus of Emmaus, one of Simon's guards, and deemed the moſt inhuman of all his attendants. The character of theſe men for cruelty was ſo well known to Titus, that he entertained ſome thoughts of putting them both to death, notwithſtanding their pretended attachment to his intereſt; being convinced that it was not an affection for his ſervice, but the conſideration of their own ſafety, that influenced their conduct. He thought that thoſe who had firſt inflamed their country, and then abandoned it, were unworthy to live: but having reflected more ſeriouſly on the affair, he came to a reſolution to ſpare them.

By this time the gates of the temple were burning furiouſly; the timbers being all on fire; and the ſilver-work above the gates melted, while the flames extended even to the adjacent galleries. The Jews were ſo much ſurprized by this unexpected event, that finding themſelves encompaſſed by the flames, they regarded each other with looks of the moſt extreme aſtoniſhment, not even attempting to preſerve what yet remained uninjured, or affecting any concern for what was already deſtroyed. In a word, they were totally diſpirited for any kind of enterprize; ſo that the fire continued to encreaſe all that day and the ſucceeding night, till at length the galleries were totally burnt to the ground.

On the following day Titus iſſued out orders for the ſuppreſſion of the fire, and that the roads might be levelled for the march of his troops. His next ſtep was to ſummon a council of his general officers, to concert the beſt mode of proceeding. Theſe officers were Tiberius Alexander, his lieutenant general; Sextus Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion; Lorgius Lepidus of the tenth; and Titus Tigrius who preſided over the fifteenth; and to theſe were added Eternius Fronto, a captain of two of the legions of Alexandria; and Marcus Antonius Julianus, governor of Judæa; excluſive of colonels and other officers, whoſe opinions it was thought proper to take, on the mode of proceeding requiſite to be purſued with reſpect to the affair of the temple. Of theſe ſome recommended a ſtrict adherence to the law of arms, urging that while the temple remained, and the Jews continued their frequent aſſociations in it, they would never deſiſt from their oppoſition. Others gave their votes for ſparing the temple, on the condition that the Jews ſhould abandon it, and that it ſhould be no longer conſidered as an object of contention: but that if poſſeſſion of it ſhould be acquired by dint of the ſword, in this caſe that they ſhould not heſitate to burn it; not conſidering it as a temple, but as a caſtle: ſince the blame would then reſt with thoſe who compelled the burning it, not with thoſe whom neceſſity urged to the deed. Hereupon Titus gave his opinion, ſaying, "If the obſtinacy of the Jews "will convert a temple to a citadel; ſhall I take vengeance on their perverſeneſs, by wreaking my wrath on the ſtones of the building, and burn "to aſhes the moſt magnificent ſtructure in the world on their account? In-

"deed

" deed I am of opinion that the robbing the empire of ſo diſtinguiſhed an " ornament would be a diſgrace to the characteriſtic majeſty of Rome."

Alexander, Cerealis and Fronto, finding the ſentiments of Titus, coincided with him in opinion, on which the council was diſmiſſed. Orders were now iſſued that the army ſhould be allowed to reſt, and take refreſhment, in order to be better prepared for future enterprizes. In the mean time ſome ſelect battalions were directed to obſerve the ravages made by the fire, and to make proper paſſages through the ruins.

The courage and ſtrength of the Jews beginning now equally to fail them, they remained at peace during this day: but on the following day, about the ſecond hour, having by that time recruited their ſpirits, and acquired freſh reſolution, they made a deſperate ſally through the eaſtern gate, on the guards of the outward temple. At firſt the Romans, under the protection of their bucklers, ſuſtained the ſhock with the utmoſt reſolution, it making no more impreſſion than it would have done againſt a ſtone wall: but all their courage and perſeverance would not have enabled them long to hold out in oppoſition to ſo fierce and numerous an enemy, if Titus (who beheld the action from Antonia) had not inſtantly come to their relief, before they had yielded to their antagoniſts. On this relief ſome of the Jews fell back, and the Romans breaking in on their front, the main body fled with precipitation. After this the Romans retreated in their turn, while the Jews rallied and advanced in order of battle. Thus they continued, alternately advancing or retreating, one party having now the advantage, and then the other, till about the fifth hour of the day, when the Jews were compelled to retreat into the temple, and there enclоſe themſelves. Hereupon Titus retired to Antonia, having come to a determination to make an aſſault on the temple on the following day with his whole army. But it ſeemed evident that Divine providence had originally deſtined this place to be deſtroyed by fire, and that the period was at length arrived: that is to ſay, the tenth day of the month Lous, being the return of that day on which it had been heretofore burnt by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. Of this laſt conflagration, however, the Jews themſelves were the evident occaſion; for no ſooner had Titus left them at their repoſe, than the inſurgents made a violent ſally on his guards, while they were engaged by the general's orders, in extinguiſhing the fire. But on this occaſion the Romans routed the Jews, and compelled them to retreat to the temple for refuge.

CHAP. X.

A ſoldier ſets fire to the temple under pretence of a Divine impulſe. Titus uſes his endeavours to ſtop the progreſs of the flames. A horrid maſſacre enſues.

AN event happened at this period which took riſe from the conduct of a private ſoldier, who thought himſelf actuated by a Divine impulſe, without pretending to any other authority for what he tranſacted. Having got on the ſhoulders of one of his brother-ſoldiers, he threw a fire-brand into the

the golden window that was oppoſite the apartments on the north ſide of the temple. This action was no ſooner done than the place was in flames, which occaſioned ſo violent a tumult among the Jews, that their countrymen haſtened as faſt as poſſible to their relief; for the preſent juncture, when every thing dear to them was at ſtake, was not a period in which to think of ſaving their lives, or indulging themſelves.

Titus was juſt now laying down to repoſe himſelf in his tent, after the fatigue of the action, when intelligence of the conflagration was brought to him; on which he immediately aroſe, and ordering his chariot, proceeded to the temple, to uſe all his authority towards the extinction of the fire. He was followed by his principal officers, and the legions, but in a confuſed manner, as may be ſuppoſed of ſuch an immenſe number, who had not received regular orders for their proceeding. Titus exerted himſelf to the utmoſt of his power, both by words and ſigns, in giving directions to ſtop the progreſs of the flames: but all his efforts were vain: the leſſer noiſe was loſt in the greater; nor were his words leſs heard than the ſigns and motions of his hand attended to. The ſoldiers were not to be governed by commands or threatenings; but, following the impulſe of their rage, ſome were trod on, and preſſed to death by the crowd, while others were ſuffocated by the ſmoke ariſing from the ruins of the galleries over the porches. The common ſoldiers who were in the temple, urged, in excuſe of their diſobedience of the general's orders, that they could not hear what he ſaid; while thoſe who followed them gave orders that they ſhould throw fire. In a word, the faction, had no way to prevent what happened, and on which ſide ſoever they turned, deſtruction ſtared them in the face. The poor people, the ſick, and the unarmed, were deſtroyed by the ſword wherever they were found: numbers of unhappy wretches were left ſtreaming in their own blood: dead bodies were piled in heaps around the altar, and the ſtairs were floated with deluges of blood.

The fury of the ſoldiers had now ariſen to ſuch a height that Titus finding it impoſſible to reſtrain it, and that the fire continued to make additional ravages every day, he immediately proceeded with ſome of his officers of the firſt rank, into the interior temple, where, on a careful ſurvey of the place, he found that its ſplendor and magnificence greatly exceeded what common fame had reported, and were at leaſt equal to the very account propagated reſpecting them even by the Jews. Titus having now remarked that the fire had not reached the ſanctuary, and being of opinion that it might not yet be too late to preſerve the holy place undeſtroyed, he inſtantly exerted himſelf, and entreated the ſoldiers, in the moſt earneſt manner, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſtop the progreſs of the flames; at the ſame time iſſuing ſtrict orders to Liberalis, a centurion of the guards, to urge the accompliſhment of this buſineſs, and to puniſh thoſe who refuſed their aſſiſtance. But ſo violent was the rage of the ſoldiers for revenge, that they were not reſtrained within the bounds of their duty either by the motives of reſpect or fear. There were great numbers of them whoſe avarice prompted them to ſeek for plunder, as they entertained no doubt but that the inſide of that

place was filled with hidden treaſure, the very doors of which were plated with gold.

At the very time that Titus was thus exerting his utmoſt endeavours to preſerve the temple, one of the ſoldiers ſet fire to ſeveral of the door-poſts; on which Titus and his officers were obliged to retire to ſuch a diſtance that their ſervices could no longer avail: ſo that, in the end, the temple was deſtroyed, notwithſtanding every generous effort that Titus had made for its protection.

It is a painful taſk to recite the circumſtances of this misfortune; which ruined the moſt aſtoniſhing fabric that ever was conſtructed, whether we conſider its architecture, its dimenſions, its ſplendor and magnificence, or the ſacred purpoſes to which it was dedicated. But one circumſtance ariſes, equally for our inſtruction and conſolation: we learn that all the works of the created univerſe, whether animate or inanimate, are governed by an inevitable deſtiny; and that all things muſt come to an end. It is not a little remarkable (as hath been already mentioned), that this conflagration ſhould happen on the ſame month and day as the former in the time of Nebuchadnezzar. From the commencement of the firſt temple by Solomon, to the deſtruction of this in the ſecond year of Veſpaſian, we reckon a period of eleven hundred and thirty years, ſeven months, and fifteen days: and we account ſix hundred and thirty-nine years, and forty-five days, from that of Haggai, in the ſecond year of king Cyrus.

CHAP. XI.

The cruelty of the ſoldiers, without diſtinction of age, ſex, or rank. Fire and blood only preſent themſelves to the ſight. A number of prieſts engaged in this conteſt with the Romans. The temple and all its contents reduced to aſhes. An impoſtor adviſes a proceeding that terminates in the deſtruction of near ſix thouſand people.

DURING the time that the temple was in flames, the ſoldiers ſeized every perſon they could find, and having firſt plundered, they ſlew them, without paying the leaſt attention to age, ſex, or quality. The ſlaughter on this occaſion was immenſe: the old, the young; thoſe of the prieſthood, and thoſe of the laity; perſons of all ranks and all degrees; whether they reſiſted or ſubmitted; whether they ſued for quarter or otherwiſe, were all involved in the general calamity of the war.

As the fire continued to encreaſe, the noiſe of the flames was heard intermixed with the groans of perſons in the agonies of death: and to thoſe at a diſtance the whole city appeared to be on fire, owing to the extent of the conflagration, and the depth of the hill. The confuſion and diſorder occaſioned by this event were ſo great, as it is not in the power of language to deſcribe them. The Roman legions made the moſt horrid outcries: the rebels, when they found themſelves at the mercy of the fire and ſword, ſcreamed in the moſt dreadful manner; while the unhappy wretches encloſed between

the enemy and the fire, lamented their ſituation in the moſt pitiable complaints. Thoſe on the mountain and thoſe in the city ſeemed mutually to return the groans of each other. Thoſe who were already on the point of expiring through famine, acquired freſh ſpirits to deplore their misfortunes, when they ſaw the dreadful effects of the raging flames. The complaints and lamentations from the city were repeatedly echoed from the adjacent mountains and places beyond Jordan: but the calamity exceeded in reality all that could be expreſſed by the bewailings of the ſufferers. The flames of fire were ſo violent and impetuous, that the mountain on which the temple ſtood reſembled one large body of fire, even from its foundation. The blood of the ſufferers flowed in proportion to the raging of the flames; for the number of thoſe who were ſlain exceeded that of their executioners. Dead bodies ſtrewed the ground on every ſide, and the Roman ſoldiers trampled on the bodies of the ſlain in purſuit of the ſurvivors. At length, however, a body of the inſurgents repelled the Romans, and having forced a paſſage into the outward temple, effected their eſcape into the city; while the outward porch was gained by the remainder of their number.

Many of the prieſts who had engaged in this conteſt with the Romans made uſe of the ſpits belonging to the temple, inſtead of darts; and, in the place of ſtones, they threw their feats, which had lead in them; but at length, finding that the efforts of all their reſolution were fruitleſs, and that fire purſued wherever they attempted to fly, they took refuge for ſome time under a thick wall that was not leſs than eight cubits in breadth. Among the principal perſons who exerted themſelves on this occaſion, were Meirus, the ſon of Belgas, and Joſeph, the ſon of Dalæus, who might have preſerved their own lives if they would have taken part with the Romans; but they rather choſe to adhere to their aſſociates, and plunging themſelves into the fire, were buried in the conflagration that deſtroyed the temple.

The Romans now finding that the temple was reduced to aſhes, were leſs anxious as to the preſervation of any other particular buildings; wherefore they ſet fire to moſt of the gates and galleries at the ſame time; ſparing only one on the eaſt ſide, and another on the ſouth: but, in a ſhort time afterwards, theſe underwent the fate of the former. They likewiſe burnt the treaſury and the wardrobe, containing an immenſe treaſure in jewels and money, and rich habits to a very large amount: for, in fact, the Jews had made this place a repoſitory of every thing that they deemed moſt valuable.

There was yet ſtanding one gallery on the outſide of the temple, to which had reſorted an immenſe number of women and children, with a variety of perſons who had fled from the multitude; the whole number amounting to almoſt ſix thouſand. The ſoldiers, enraged to the utmoſt degree of fury, ſet this place on fire before Titus had an opportunity of giving any directions concerning it: and they continued their operations againſt it with ſuch vehemence, that not a ſingle perſon eſcaped with life, numbers throwing themſelves precipitately from the ruins, and all the reſt being conſumed by the flames.

This melancholy event happened through the artifices of an impoſtor, who, on that day, pretended to be commiſſioned by Almighty God to declare his

will

will, which was that they ſhould immediately go up to the temple: and he accompanied this order with an aſſurance that the Divine favour and protection would be manifeſted to them by an infallible ſign.

It was no unuſual cuſtom with the faction to pretend to have received revelations of the will of God, in order to prevent their people from deſerting, and to induce them to encounter every kind of danger. Perſons in circumſtances of diſtreſs, when they are flattered with relief, even on the report of a falſe prophet, are generally inclined to believe that their real misfortunes have been magnified by their fears.

CHAP. XII.

Remarks on the credit uſually given to falſe reports. Account of a comet reſembling a ſword. Of a remarkable light ſeen round the altar. A lamb produced by a cow. A brazen gate opens without hands. Chariots and armed men ſeen in the air. A countryman, named Jeſus, makes a ſtrange exclamation. He is firſt puniſhed, and then diſmiſſed as a man out of his ſenſes. At length he foretells his own ruin. Account of an emperor who was to come out of Judæa, explained in the perſon of Veſpaſian.

WITH what readineſs did theſe enthuſiaſtic wretches give credit to impoſtors, counterfeits and falſe reports! While admonitions flowing from the lips of truth, and confirmed by prodigies, and other prognoſtics of their approaching ruin made no impreſſion on them. On theſe occaſions they ſeemed to be deprived of the faculties proper to make a right application of the events, and of courſe they paid no regard to them. This may be inſtanced by the following ſingular examples:

A comet, which bore the reſemblance of a ſword, hung over the city of Jeruſalem for the ſpace of a whole year.

A ſhort time before the revolt, a moſt remarkable and extraordinary light was ſeen about the altar. This ſpectacle, which continued for about half an hour, gave a light equal to that of the day, and happened on the eighth of the month Xanthicus, at the ninth hour of the night preceeding the celebration of the feaſt of the paſſover. Ignorant perſons conſidered this unuſual and wonderful appearance as a happy omen: but thoſe of ſuperior judgment averred that it was a prediction of approaching war; and their opinion was fully ratified by the event.

At the time of the feſtival above-mentioned another ſingular prodigy occurred. As the proper perſons were leading a cow to the altar to be ſacrificed, ſhe was delivered of a lamb in the midſt of the temple.

Solid braſs compoſed the eaſtern-gate of the interior temple; and this gate was of ſuch an immenſe weight, that it was the labour of twenty men to make it faſt every night. It was ſecured with iron bolts and bars, which were let down into a large threſhold conſiſting of one entire ſtone. About the fifth hour of the night this gate opened without any human aſſiſtance; and

and immediate notice of this event being given to the officer on duty, he loſt no time in endeavouring to reſtore it to its former ſituation; but it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he accompliſhed it. There were not wanting ſome ignorant people, who deemed this to be a ſecond good omen, inſinuating that Providence had hereby ſet open a gate of bleſſings to the people: but perſons of ſuperior diſcretion were of a contrary opinion; and concluded that the deſtruction of the city, and the ſucceſs of the enemy, were predicted by the opening of the gate.

On the twenty-firſt day of the month Artemiſius, not long after the feſtival was ended, a viſion of ſo extraordinary a kind made its appearance, that I ſhould be ſcrupulous of venturing to relate it, but that the events which were foretold have already actually happened, and I could yet produce ſeveral witneſſes who ſaw the circumſtance to teſtify its truth. Before the ſetting of the ſun, chariots and armed men were ſeen in the air, in various parts of the country, paſſing round the city, among the clouds.

While the prieſts were going to perform the duties of their function according to cuſtom, in the inner temple, on the feaſt of pentecoſt, they at firſt heard an indiſtinct murmuring made, which was ſucceeded by a voice, repeating, in the plaineſt and moſt earneſt manner, "Let us be gone, let us "be gone."

But the moſt extraordinary ſtory of the whole yet remains unrelated. About four years before the commencement of the war, and while the city appeared to be in the moſt perfect peace, and abounded in plenty, there came to the feaſt of Tabernacles, which is annually celebrated to the honor of God, a ſimple countryman, named Jeſus, who was the ſon of Ananus, and who, without any previous intimation, exclaimed in the following manner: "A voice from the eaſt; a voice from the weſt; a voice from the "four quarters of the world; a voice to Jeruſalem, and a voice to the tem-"ple: a voice to men and women newly married, and a voice to the nation "at large." In this manner did he continue his exclamations night and day, in various places, through all the ſtreets of the city. Some perſons of eminence in the government were ſo offended at the freedom of the ill-omened exclamation, that they directed that the man ſhould be apprehended and whipped ſeverely. He bore his ſufferings not only without complaint of the injuſtice of them, but without ſaying a word in his defence: but his puniſhment was no ſooner ended, than he proceeded as before with his denouncing exclamations. By this time the magiſtrates were ſuſpicious (and indeed not without reaſon) that what he had ſaid proceeded from the Divine impulſe of a ſuperior power that influenced his words. Hereupon he was ſent to Albinus, the governor of Judæa, who directed that he ſhould be whipped with ſuch ſeverity that his bones appeared; yet, even in this ſituation, he neither wept nor ſupplicated; but in a voice of mourning he repeated, after each ſtroke; "Woe, woe to Jeruſalem!" On this extraordinary conduct, Albinus was induced to interrogate him with reſpect to his character, and the places of his birth and reſidence; and what could induce him to proceed as he had done: but he replied not to any of theſe queſtions:

Jesus the Son of Ananus, foreboding the destruction of Jerusalem.

wherefore Albinus found himſelf under a neceſſity of diſmiſſing him, as a man out of his ſenſes. From this period to the commencement of the war, it was not known that Jeſus viſited or ſpoke to any of the citizens; nor was he heard to ſay any other words than that melancholy ſentence, "Woe, woe "to Jeruſalem!" Thoſe who daily puniſhed him received no ill language from him; nor did thoſe who fed him receive his thanks: but his general ſpeech to every one was an ominous prediction. It was remarked that on public feſtivals he was more vociferous than on other occaſions: and in the manner above-mentioned he continued to proceed for the ſpace of ſeven years and five months; nor did his voice or ſtrength appear to fail him till his predictions were verified by the ſiege of Jeruſalem. When this event had taken place, he went, for the laſt time, on the wall, and exclaimed, in a more powerful voice than uſual, "Woe, woe to this city, this temple, and this "people;" and concluded his lamentation by ſaying "Woe, woe be to my "ſelf!" He had no ſooner ſpoken theſe words, than, in the midſt of his predictions, he was deſtroyed by a ſtone thrown from an engine.

From what has been above-recited it will be evident to mankind in general, that our deſtruction ariſes from our miſconduct; and that providence, by the gift of our reaſonable faculties, as well as by the aids of prediction and revelation, has contributed, in an abundant degree, to the general good, and laſting advantage, of all its creatures. Our ruin is certainly to be attributed to ourſelves, when we refuſe to take warning after being premoniſhed of future events. It is aſtoniſhing that the Jews, after poſſeſſing themſelves of Antonia, ſhould have reduced the temple to a ſquare form, when they knew that the ſacred writings contained a prediction, importing that the city and temple ſhould be both taken, whenever it ſhould be reduced to that figure. But the principal motive by which they were induced to undertake this deſtructive war, was the doubtful meaning of another text, which intimated that, in thoſe days, a perſon ſhould come out of Judæa, who ſhould have the command of all the world. This text they applied to their own nation; and the error prevailed even among men of ſuperior rank: while, in fact, the prophecy related to Veſpaſian, who became an emperor while in Judæa. Fancy appears to be the general guide in interpretations: thus, at leaſt, it happened with the Jews, till the deſtruction of themſelves and their country, convinced them of the error in which they had been involved.

CHAP. XIII.

The army proclaims Titus emperor. The influence of thirſt on a child. Titus commands that the prieſts ſhould be put to death. A treaty requeſted by the faction, to which Titus conſents, and makes an admirable ſpeech on the occaſion. He offers terms, which the Jews refuſe, alledging that they were bound to the contrary by oath. Hereupon Titus orders that no Jews ſhould be allowed either protection or quarter. The Romans attack with fire and ſword. An inſtance of the humanity of Titus.

BY this time the inſurgents had fled into the city, while the temple, and all its adjacencies, continued on fire. The Roman army now placed their enſigns againſt the eaſtern gate, where they made ſacrifices of thankſgiving, and proclaimed Titus emperor with every poſſible demonſtration of joy. So large a treaſure in gold was now obtained in Syria, that it was reduced to half its accuſtomed value.

Among the prieſts on the wall there happened to be a child, who requeſted the Roman guards to give him a draught of water to quench his thirſt: this, on the promiſe of good faith on both ſides, they readily did, in compaſſion to his tender age and great neceſſity. On going down to drink the water, he took with him a flaggon, which he filled, and run off with it to his friends with ſuch expedition, that the guards found it impoſſible to catch him. On this the Romans accuſed the boy with having forfeited his word: but, in his defence, he alledged that he had only contracted with them for permiſſion to fetch the water, but not to remain with them when poſſeſſed of it, and of courſe had not violated his agreement. The Romans ſubmitted to the impoſition, in conſideration of the innocence of the fraud.

The prieſts having continued on the wall yet five days longer, an extremity of hunger at length compelled them to go down, and ſurrender themſelves priſoners; whereupon the guards conducted them to Titus, before whom they humbled themſelves, and entreated his merciful regard. To this the emperor replied that they were too late in their application: for as the temple was now deſtroyed, it was not unreaſonable that the prieſts ſhould ſhare its fate; ſince they ought to periſh with the temple to which they belonged: and hereupon he ordered them to be put to death.

The leaders of the faction now finding how they were beſet on all ſides, and ſurrounded ſo that there was no poſſibility of their eſcape, propoſed to enter into a treaty with the emperor; to which he, from his wonted benevolence of diſpoſition, lent a favourable ear, partly indeed, on the recommendation of his friends, and partly with a view to ſpare the city, in the hope that the inſurgents, by their future conduct, might deſerve his mercy. Titus took his ſtation on the weſt ſide of the interior temple, near the gates which led to the gallery; and between the temple and the upper town there was a bridge of communication, by which the Romans and Jews were at this time ſeparated. On each ſide the ſoldiers crowded round their commanding officers;

cers; the Romans, on the one part, eager to see how Titus would receive the supplicants; and the Jews, on the other, equally eager to learn what chance there was of their being pardoned. Titus having ordered his men to forbear making any acclamations, and to keep the strictest peace and most profound silence, intimated to the Jews, by an interpreter, that it was his province to speak first; and then addressed himself to them in the following manner:

"Are you not yet convinced that your country has already suffered sufficient variety of wretchedness? Will you never so far recover your senses as to be convinced of your own weakness, and the power of the Romans; but still persist, like ideots and madmen, to the destruction of your city, your temple, your countrymen, even when you know yourselves will be included in the general ruin? Is there a period since the time that Pompey reduced your city to ashes when you have been free from tumults and contentions? Why then will you persist to make open war on the Romans? You cannot, certainly, depend on your numbers, when you must be already convinced that you are not able to cope with the half of our army. If you flatter yourselves with the steady adherence of your auxiliaries and allies, you should recollect that there is not a people in the world, who are not in some degree under our subjection, or that would not much rather have the Romans than the Jews for their friends. If you value yourselves on the number of your people, remember that the Germans are in subjection to us. If you depend on the strength of your walls, they are less able to protect you than the ocean, which guards Britain; and yet the people of that country opposed us in vain. If you rely on the good conduct and magnanimity of your officers, remember that even the Carthaginians have submitted to the Romans. But the enemies that our countrymen have made, have arisen from their own humanity; in permitting you to possess lands, and allowing your tribes to be governed by kings chosen from among themselves. We have likewise permitted you the free exercise of the laws of your own country; and consented to your living in the way agreeable to yourselves, whether in your own country or in distant places. But above all, and which is a favour you could not have expected, we have permitted you to receive, collect and employ all the contributions and sums of money within your department, to support your religion and the worship of your God in the way most agreeable to yourselves, and those of your opinion. But you have made no other use of all this singular favour and indulgence, than the accumulation of riches which have enabled you to employ our own treasures against ourselves. In a word, your conduct bears a near resemblance to that of the serpent, that stings to death the man whose bosom affords him protection.

"I must acknowledge that the supine behaviour of Nero inspired you with a degree of contempt that induced you to forget the ease and repose you then enjoyed, and gave rise to the future extravagance of your ambition.

"It is proper that I tell you that my father did not visit Judæa with a view to chastise your defection from Cestius, but wishing to give you such

"advice

" advice and premonition as might tend to your reformation. If it had been " his object to depopulate the nation, he would at once have ſtruck the im- " portant ſtroke, beginning with Jeruſalem rather than Galilee; but he " choſe the latter proceeding, to admit leiſure for your repentance: but his " benevolence was conſtrued into weakneſs; and your future inſolence hath " been founded on the lenity of the Romans.

" Agreeable to the practice of other abandoned people, you took advan- " tage of our inteſtine diviſions after the death of Nero. No ſooner had my " father and I retired from Ægypt, but, in our abſence, you ſought the op- " portunity of laying the foundation of a war: and notwithſtanding all the " benevolent exertions of which we gave proof in the government of that " diſtrict, you were yet hardened enough in iniquity to concert meaſures " againſt us, at the period when my father was declared emperor, and my- " ſelf his ſucceſſor. Nay you proceeded ſtill farther; for after our dignities " were confirmed by the general conſent, and we were in the actual poſſeſſion " of the empire, and were congratulated by deputies from all the foreign " powers on our acceſſion to the government, the Jews ſtill continued our " enemies. This was evident by their ſending ambaſſadors even beyond " the Euphrates, to ſolicit aid to aſſiſt them in their revolt. I would forbear " to mention your newly-erected fortifications, and the factious contrivances " by which you have produced a civil war; ſince they are proofs of ingra- " titude worthy only of the moſt abandoned of the human race.

" At the time my father, much againſt his inclination, diſpatched me to " ſubdue this obſtinate city to obedience, I flattered myſelf that the inhabi- " tants would be glad to accept of terms of peace. Did I not beſeech you " to prevent a war, before a blow had paſſed on either ſide? Was I not af- " terwards anxiouſly ſolicitous to render it as eaſy to you as poſſible? Did I " ever refuſe to receive any man who ſurrendered himſelf to me, or violate " my faith to any one after he had ſurrendered? I treated your priſoners " with unuſual tenderneſs, nor ever puniſhed one of your brethren who did " not ſeek to extend the unhappy breach between us. It was with great re- " luctance that I firſt began to demoliſh your walls; and I prevented all " executions among you to the utmoſt of my power. As often as I obtained " any advantage over you, I beſought you to liſten to terms of peace, with " as much earneſtneſs as if you had been the conquerors. When I approach- " ed your temple I did not deſtroy it, as, by the right I had acquired by the " law of arms, I might have done. I only deſired you to have mercy on " yourſelves, and ſpare the ſacred places appertaining to you. At length I " offered you full permiſſion to depart, and on terms of the utmoſt ſecurity: " but when you preferred war rather than peace, I left the choice of time and " place to yourſelves: yet what is the conſequence of my humane conſider- " ation, but that you have ſet fire to the very temple which I would have " preſerved? And, after all that has paſſed, you have the aſſurance to invite " me to a treaty, as if you had a ſingle argument to urge, in atonement for " the devaſtation you have made. Is it to be thought that I can on any " terms grant a pardon to thoſe who would not ſpare their own temple? You

" even preſent yourſelves now in arms, nor put on the leaſt appearance of " petitioners for favour. But let us examine the foundation you have for " this confident behaviour. Your people are totally diſpirited; your tem- " ple is deſtroyed; your city is mine by the law of arms, and you remain " entirely at my diſpoſal: yet even to the preſent moment you perſiſt to " demand terms of honor. But wherefore ſhould I longer remonſtrate " with a folly ſo obſtinate? Lay down your arms and ſubmit, and I will " yet ſpare your lives. It is true that I will cauſe exemplary juſtice to be " done on the principal offenders; but the reſt ſhall feel the beſt effects of " my humanity."

To this addreſs the faction returned an anſwer, importing that they could not ſurrender on any promiſe or aſſurance of ſafety that the emperor could make, as they were ſolemnly ſworn not to make any ſuch ſubmiſſion: but, with his permiſſion, they were ready to retire with their wives and children, into the deſert, and leave to the Romans the poſſeſſion of the city.

Enraged by the idea of priſoners giving law, and preſcribing terms to the conqueror, Titus cauſed proclamation to be immediately made, intimating that, for the future, no Jew ſhould preſume to apply to him either for quarter or protection: but that they now might have recourſe to arms, and defend themſelves in the beſt manner in their power; for that the laws of war ſhould hereafter determine his conduct towards them.

Hereupon the ſoldiers had immediate permiſſion to attack them with fire and ſword, and to apply the plunder they could obtain in the city to their own uſe. On the preſent day no ſtep was taken: but on the following morning they ſet fire to the council chamber, the caſtle, the regiſter-office, and a place named Ophlas; whence the flames ſpread to queen Helen's palace in the middle of the mount, deſtroying wherever they came, and burning a great number of dead bodies, which crowded the ſtreets and houſes in every part.

On the day laſt mentioned the ſons and brothers of king Izates, with divers other perſons of diſtinction, united in a petition to Titus to ſpare their lives; to which, agreeable to his accuſtomed humanity, he conſented; though he was highly enraged at their conduct. The ſupplicants, however, were all lodged in priſons; and the ſons and near relations of Izates were ſent to Rome as hoſtages, in a ſhort time afterwards.

CHAP. XIV.

The insurgents retreat to the royal palace, where they kill upwards of eight thousand persons, and seize money to a large amount. A singular point of honor among the Romans. No regard paid to the good advice given by Joseph. Ruins, vaults, and other places being searched for the deserters, all those who are taken are put to death. The singular misery of perishing by famine. The insurgents place their last hope in concealing themselves.

THE next proceeding of the insurgents was to advance to the royal palace, a place of great strength and security, in which treasure to an immense amount was deposited. From this palace the Jews routed the Romans, of whom they killed about eight thousand four hundred, and made prize of all the treasure, to an immense amount. In the course of this engagement two of the Roman soldiers were made prisoners; one of them of the cavalry, the other of the infantry. The latter was first put to death, and then dragged through the streets of the city; as if the intention had been to deride the whole nation, by the insult offered to one unhappy wretch. The other prisoner, pretending that he had a circumstance of some consequence to disclose, was immediately conducted to Simon: but, on his arrival, he had nothing to mention that was deemed of the least consequence; wherefore Ardalas, one of Simon's officers, received orders to put him to death. Hereupon his hands were bound behind him, a cloth was tied over his eyes, and he was conducted from Simon's presence, to be beheaded within view of the Romans: but just in the instant that the executioner was drawing his sword, to perform his duty, the prisoner slipped from him, and effected an escape to the Romans. This circumstance being made known to Titus, he considered the case, and would not adjudge him to death for deserting from the enemy in so critical a situation; but deemed it so disgraceful for a Roman soldier to be taken prisoner, that he ordered him to be disarmed and cashiered; a punishment even worse than death in the opinion of a man of honor.

On the following day it happened that the Romans routed the Jews from the lower town, on which occasion they set fire to all the buildings as far as Siloah, and were happy to see the destruction occasioned by the conflagration; but they acquired no treasure; for the insurgents had already safely deposited this in the upper town. It is worthy of remark that the rebels were not of a disposition to lament any calamities their vices had occasioned; and they comported themselves with their accustomed pride, even when fortune appeared to be their determined foe. They seemed to behold the burning of the city with a degree of pleasure; and publicly said that, as affairs were then situated, the approach of death would not create in them the least degree of concern or regret. They had seen the destruction of the people, almost to annihilation: they had been witnesses to the temple being burnt to

the ground: they had viewed the city in flames; and were now pleased that the Romans, who were to succeed them, could not take possession of any thing that might afford them satisfaction.

While affairs were in this situation, Joseph exerted his utmost endeavours for the preservation of the few remaining inhabitants of a ruined and almost depopulated city. He applied himself to the passions of the people by every art of invective, complaint, advice, and encouragement: but all that he could say tended to answer no valuable purpose: the Jews were not only bound by the sacred obligations of their oaths, but almost subdued by the superior numbers of the Romans: exclusive of which they were inured to blood, and familiar with destruction.

In this unhappy situation of affairs they dispersed themselves throughout the city, searching all the ruins, vaults, and other places of secretion, for such as had deserted. Great numbers of these being seized, they were all put to death, for they were so weak that they could not seek their safety by flight; and the dead bodies were thrown to the dogs. Still, however, famine threatened a death more dreadful than any other. Many of the Jews now deserted to the Romans, in mere despair, for they could not entertain any other expectation than that they might be immediately put to death, to prevent the miseries of starving. The insurgents likewise shared the same fate, having been instigated by the same motives. At this unhappy juncture there was not a single street in the city but what was bestrewed with dead bodies, some of which had been starved, and the rest fallen a sacrifice to the rage of the famine.

The insurgents placed their last hope in concealment. They sought out every private place of retreat, vainly hoping that they might remain concealed till the contest should be at an end, and the Romans had abandoned the place: they then imagined that their escape might be safely effected; without reflecting that the all-discerning eye of justice could penetrate into the most secret recesses.

The Jews who had taken possession of the subterraneous retreats, were the authors of more calamity than the Romans in setting fire to the place. They first robbed, and then murdered all who retired for safety to these places. The famine now raged to such a degree, that violent contentions arose respecting the coarsest and most loathsome food: and I am of opinion that if the famine had continued for any considerable time longer, those who survived would have made no scruple of feeding on the bodies of the deceased.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Titus finding that the upper town cannot be taken without new mounts, he begins those erections. Five Idumæan deputies offer the service of that people, and solicit his forgiveness. Titus consents to their request, but Simon immediately causes the five deputies to be put to death. The common people sold like beasts in the market. Titus grants liberty to above forty thousand persons, who had deserted to him. A priest, named Jesus, compounds with Titus for his life. A discovery made by Phineas, the treasurer.

SUCH was the situation of the upper town, on craggs and precipices, that Titus thought it would be an impossibility to get possession of it, without the erection of new mounts; wherefore he ordered that these works should be commenced on the twentieth day of the month Loüs. It has been heretofore remarked that carriage was very expensive, and attended with great trouble; for, to the distance of a hundred furlongs from the town, the materials had all been cut down, for the construction of the works heretofore erected. The four legions now threw up a mount on the west side of the city, opposite the royal palace; while the auxiliaries and the other forces threw up another mount near the gallery and the bridge, and fortified the place known by the name of Simon's Tower, which had been constructed by Simon, during his war with John.

At this period some of the Idumæan officers held a council together, concerting how their whole body should go over to the interest of the Romans. Having fixed on their plan, they dispatched five deputies to Titus, to make an offer of their services; and by these they sent a petition, imploring the emperor's mercy in the name of their whole people. It must be acknowledged that this application was made very late in point of time; but Titus, thinking that Simon and John would make no farther resistance after so capital a desertion, dismissed the deputies with an answer, importing that he would grant the petitioners their lives; for the truth was that he deemed the Idumæans to be the most formidable of his opponents.

The above-mentioned plot having been discovered, Simon gave orders that the five deputies should be instantly put to death, and that imprisonment should be the lot of those from whom they had received their directions; of whom James, the son of Sosas, was deemed to be the principal. As the leaders were now in subjection, no great mischief was apprehended from the common soldiers: notwithstanding which a stricter guard was kept over the remainder of the Idumæans than had been heretofore thought necessary: but every effort that could be devised proved ineffectual to prevent their deserting to the Romans. It is true that many of them were slain in the attempt; but still great numbers effected their escape, all of whom were received by Titus, who had so much generosity and benevolence, that he declined to press the rigorous execution of his former orders: while even the common

common ſoldiers, partly ſatiated with the blood that had been ſpilt, and partly in the hope of obtaining booty, began now to conduct themſelves with more lenity and moderation than they had heretofore done.

By this time there were none remaining but the inferior kind of people; and theſe, together with their wives and children, were publicly ſold like beaſts, in the market; and at very low prices too, for the purchaſers were but few in number. Titus now reflecting on this circumſtance, and on the proclamation which he himſelf had iſſued, directing that no more of the Jews ſhould deſert to him ſingly, thought it his duty, as a man of humanity, to preſerve as many of them as poſſible; and therefore determined to revoke his former order, and to receive as many of them as ſhould come to him ſeparately; but he would not receive any number together. He appointed proper perſons to enquire into their characters, to diſcriminate between the worthy and the unworthy, and to treat every man according to his deſerts.

At this period there was a prieſt named Jeſus, the ſon of Thebuth, who compounded for his life with the emperor, on the condition of his delivering up ſeveral of the ornaments belonging to the temple, with ſome veſſels, and other articles that had been preſented thereto. In purſuance of this contract, he conveyed out of the temple, and handed over the wall, ſeveral tables, goblets and cups, with a pair of candleſticks, all made of the fineſt gold. He likewiſe preſented the emperor with a conſiderable number of the veſſels uſed in ſacrifice, with precious ſtones, veils, and the habits uſed by the prieſts.

About this time likewiſe, Phineas, the keeper of the ſacred treaſure, being taken priſoner, he gave up a vaſt number of the habits and girdles belonging to the prieſts; together with ſcarlet and purple ſtuffs, which had been carefully laid by for future uſe. He likewiſe made a diſcovery of a quantity of cinnamon, caſſia, gums and perfumes, which were uſed for the incenſe daily offered; together with a number of ſacred ornaments, and effects which were the property of private perſons. Now though Phineas was a lawful priſoner, regularly taken in open war, yet, in conſideration of theſe diſcoveries, he was treated with as much lenity, as if he had made them through the mere effect of his own inclination.

CHAP. XVI.

The erection of the mounts being completed, the Romans advance with their engines for battery. Some of the beſieged ſecrete themſelves, while others endeavour to maintain their ground. Simon and John are terrified, even to the borders of deſpair, being miſled by frightful ſtories and alarms. They at length abandon three forts, which could never have been taken unleſs the beſieged had been ſtarved out. The Romans are now ſucceſsful in all they undertake. The calamity of Jeruſalem, in being deſtroyed by her own ſons. Titus acknowledges the Divine interpoſition in favour of the Romans. He ſpares the turrets as a monument of his good fortune. The orders iſſued by Titus, reſpecting the priſoners.

AFTER the expiration of eighteen days the erection of the mounts was completed, on the ſeventh day of the month Gorpiæus (that is September), at which time the Romans advanced with their engines for battery. Many of the inſurgents now deſpairing to hold poſſeſſion of the place any longer, abandoned the walls, and retired to the caſtle; while others concealed themſelves in vaults, and ſubterranean paſſages. Still, however, there were ſome, more obſtinate than the reſt, who were determined to oppoſe thoſe who had the management of the batteries. In the mean time the enemy was greatly ſuperior to them in numbers and ſtrength; and the Romans had the farther advantage that their troops were in full health and ſpirits, and animated with the ſucceſs they had obtained over an enemy that, having been unfortunate in their undertakings, were dejected by their loſſes, and almoſt abandoned to deſpair.

As often as any of the Jews obſerved a flaw in the wall, or that any of the turrets yielded to the impreſſion made by the battering engines, they ſought their ſafety by immediately flying from the place of apprehended danger; till, at length, even Simon and John were terrified even to the borders of deſpair, and fled, before the Romans were advanced within ſuch a diſtance as to be able to do them a perſonal injury: for their fears operated to ſuch a degree, that they were frightened at danger, whether real or apprehended. Though theſe men were ſome of the moſt abandoned of the human race, yet the extreme calamity they endured could ſcarcely fail of exciting pity in the breaſts of thoſe who ſo lately knew them boaſting of their imagined conſequence, and triumphing in all the height of preſuming arrogance. The change in their affairs was indeed very great, and diſtreſſing in the higheſt degree.

John and Simon now made an attempt on the wall which had been erected round the city by the Romans. They ſucceeded, in fact, ſo far in this attempt, as to make a breach in the wall; and their intention was to have attacked the guards, and by that means to have effected their eſcape. But when they expected to have been properly ſupported in this attack, they found that all their friends had abandoned them: wherefore they retreated in confuſion, as they were led by their fears and apprehenſions.

In

In this diſtracted and wretched ſtate of affairs, every man told ſuch a tale as was inſpired by his own apprehenſions. While one brought intelligence that the whole of the wall to the weſtward was overthrown, others aſſerted that the Romans were at the foot of this wall; and a third party declared that they had entered the city, and that ſome of them were in actual poſſeſſion of the towers. Their imaginations appeared to realize their fears: they fell proſtrate on the ground, lamenting their unhappy fate, bewailing their follies; and remained in a ſtate of deſperation of which no language can convey an idea.

The goodneſs and the power of God were remarkable, and likewiſe equally conſpicuous, on this ſingular occaſion: for the tyrannical leaders of the oppoſition were, eventually, the occaſion of their own deſtruction, by abandoning thoſe forts of their own accord, which could never have been taken, unleſs the beſieged had been ſtarved out: and this they did after the Jews had in vain ſpent much time on other erections of inferior ſtrength. By this providential turn of affairs the Romans became maſters of three impregnable forts, which they could never have acquired in any other manner: for the three towers I have mentioned were abſolute proof againſt battery of every kind.

No ſooner had Simon and John, influenced by the impulſe of a judicial infatuation, abandoned the towers above-mentioned, than they hurried away to the vale of Siloah, where they repoſed themſelves for a ſhort time, after the fatigue they had undergone. Having refreſhed themſelves, and recalled their ſcattered ideas, they aſſaulted the new wall at the above-mentioned place: but their efforts were ſo feeble that they were eaſily repulſed by the guards: for their miſery, deſpair and fatigue had ſo reduced them, that they had no ſtrength remaining, and were glad to creep away, with their adherents, and conceal themſelves in vaults and caverns.

The walls being now in poſſeſſion of the Romans, they hoiſted their colours on the towers, and exulted with the moſt chearful acclamations, at the happy concluſion of a war which promiſed ſo little in the commencement: for they were compelled to believe that the war was at length ended, unleſs they had been diſpoſed to diſcredit the evidence of their own ſenſes.

By this time the ſoldiers had ſpread themſelves into every part of the city, ranging through the ſtreets with drawn ſwords, and ſacrificing to their rage every one they ſaw, without diſtinction. They ſet fire to the houſes, and burnt them, and all their contents, to the ground. In many houſes into which they entered in ſearch of plunder, they found every perſon of the families dead, and the houſes in a manner filled with the bodies of thoſe who had periſhed through hunger; wherefore, ſhocked at ſuch a ſight, they frequently returned without ſeizing their intended booty. Yet, notwithſtanding this apparent reſpect they ſhewed to the deceaſed, they gave no proofs of their humanity to the living; for they put every man to the ſword who fell in their way, till at length the bodies of the dead filled up all the alleys and narrow paſſes; while their blood flowed to ſuch a degree, as to run down the channels of the city in ſtreams. Towards night they gave over the practice, but renewed their depredations by means of fire.

The conflagration of the city of Jeruſalem ended on the eighth day of the month Gorpiæus. Jeruſalem was a city that muſt undoubtedly have been the envy of the univerſe, if all the proſperity that attended it from its original foundation, had borne any proportion to the misfortunes and calamities which befel it in the courſe of the ſiege above-mentioned: and what aggravated theſe judgments was, that her own ſons proved her deſtruction; and that ſhe had nurſed a race of vipers to prey on the body of the parent.

Titus employed himſelf in taking a ſurvey of the ruins of this diſtinguiſhed city: while admiring the works and fortifications, and particularly the fortreſſes, which the uſurpers, in the extravagance of their folly, had abandoned: while he was contemplating the ſituation, dimenſions, and elevation of the towers, with the elegance of the ſtructures, the curioſity of the deſign and workmanſhip, and the maſterly execution of the whole, he expreſſed himſelf in the following manner: "If our military operations had "not been aided by the immediate interpoſition of Heaven, it would have "been impoſſible that we ſhould have ever poſſeſſed ourſelves of theſe for-"treſſes. In a word, it was God who fought for, and aided us, againſt "the Jews: for a deed has been accompliſhed, which the hands of men, or "the force of engines could never have effected."

Titus having delivered himſelf to this effect, and ſaid much more to the ſame purpoſe; his next buſineſs was to reſtore to liberty all thoſe priſoners whom the oppreſſors had left in the towers. This being done, and the razing and demolition of the city completed, theſe towers alone excepted, he gave orders for the ſparing them, as a memorial of his good fortune and ſucceſs; for, unleſs they had been abandoned, this ſucceſs could never have ariſen.

By this time the ſoldiers were perfectly fatigued with the work of ſlaughter, notwithſtanding that much appeared yet to be done. However, Titus commanded his men to deſiſt, ſo far as to the ſparing all who ſhould not be found in arms, or offer to make reſiſtance: yet, notwithſtanding theſe directions, the ſoldiers exceeded their orders, and put to death the ſick and the aged, without pity or remorſe. Thoſe who appeared to be in full health, and fit for ſervice, were impriſoned in the temple, in that quarter heretofore deſtined to the uſe of the women. Fronto, one of the freed-men and friends of Titus, was deputed to enquire into the caſes of the priſoners, and to treat them according to their deſerts. The abandoned, the ſeditious, and thoſe who mutually charged each other with crimes, were put to death without mercy: but Titus reſerved the young and healthy, particularly thoſe of a comely appearance, to grace his triumph on his entrance into Rome. All thoſe who remained after this ſelection, and were above ſeventeen years of age, were ſent in chains into Ægypt, to be employed as ſlaves; and thoſe who were under ſeventeen expoſed to ſale; ſome only excepted, who were ſent into the various provinces of the empire, to be engaged as gladiators in the ſeveral theatres.

In the interim, no leſs than eleven thouſand of the priſoners who were under the care of Fronto were ſtarved to death; partly owing to their own obſtinacy in the refuſal of proviſions, and partly to the ſeverity of their overſeers,

ſeers, who neglected to ſupply them in a proper manner: but one great cauſe which aggravated this calamity, was the want of ſufficient proviſions for ſuch an immenſe number.

CHAP. XVII.

Account of the number of perſons who were made priſoners, or loſt their lives in the courſe of this war. John and Simon made priſoners. One of them detained priſoner for life, and the other reſerved for the triumph. The remainder of the city burnt, and the walls thrown down by the Romans.

IN the war of which we are ſpeaking no leſs than ninety-ſeven thouſand perſons were made priſoners, and the number of thoſe who loſt their lives during its progreſs was eleven hundred thouſand. Of theſe far the greater part were Jews, though not born in Judæa: and as the event happened at a time when they had aſſembled, from all parts of the country, to celebrate the feaſt of the paſſover, at Jeruſalem; many of them were engaged in the war without having any ſuch intention. The multitude which had got together on this occaſion was ſo immenſe, and they were ſo crouded together, that the confined air occaſioned a peſtilence; and this calamity was ſoon followed by a famine. Yet, if the calculation of Ceſtius may be relied on, the city was quite large enough to have afforded accommodation to this amazing concourſe of people. Of this calculation it may be proper to take notice.

The emperor Nero entertained ſo great a degree of contempt for the Jews, that Ceſtius, with a view to convince the emperor that the Jewiſh nation was by no means ſuch an object of deriſion as he thought it, made application to the high-prieſt, to fix on a method of numbering the people. This computation was commenced at the time of the celebration of the feaſt of the paſſover; and the following mode was adopted. From the ninth to the eleventh hour of the day the people came to offer their ſacrifices; when they counted no leſs than two hundred and fifty-five thouſand ſix hundred oblations; and reckoning that ten perſons at leaſt were to eat of each lamb (though in ſome inſtances there were twenty), the number would amount to two millions, five hundred and fifty-ſix thouſand perſons, all of them in perfect health: for neither perſons troubled with the ſcurvy or leproſy, nor men infected with a particular diſorder, nor women in certain circumſtances, nor any who were labouring under malignant diſtempers, were admitted to any ſhare in this ſolemnity: neither were any ſtrangers admitted ſo to partake, unleſs they came to Jeruſalem on motives of devotion.

Thus did the all-wiſe providence of God decree that theſe immenſe numbers of people who had come to Jeruſalem before the ſiege, ſhould be afterwards pent up within the city, as in a priſon: and the number of ſlain in the courſe of the ſiege, gave proof of a Divine judgment unequalled in the annals of hiſtory. Many of them were killed openly in the ſtreets; while great numbers, retreating to the vaults and ſepulchres, were purſued by the

Romans, who put to the ſword all they could find. Excluſive of thoſe who periſhed in conſequence of the ſeverity of the famine, there were above two thouſand, who either died by their own hands, or mutually conſented to deſtroy each other. Not a few, likewiſe, were poiſoned by the putrid effluvia ariſing from the dead bodies: ſome bore the naufeous ſmells as long as they could endure them, and then retired to conſult their own ſafety; but others, intent on acquiring all the booty in their power, rifled ſome of the bodies of the deceaſed, while they trampled on others which were in an abſolute ſtate of putrefaction: but avarice diſclaims all ideas of delicacy.

A great number of priſoners were releaſed, who had been laid in chains by the two uſurpers, whoſe cruelty continued as long as they had the leaſt power to exert it: but at length the vengeance of Heaven effectually purſued theſe monſters of iniquity: John and his aſſociates, who had ſecreted themſelves in the vaults, were reduced even to the point of ſtarving; ſo that, at length, they were compelled to implore that protection from the Romans, which they had heretofore affected to deſpiſe: while Simon ſurrendered himſelf, after a long ſtruggle with the moſt pinching neceſſity; as will be hereafter mentioned. John was committed to priſon for his life, and Simon reſerved to grace the triumph. Soon after this the Romans demoliſhed the walls, and burnt the reſt of the city.

CHAP. XVIII.

The utter deſtruction of Jeruſalem. Melchiſedec was the firſt founder of this city, and changed its name from Solyma, to that of Jeruſalem. The city and temple laid level with the ground.

IT was in the ſecond year of the reign of Veſpaſian, and on the eighth day of the month Gorpiæus, that Jeruſalem was thus finally taken and abſolutely deſtroyed. Before this, however, it had been taken five times; viz. by the Ægyptian king Azochaus; by the Syrian king Antiochus Epiphanes; by Pompey; and by Herod, aſſiſted by Soſius: but all theſe preſerved it after they had conquered it. The fifth capture of which I ſpeak was that of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, who laid it waſte after it had been built one thouſand three hundred and ſixty years, eight months and ſix days.

Melchiſedec, a king of Canaan, was the firſt founder of the city of Jeruſalem. In the Hebrew language the name Melchiſedec ſignifies an "Upright king;" and this prince was ſo in a diſtinguiſhed degree. * He firſt dedicated this city to God; built a temple therein, and officiated as a high-prieſt; and changed its former name of Solyma to that of Jeruſalem.

In a ſeries of time, when David, the king of the Jews, drove out the Canaanites, he placed his own countrymen in Jeruſalem; and after this, the Babylo-

* The learned Bochart ſays that, in the following lines, are "almoſt as many errors as words."

Babylonians deſtroyed the city, at the expiration of four hundred and ſeventy-ſeven years and three months.

There elapſed eleven hundred and ſeventy-nine years between the reign of David in Jeruſalem, and the deſtruction of the city by Titus; and this laſt event happened at the expiration of two thouſand one hundred and ſeventy-ſeven years from its foundation. But by this great event it is evident that the inevitable decrees of fate pay no regard to antiquity, riches, fame, or even the dignity of religion.

Thus ended the important and melancholy ſiege; and the Roman ſoldiers having no living object on which to wreak their farther vengeance (for if they had, that vengeance would have been continued), Titus gave orders that they ſhould reduce the city and temple to a level with the ground; and not to leave any building ſtanding, except the three diſtinguiſhed towers, ſo often mentioned, which bore the names of Hippocos, Phaſael and Mariamne; and a part of the wall to the weſtward of the city, on which he intended to erect a garriſon. The towers were ordered to remain as an evidence to future times of the ſkill and power of the Romans in becoming poſſeſſed of them. This order was executed with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs, and the reſt of the city totally demoliſhed, and razed even to the ground; ſo that it ſcarcely appeared to have been the reſidence of human creatures. Thus the factious multitude, whoſe ſeditions had created all the misfortunes, were reduced: and thus likewiſe was reduced the moſt diſtinguiſhed city on the face of the earth.

CHAP. XIX.

The war being ended, Titus determines to encourage and reward thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the enterprize. His benevolent ſpeech to his followers, whom he rewards with bounties proportioned to their merit. He offers a ſacrifice of thankſgiving for his ſucceſs.

A Reſolution was now formed by Titus, to leave ſome ſquadrons and battalions of horſe and foot, together with the tenth legion, in garriſon in Jeruſalem. The duty of a careful and vigilant general having been fully diſcharged by Titus, he now conſidered how he ſhould moſt effectually encourage and reward thoſe whoſe ſervices had tended to contribute to his preſent glory. For this purpoſe he aſcended a tribunal in the front of his camp, and on an eminence where he might be heard to the greateſt advantage; and being ſurrounded by a ſelect number of his principal officers, he from thence made a ſpeech to his army, the ſubſtance of which is as follows:

"My gallant fellow-ſoldiers! I have no language in which to expreſs the "ſenſe of that gratitude I entertain for your faithful and reſpectful beha-"viour to me during the courſe of the late war. Your regular obedience "and ſtrict diſcipline have been commendable beyond all example. You have

" been reſolute in your behaviour, on every occaſion, and firm in all dan-
" gers, even the moſt alarming. You have acquired the higheſt degree of
" reputation, in having advanced the honor, and enlarged the territories of
" your country. It is proper that all the world ſhould know, that neither
" the ſuperiority of numbers, the advantages of forts, the ſtrength of ſitua-
" tion, the power of well-peopled cities, nor the deſperate zeal, and aggra-
" vated fury of the moſt brutiſh adverſaries, can ever be an equal match for
" the calm conduct and courage of the Romans. It is true that ſome favour-
" able and advantageous turns of fortune have occaſionally attended the
" Jews: but you have amply performed your duty in putting a happy end
" to a war of ſo long continuance, in a way as flattering to our wiſhes as
" could have been hoped for on its firſt commencement. A circumſtance
" ſtill more happy than this ariſes, on which to congratulate you; for the
" choice that you have made of Roman emperors and generals is not only
" admitted, but univerſally approved and applauded. It is impoſſible that
" I ſhould ſufficiently admire and eſteem you, on account of what you
" have already ſo admirably performed. With regard to thoſe who have
" diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their ſingular bravery, and by their exemplary
" conduct in hazardous adventures, by which they have done honor to
" their private characters and public profeſſion, it ſhall be my particular
" care to ſee that they do not go unrewarded. Thoſe who have approved
" themſelves emulous to excel their fellow-ſoldiers ſhall be certain of meet-
" ing with an acknowledgment adequate to their merits: for I have leſs
" pleaſure in puniſhing the guilty, than in promoting and rewarding the
" meritorious."

As ſoon as Titus had ended this ſpeech, he addreſſed himſelf to the proper officers, demanding a liſt of the names of ſuch of the ſoldiers as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in an exemplary manner in the courſe of the war. Theſe being ſeparately called, and their names announced, Titus acknowledged their merit, ſaying he was as anxious for their welfare as for his own. Having addreſſed them in the moſt obliging terms, he proceeded to give them ſubſtantial proofs of his friendſhip, and princely bounty. He placed coronets of gold on their heads; adorned them with chains of gold; preſented them with lances pointed with the ſame metal, and with medals of ſilver, and promoted every man in proportion to his rank. He alſo gave them gratuities of minted money in gold and ſilver, out of the treaſure that had been taken, and likewiſe preſented them with robes, and other valuable articles.

Every man being thus rewarded according to his merit, by the proper diſtribution of the imperial bounties, Titus deſcended from his tribunal, amidſt the acclamations, vows and prayers of the whole army.

The next proceeding was to offer ſacrifices and return thanks for the victory. A number of oxen had been previouſly provided, and brought near the altars, which were ſacrificed on this occaſion, and diſtributed to the army; and Titus feaſted his officers, at his own expence, for three days. Soon after this the troops were diſmiſſed to their reſpective quarters; and

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the tenth legion, which had been brought from the Euphrates, took poſſeſſion of the city of Jeruſalem.

The affront which the Jews had offered to the Romans under Ceſtius was yet freſh in the memory of Titus; wherefore he diſpatched the twelfth legion (which had formerly been ſtationed at Rapanæa), to Militence, which is ſituated near the Euphrates, on the borders of Cappadocia and Armenia. The fifth and the fifteenth legions he retained, as a guard to attend himſelf into Ægypt. From Ægypt he went a coaſting-paſſage to Cæſarea: but as the winter was now ſet in, he did not think it prudent to proceed to Italy: wherefore, for the preſent, he depoſited his treaſure in Cæſarea, and ſecured his priſoners in the moſt effectual manner.

CHAP. XX.

During the ſiege of Jeruſalem by Titus, a number of ſea-ports are viſited by Veſpaſian. The ſingular manner in which Simon, the ſon of Gioras, is taken priſoner, after having intended to make his eſcape through a vault; but the project fails. He is ſeized and put in chains by Terentius Rufus. His capture proves the means of diſcovering his companions. Domitian's birth-day celebrated with uncommon ſplendor and magnificence; and likewiſe that of Veſpaſian.

AT the time that Titus was laying ſiege to Jeruſalem, Veſpaſian employed himſelf in viſiting the ſea-ports. Having embarked on board a trading veſſel for Rhodes, he engaged a galley at that place, in which he ſailed from Ionia to Greece, calling at all the towns on the coaſt, where he was received and entertained in a manner conſiſtent with his rank. Hence he went to Corcyra, and ſo on to Japygia; from whence he continued his journey by land.

When Titus had returned from Cæſarea on the ſea-coaſt to the place called Cæſarea Philippi, he there remained a conſiderable time, amuſing himſelf with a variety of public entertainments; particularly combats between men and beaſts, likewiſe between one ſingle man and another; and engagements between different parties of men; and the lives of a conſiderable number of his ſlaves were ſacrificed in theſe amuſements.

About this period Simon, the ſon of Gioras, was made a priſoner, in conſequence of the following ſingular circumſtance. When Jeruſalem was ſo cloſely beſieged that Simon was compelled to take refuge in the upper town, and when the Romans had actually got into the city; he was almoſt diſtracted to know how to diſpoſe of himſelf; and at length he adopted the following plan. Having ſent for a number of ſtone-cutters, miners, ſmiths, and perſons well ſkilled in iron-works; and having provided a great number of tools and materials proper for their purpoſe, and proviſions for a conſiderable time, they deſcended all together into a dark and private vault. In this place they worked their way as far as they were able; but finding the paſſage too narrow to anſwer their intentions, they began to dig and mine,

with a view to open a paſſage through which they might effect their eſcape: but though they managed their proviſions in the moſt frugal manner poſſible, they fell ſhort before they had made any conſiderable progreſs in their work; by which the whole plan failed. Reduced to the utmoſt neceſſity, Simon had recourſe to a ſingular device to terrify the Romans. In purſuance of his plan, he dreſſed himſelf in a white garment, which was buckled round him, over which was thrown a purple cloak. Thus habited, he aſcended from the ground, under the ruins of the late temple, to the aſtoniſhment of the ſoldiers, and others who beheld the apparition. As he advanced towards them, the ſoldiers aſſumed ſufficient courage to demand his name and buſineſs; but Simon refuſed to anſwer their queſtions, and demanded to ſpeak with the captain of the guard. Hereupon they immediately ſent to Terentius Rufus, who at that time had the command; and he ſoon diſcovering who Simon was, ordered him to be immediately put in chains, and then related all the particulars of the affair to Titus.

Thus did Divine juſtice purſue and puniſh an execrable tyrant, who had, by the means of ſuborning falſe evidence, cauſed the deſtruction of ſo many of his own countrymen, on the pretence that they were about to deſert to the Romans: thus was he, by an act of his own, delivered into the hands of his enemies, without any contrivance on their part, to take him priſoner. But the vengeance of Heaven will always purſue the guilty: juſtice and innocence will finally prevail: the puniſhment which is deferred is frequently felt the more ſeverely from that circumſtance; ſince the danger is then thought to be at an end, and the guilty deem themſelves ſecure. This was the ſituation of Simon, with reſpect to the Romans; and his aſcent from the vault, in the ſtrange manner above-mentioned, proved the means of diſcovering the place where his companions were concealed.

When Titus had returned from Cæſarea, on the ſea-coaſt, Simon was preſented to him bound in chains: whereupon he gave orders that he ſhould be detained a priſoner, to grace his triumphal entry into Rome. Some ſhort time after his arrival he appointed a day for the celebration of the nativity of his brother Domitian with the utmoſt grandeur and magnificence. On this occaſion a great number of condemned priſoners were ſacrificed to the ſplendor of the ceremony: for of thoſe who were deſtroyed by beaſts, by fire, or in combats with each other, it was calculated that not leſs than two thouſand five hundred periſhed; yet ſuch was the inveteracy of the Romans againſt the Jews, that they thought even this number too ſmall.

Some time after this Titus went to Berytus, a city of Phœnicia, and one of the Roman colonies. In this place he continued ſome time, and there celebrated the anniverſary of the birth of his father Veſpaſian, even with a greater degree of pomp and ſplendor than he had done that of his brother, both with reſpect to the article of expence, and the public ſhews exhibited.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

Account of the Jews being diſperſed over the face of the earth, particularly in Syria and Antioch. The Jews of Antioch very rich and numerous. The city of Antioch ruined by Antiochus, the ſon of a Jew. A violent inſurrection. The Pagan worſhip eſtabliſhed, and the obſervance of the ſabbath ſuppreſſed by Antiochus. The city happening to take fire, the Jews are accuſed as the incendiaries by Antiochus, though without foundation.

THE ſituation of the Jews in Antioch was at this time very uncomfortable; for the citizens were their determined enemies, on account of their former miſbehaviour, aggravated by ſome improper conduct of which they had been lately guilty. In this place it may not be improper to make mention of ſome particular circumſtances, by which the meaning of what is to follow will be the more readily comprehended.

There is ſcarcely a part of the habitable globe, in which ſome of the Jewiſh people are not diſperſed: but they particularly abound in Syria, which borders on their own country; and there are immenſe numbers of them in Antioch: a circumſtance which ariſes not only from the city being very large and populous, but from the particular privileges with which they have been gratified in this place, from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (as he was called), who totally reduced the city of Jeruſalem, and plundered the temple. All the brazen veſſels which had been taken from the Jews at Jeruſalem, were reſtored to them by the immediate ſucceſſors of Antiochus, for the purpoſe of their being applied to the ſervice of their temple at Antioch. Theſe ſucceſſors likewiſe allowed the Jews to enjoy the ſame freedom of the city that the Greeks did: and the kings who followed thoſe above-mentioned behaved with a ſimilar degree of lenity and indulgence; ſo that the Jewiſh temple became rich and flouriſhing, and the numbers of their people continually encreaſed. Several of the Pagans, likewiſe, became proſelytes to their religion, and incorporated with the body of the people.

When the war was now compleatly ended, and Veſpaſian had gone by ſea into Syria, the Jews rendered themſelves extremely odious; of which the following circumſtance will ſerve as an inſtance. During a public aſſembly in the theatre, Antiochus came in, and, before all the company, charged his own father, and ſeveral other foreign Jews, whoſe names he mentioned, with a deſign of ſetting fire to the city during the night. This aſſertion occaſioned a violent inſurrection, and during the diſturbance, the people procured fire, and burnt the ſuppoſed conſpirators in the midſt of the theatre. The mob were now diſpoſed to have burnt every man who was but ſuſpected, in order to ſave their country from an apprehended ruin. Antiochus did every thing in his power to aggravate the preſent malicious diſpoſition; and as a proof of the regard which he entertained for the Pagan worſhip, and his abhorrence of that of the Jews, he ſacrificed after the Pagan manner himſelf, and likewiſe iſſued orders that others ſhould do the ſame, or ſuffer death if

they refuſed. In conſequence of this peremptory order, the people of Antioch in general complied, the Jews only excepted, great numbers of whom were put to death for refuſing their obedience to the mandate.

By this time Antiochus had a command beſtowed on him by the governor, which enabled him ſtill farther to gratify his rage againſt the Jews; wherefore he began by infringing on the ſacredneſs of the ſabbath, compelling the people to labour on that day as they did on others; and he inſiſted on this point with ſuch rigid ſeverity, that the obſervation of this ſacred day was at length totally ſuppreſſed in Antioch; while other places were in danger of following the fatal example.

It was not long before another misfortune ſucceeded this perſecution of the Jews at Antioch; the particulars of which are as follow. A fire happened to break out in the ſquare market, which burnt ſeveral magnificent buildings, and public offices for the regiſtering of records: and the flames raged ſo furiouſly that the total deſtruction of the whole city was greatly endangered. Antiochus accuſed the Jews with being the authors of this conflagration; and the inhabitants of Antioch, already greatly prepoſſeſſed againſt thoſe people, were very fond of giving credit to the charge: in fact, ſo ſtrong were their prejudices againſt the Jews, that they were ready to ſwear that they ſaw thoſe people in the very act of ſetting fire to the city: wherefore, taking it for granted that all was true that their imaginations ſuggeſted, they made ſo ſudden and violent an attack on the accuſed parties, that it was with no ſmall degree of difficulty that Collega, vice-governor to Ceſennius Petus, kept the people in tolerable ſubjection till the particulars of the affair could be tranſmitted to the emperor. At this time Ceſennius had received his commiſſion as governor, but was not arrived to take on him the command. Collega having examined into the affair in the moſt careful and cautious manner, the innocence of all the perſons who had been accuſed by Antiochus was made indiſputably evident: and it appeared that the city had been ſet on fire by a few abandoned miſcreants, and men of deſperate fortunes, who thought the deſtruction of their creditors would be the moſt effectual way of ſcreening themſelves from the payment of their debts. Notwithſtanding the falſeneſs of the accuſation, the Jews were under great uneaſineſs of mind for fear of the conſequences.

CHAP. XXII.

The happineſs of Titus on receiving an account of his father's ſafe arrival in Italy. Account of the reſpect with which Veſpaſian is every where treated.

AT this time Titus received the agreeable news that his father was happily arrived in Italy, and how magnificently he had been entertained in the ſeveral cities of that country, through which he paſſed: but what afforded him more ſatisfaction than any other circumſtance, was the ſincere affection and ſplendid dignity with which he was received at Rome; which prevented

prevented the ſon from having any farther anxiety on account of his father. In every place the people treated even the name of Veſpaſian with the utmoſt diſtinction; and ſupplied the want of his preſence by their perfect reſpect for him.

The ſenate of Rome, well remembering the unhappy revolutions to which they had been witneſs, on the transferring of the government from one prince to another, thought themſelves happy in having an emperor, whoſe character was ſo diſtinguiſhed by experience, conduct, and reputation. Nor were the people in general leſs pleaſed with the happy change in the face of affairs, as they were at that time embroiled in civil wars; and they repoſed the utmoſt confidence in the emperor; expecting that, through his means, they ſhould be reſtored to their former eaſe and freedom. The ſoldiers in general were profeſſed admirers of their imperial maſter, as he had, on a variety of occaſions, given abundant proof of his courage and military ſkill: and their regard for him was heightened by reflecting on the diſgrace they had frequently ſuffered under other commanders: wherefore they promiſed themſelves that, under the command of Veſpaſian, they ſhould meet with abundant ſucceſs and applauſe.

So general was the eſteem in which Veſpaſian was held, that the moſt eminent people of the city, impatient of his arrival, went to a conſiderable diſtance, in order to meet him on the road; and theſe were followed by ſuch numbers, that there were ſcarce as many left in the city as came out of it. When intelligence arrived that Veſpaſian was near the place, and that his addreſs and affability were univerſally admired, the roads were crowded with the wives and children of the inhabitants, who flocked to ſee him. Every one now burſt into raptures of admiration at the elegance of his perſon, and the modeſty of his behaviour; and they called him by all the endearing names of benefactor, deliverer, protector; extolling him as the only prince in the univerſe who was worthy to wear an imperial crown.

On this occaſion the whole city was decorated with garlands, and looked as gay as a temple; and the ſtreets were crowded to ſuch a degree that it was with the utmoſt difficulty that the proceſſion could paſs to the palace. Veſpaſian now offered up ſacrifices of thankſgiving to his houſhold gods, in grateful acknowledgment of his ſafe return; and, in the mean time, the people in general indulged themſelves in feaſting, treating their families and neighbours, offering up their vows for a long and proſperous reign to Veſpaſian, and wiſhing that he might be ſucceeded in the imperial dignity by his ſon; and that there might never be wanting one of his illuſtrious family to ſway the ſceptre. Thus auſpicious was the entrance of Veſpaſian into Rome; and every kind of ſucceſs and happineſs ſucceeded this event.

CHAP. XXIII.

A revolt happens among the Germans, and the occasion thereof. The faction is headed by Cassius and Civilis. Petilius Cerealis puts a stop to the sedition by routing the rebels; and Domitian totally suppresses it without bloodshed. An incursion of the Scythians succeeds the rebellion in Germany. The Scythians are routed by Rubrius Gallus.

AT the time that Titus was laying siege to Jerusalem, and not long before Vespasian came to Alexandria, a very considerable revolt happened among the Germans, in which they were in a great degree incited and animated by their neighbours the Gauls, who wished to free themselves from the yoke of subjection to the Romans. The Germans being naturally of a vehement disposition, bold, rash and inconsiderate, they were forward enough to engage in an enterprize of this kind: besides, they were instigated by an inveterate hatred which they entertained for the Romans; as they stood in fear of no other people but them. To all these circumstances may be added the critical situation of affairs; for the empire was rent in pieces by factious divisions, and there had been a variety of revolutions in the government.

At this time there were two persons, named Cassius and Civilis, who had great influence among the Germans; and these took advantage of the distracted state of affairs to promote the sedition; though, in fact, this was but carrying on a plan which they had long before concerted. On enquiring into the sentiments of the people, they found that a great majority of them were admirably disposed to acts of mutiny; and their example would most probably have been followed by all the rest, but for the immediate interposition of Divine providence. The particulars of this affair are as follows: Vespasian had sent letters to Petilius Cerealis, heretofore governor of Germany, by which he advanced him to the dignity of consul, and directed that he should immediately march into Italy, to execute the duties of his new office. As Cercalis was on his journey, he received authentic information of the insurrection above-mentioned; on which he immediately marched against the rebels, who were united in a body; and attacking them with great vigour, he totally routed them; great numbers being slain in the action; by which the rest were at once reduced to a due sense of their subjection.

If Cerealis had not been so fortunate as to crush this rebellion in the bud, it must, nevertheless, have soon yielded to the valour of another commander; for no sooner had intelligence of the insurrection arrived at Rome, than Domitian, the son of Vespasian, a young prince of the greatest hopes and expectations, in whom the heroic virtues of his father were hereditary, put himself at the head of an army, and advanced against the main body of the rebels; who no sooner heard of his being on his march, than they were so terrified as to surrender, even without bloodshed. When the affairs of Gaul were adjusted, and there was no farther danger that the people would again rebel, Domitian lost no time in returning to Rome, where he was received with

with the loudeſt acclamations; his good conduct extolled; and himſelf honoured as one who had produced happy conſequences to his country, and honor to himſelf, beyond what could have been expected from his age and experience.

An incurſion of the Scythians (or Sarmatians), ſucceeded to the rebellion in Germany. Theſe people having privately tranſported themſelves over the Danube, with an immenſe number of men, broke into the country of Myſia, where they ſurprized ſeveral of the Roman garriſons; and put all they found in them to the ſword, with the moſt ſavage inhumanity. They ſlew Fontieus Agrippa, a perſon of the rank of lieutenant general, and of conſular dignity, at the head of his troops: and they ravaged the whole country, burning, waſting and deſtroying, wherever they came. Intelligence of theſe circumſtances was no ſooner brought to Veſpaſian, and he had learnt ſome particulars of the depredations that had been made in Myſia, than he immediately ſent away Rubrius Gallus to chaſtiſe the offenders: a commiſſion that this officer executed ſo faithfully, that he deſtroyed great numbers of them, and the reſt eſcaped to their own habitations with no ſmall degree of difficulty: ſo that this war was ſoon at an end: and the commanding officer gave ſuch effectual orders for ſecuring the paſſes, as to render the repetition of ſimilar attempts and incurſions much leſs likely to take place in future.

CHAP. XXIV.

Account of the triumphal march of Titus. Particulars reſpecting the Sabbatical River, and why it is ſo denominated. The people of Antioch highly rejoiced at the arrival of Titus. They earneſtly beg that the Jews may be baniſhed from the city, but Titus pays little regard to their requeſt. The ſolicitations againſt the Jews re-urged by the ſenate: but Titus abſolutely refuſes them, and retires to Ægypt. Titus greatly commiſerates the deſolate condition of Jeruſalem. Immenſe treaſures buried in the ruins of that city. Simon and John, with ſeven hundred other perſons of good appearance, reſerved to grace the triumph. The order and magnificence with which this triumph was attended. The triumph concluded in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Simon Giorus put to death. A temple dedicated to peace by Veſpaſian.

TITUS having remained a little while at Berytus, he, on his return from that place (as hath been before obſerved) exhibited the moſt magnificent ſpectacles as he paſſed through Syria. In this journey he took with him the priſoners that he had made, to do honor to his arms, and to add to the ſplendor of his triumph.

In the courſe of his journey this prince took particular notice of a certain river, which is ſituated betwixt the cities of Arce and Raphane in the kingdom of Agrippa; which river is diſtinguiſhed by ſome very remarkable properties. During the flowing of the river the ſtream is full, and the current ſets ſtrong: but the ſprings failing on a ſudden, it leaves the channel

dry, even to the middle, for the ſpace of ſix days: and it fills again on the ſeventh day, and flows as uſual, and purſues its former courſe, as if no interruption had happened. From theſe circumſtances it has obtained the name of the Sabbatical River, from the feſtival celebrated by the Jews on the ſeventh day.

Intelligence of Titus being on his journey having reached the city of Antioch, the people were ſo overjoyed at the news, that immenſe numbers of both ſexes, and almoſt all ages, left their habitations, and went out to meet him. Many of them went to the diſtance of thirty furlongs, being impatient to congratulate him, and to welcome him on his journey. When he came near them they withdrew on each ſide, to make a paſſage for him, and thus conducted him into the city, with every poſſible demonſtration of joy and reſpect; but amidſt their ſhouts and acclamations they ſolicited him in the moſt earneſt and importunate manner, that he would baniſh all the Jews from the city. Titus heard all they had to ſay, but with ſuch apparent indifference, that it was impoſſible to diſcover his ſentiments on the ſubject; a circumſtance that gave the Jews great anxiety, as they were extremely apprehenſive for the event of the affair. Titus remained but a very ſhort time at Antioch, from whence he proceeded to Teugma, which lies towards the Euphrates. At this place he was waited on by ambaſſadors from Vologeſus, king of the Parthians, who ſent him a preſent of a crown of gold, and tranſmitted his congratulations on his late victory over the Jews. Titus received the preſent, entertained the ambaſſadors in a manner ſuited to their rank, and then returned to Antioch.

Immediately after his arrival the ſenate and magiſtrates of the city gave him an earneſt invitation to honor the theatre with his preſence. With this he very readily complied, and there found a very great number of the citizens waiting in expectation of his arrival. He had ſcarcely taken his place, when they began to re-urge him earneſtly on the ſubject of the expulſion of the Jews, to which Titus, with equal prudence and generoſity, replied, ſaying, "Their own country is laid waſte, and they cannot find admiſſion into "any other." The citizens finding that Titus was not to be prevailed on to grant this requeſt, they immediately ſolicited another favour, which was that he would order the pillars of braſs, on which were engraven the inſcriptions reciting the privileges of the Jews, to be either taken away, or the inſcriptions erazed: but Titus paid no more regard to the latter requeſt than to the former; and departed towards Ægypt, leaving the Jews of Antioch in poſſeſſion of the ſame privileges as at his arrival.

While he was proceeding on his journey he reflected ſeriouſly on the deplorable ſituation of Jeruſalem, and all the adjacent country, and could not help drawing a compariſon in his mind between its preſent and former condition. It was heretofore one of the moſt glorious cities in the univerſe, and now a heap of ruins: it was in former times a paradiſe, and now become a deſert. Reflecting on theſe unhappy changes, he ſincerely lamented the deſtruction of ſo diſtinguiſhed a city, and execrated the authors of the ſedition that had occaſioned it. So far, indeed, was he from wiſhing to extend his own

own fame on a public calamity, that he held in the utmoſt abhorrence thoſe to whom that calamity was owing.

Jeruſalem had been poſſeſſed of riches to an immenſe amount; and amazing treaſures of gold, ſilver, and other valuable effects were buried in its ruins, great part of which had been ſecreted by the proprietors, that the enemy might not obtain poſſeſſion of them. Of theſe effects many were diſcovered by the Romans, but the priſoners found many more.

In the interim Titus continued his journey to Ægypt, and travelling with all poſſible expedition over that deſolate country, he arrived at Alexandria, at which place he took ſhipping for Italy: but previous to his embarkation he diſpatched the two legions that had attended him to their former ſtations; that is, the fifth legion was ſent to Myſia, and the tenth to Hungary. Simon and John, who had been the principal inſurgents, together with about ſeven hundred other priſoners, who were diſtinguiſhed by the comelineſs of their appearance, were ordered to be ſent into Italy, that they might dignify the triumph of Titus, on his entry into Rome.

Titus had a moſt favourable and agreeable voyage, and was received with as great honor and reſpect as his father had been before him; and excluſive of this general reſpect from the people, Veſpaſian went out in perſon, to meet and congratulate him: a circumſtance highly grateful to the public, who now beheld the father and his two ſons meeting together in circumſtances of the moſt auſpicious nature.

In a ſhort time after this the ſenate paſſed a decree for two ſeparate triumphs, the one in honor of the father, the other in that of the ſon; but, notwithſtanding this determination, Veſpaſian and Titus reſolved that the ſolemnity to their mutual honor ſhould be jointly celebrated. When the day was fixed, on which it was to take place, there was hardly a ſingle perſon in the city who did not attend as a ſpectator, ſo that when the whole multitude was aſſembled together there was ſcarcely room enough left for the emperor and his ſon to paſs. Before the break of day the ſoldiers marched to the palace gates near the temple of Iſis, in regular order, preceded by their officers, to wait the arrival of the princes; who had lodged the preceding night in the temple above-mentioned. Soon after the dawn of the morning Veſpaſian and Titus came forward, being cloathed in purple robes, according to the cuſtom of their country, and having on their heads crowns of laurel. They proceeded to the Octavian walks, at which place the ſenate, nobility and knights of Rome waited for their arrival. Before the portal there was erected a tribunal, on which they aſcended, and repoſed themſelves on ſeats of ivory which had been placed there on this occaſion: and being thus ſituated, orations were made in their praiſe, while the ſurrounding multitudes teſtified their joy by the loudeſt acclamations. On this occaſion the princes wore no arms; and while the orators were rapidly declaiming in their praiſe, Veſpaſian made a ſignal for ſilence, which being ſtrictly obeyed by every perſon preſent, he ſtood up, and having thrown his robe over a part of his head, he offered up certain prayers, agreeable to the cuſtom on ſuch occaſions; and in this Titus followed his example. This

being done, Veſpaſian addreſſed the company in a conciſe ſpeech, and then diſmiſſed the military people to regale themſelves at his expence. In the next place Veſpaſian and Titus proceeded to the triumphal gate, which received its name on account of the grand proceſſion paſſing that way. Here they took ſome refreſhment, and being then arrayed in their triumphal habiliments, they offered up ſacrifices at the gate, and then proceeded, in great pomp and ſolemnity, through the midſt of the crowd, that all the people might be gratified by a ſight of them.

It is impoſſible for language to convey any adequate idea of the ſplendor and magnificence of this public exhibition; whether the expence and contrivance of it, or the novelty of its ornaments be conſidered. On this occaſion all the moſt valuable curioſities which the Roman nation had been collecting through a long ſucceſſion of ages, were combined to furniſh the ſplendid triumph of one day, and diſplayed as a monument of the national grandeur. So great a number of very curious performances, in gold, ſilver and ivory, equally valuable for their coſt and their admirable contexture, were now exhibited to the public view, that they ſeemed rather a confuſion than a regular diſplay of riches. There likewiſe appeared ſuch an amazing variety of purple garments and Babylonian embroideries, together with jewels and other ſtones of great value, which were diſpoſed into the forms of crowns, and other devices, that what uſed to be accounted curious was now no longer deemed ſo. Images of the gods of the Romans were carried in proceſſion, which were extraordinary for their ſize and conſtructure; and beſides theſe there were reſemblances of various ſorts of living creatures, which were dreſſed ſo as to anſwer their characters.

A great number of people, dreſſed in cloth of gold and purple, carried theſe pageants through the ſtreets; and thoſe who were immediately appointed to attend the pompous train were habited in garments of a ſingularly ſplendid appearance. Even the very priſoners that made a part of the train were dreſſed with unuſual decency, to hide the miſery of their condition, and conceal the marks of ſlavery that appeared in their countenances: but in all the proceſſion nothing was ſo extraordinary as the carrying of the machines, many of which were three, or four ſtories in height, ſo that it is aſtoniſhing how the bearers could ſupport them. The expence of theſe was proportioned to the contrivance of them; for the furniture and hangings were embroidered with gold, ivory and other things of high value.

In the proceſſion were likewiſe the moſt lively and picturesque repreſentations of war, and all its attendant circumſtances. In one place was to be ſeen the appearance of a fruitful country totally laid waſte: in another the deſtruction of armies; ſome being killed, ſome flying, and others taken priſoners: there were reſemblances of walls levelled with the ground, forts deſtroyed, fortified cities entered through breaches, towns taken by ſurprize, and ſtreets ſtreaming with blood, while the vanquiſhed were imploring mercy. Houſes appeared to be falling on the heads of their owners, while temples were apparently in flames, and rivers found their courſe through the conflagrations, inſtead of ſupplying water to man and beaſt, and refreſhing the

the fields and meadows with their ſtreams. Nor was this any other than an admirable repreſentation of the ſufferings of the Jews, ſo finely contrived by the ingenuity of art, that to thoſe who were unacquainted with the fate of Jeruſalem, it might ſeem to be a well told hiſtory of the deſtruction of that celebrated city.

On each of the pageants was a repreſentation of the manner in which ſome town or city was taken, with a figure of the governor of the place. To theſe ſucceeded a view of the ſhipping, and then were exhibited the ſpoils that were taken in various places; of which the moſt conſiderable were the golden table, and the golden candleſtick which were found in the temple at Jeruſalem. The firſt of theſe weighed ſeveral talents; and the latter was never applied to the uſe for which it had been deſigned. This candleſtick conſiſted of a large foot, from which there aſcended a ſort of pillar, and from that pillar, as from the body of a tree, there aroſe ſeven branches, the top of each branch reſembling a lamp; and the number was ſeven in reference to the eſteem in which the ſeventh day is held by the Jews. The next, and indeed the laſt trophy exhibited of the conqueſt which the Romans had made, was the code of Jewiſh laws; which was followed by figures of ivory and gold, intended as emblematical repreſentations of victory; and the proceſſion was cloſed by Veſpaſian, Titus and Domitian, all mounted on fine horſes elegantly capariſoned, and appearing with a dignity becoming their high rank: and in this ſplendid manner they proceeded together to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and thus put an end to the proceſſion.

When they had arrived at the temple they remained there for a ſhort time; in conformity to an ancient cuſtom which rendered it neceſſary that they ſhould ſtay in that place till they received advice of the death of the general who had commanded the army of the enemy. The general on the preſent occaſion was Simon Gioras (who had been led in triumph through the ſtreets), round whoſe neck a rope being fixed, he was drawn through the market-place, thoſe who drew him putting him to death, agreeable to the laws and uſages of the Romans in the caſe of notorious offenders.

Intelligence being brought that Simon was dead, the very air was rent with the ſhouts and acclamations of the multitude. The people then offered up vows and ſacrifices; and this ſolemn buſineſs being diſcharged, Veſpaſian and his ſons returned to the palace, where they gave a moſt magnificent entertainment on the occaſion. Indeed the whole city exhibited one general ſcene of joy and feſtivity: and public thanks were every where offered for the final victory which had now been obtained over their enemies: a victory which ſeemed to promiſe a laſting tranquillity, while it redounded to the immortal honor of the heroes who had acquired it.

As ſoon as the triumphs were ended, and the peace of the empire was ſecured, Veſpaſian cauſed a temple to be erected and dedicated to peace. This edifice was remarkable for its richneſs and elegance, and ſtill more ſo for the ſhort ſpace of time in which it was conſtructed. It was adorned with a great abundance of curious pieces of painting and ſculpture, which had been collected at an immenſe expence; and it was, on the whole, ſo magnificent

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and elegant a building, that perſons came from all parts of the world to obtain a ſight of it. The golden table and the candleſtick, as articles of inеſtimable value, Veſpaſian cauſed to be placed in this temple. With regard to the code of Jewiſh laws, and the purple veſtments of the ſanctuary, they were depoſited, with the utmoſt care, in the royal palace.

CHAP. XXV.

Deſcription of the ſituation of Machæras. A ſtrong wall with turrets built round it by Herod the great. Account of two ſingular plants. A great diverſity of ſprings and fountains. Machæras beſieged by Baſſus. A diviſion between the native Jews and the ſtrangers, the former defending the caſtle, and the latter the lower town. Not a day paſſes without ſkirmiſhes. Inſtance of Eleazar's contempt of danger. He is taken, ſtripped, and cruelly whipped. Baſſus gives Eleazar his liberty, and diſmiſſes the garriſon.

THE emperor having granted a commiſſion to Lucillius Baſſus, appointing him to be lieutenant general of Judæa, he thereupon ſucceeded Cerealis Petilianus in the command of the army, and ſoon rendered himſelf maſter of the caſtle of Herodion by treaty. This being done, he collected his troops, which were ſtationed in different parts of the country; propoſing, by the aſſiſtance of the tenth legion, to reduce Machæras, as a work of indiſpenſable neceſſity; ſince that place was ſo remarkably ſtrong, that it was a kind of incitement to acts of rebellion; and its ſituation was ſuch as to inſpire thoſe in poſſeſſion of it with freſh courage, though, on the other hand, it was calculated to repreſs the ardor of an aſſailant.

Machæras is ſituated on a mountain of immenſe height, and is of ſo ſtrong a nature that it is rendered almoſt impregnable. It is likewiſe in a manner inacceſſible; for nature has ſurrounded it with vallies that are almoſt impaſſable, and cannot be filled up. Theſe vallies are of ſuch a depth as not to be ſurveyed from the mountain without horror. The mountain ſtretches ſixty furlongs to the weſt, and approaches almoſt cloſe to the lake Aſphaltitis, and the caſtle commands a very extenſive view of the diſtrict on that ſide. To the north and ſouth the vallies are very extenſive, and appear to be equally well calculated for the defence of the place. On the eaſt the depth of the valley is not leſs than a hundred cubits, and oppoſite Machæras is a mountain to which this valley extends. This place was originally fortified by Alexander, king of the Jews, who built a caſtle on it: but this caſtle was afterwards deſtroyed by Gabinius, when he made war on Ariſtobulus: but Herod the great, thinking this mountain well worthy his attention, particularly in caſe of any diſpute with the Arabians, who were remarkably well ſituated to annoy him, he cauſed a ſtrong wall, fortified with turrets, to be built round it, and erected a handſome city, in which he placed a colony of inhabitants; and from the city he made a paſſage up to the caſtle. Round the caſtle at the top he built another wall, at the angles of which were turrets

ſixty cubits in height; and in the midſt of the encloſure he cauſed a large and elegant palace to be erected, which was ſupplied with water from a variety of ciſterns: ſo that the ſituation and conveniences of this place ſeemed to have ariſen from a happy conjunction of nature and art, each contributing in a liberal manner to its improvement. Herod likewiſe depoſited in the caſtle an immenſe ſtore of military arms, engines, arrows, &c. and ſtocked it with a great quantity and variety of proviſions; ſo that there could be little danger of the garriſon being reduced either by famine or force.

In this palace was a very extraordinary plant which bore the name of Rue, the growth of which was ſo aſtoniſhing, that it equalled the height and breadth of a large Fig-tree. It is ſaid that this plant had remained there ever ſince the time of Herod, and might have continued to the preſent day, but that the Jews, when they took the place, tore it up by the roots.

On the north ſide of Machæras is a valley called Baaras, where a plant is produced which is likewiſe named Baaras. This ſtrange plant is of a flame-colour; and on the approach of evening it reflects a light like the beams of the ſun. It is difficult to draw the root from the ground, and the plant recedes on any one offering to touch it. The method of fixing it is ſaid to be by ſprinkling it with a woman's urine; but when it is thus fixed the touching of the plant will be fatal, unleſs the party holds a part of the root in his hand. But the following is ſaid to be a method of drawing it without danger. The ground muſt be dug round the root till it is laid almoſt bare, and then a dog muſt be tied to it; this being done, the maſter of the dog goes away; and being followed by the dog, the root is drawn out of the ground; but the poor animal dies on the ſpot, as if he ſacrificed his own life to the preſervation of that of his maſter. The root being once freed from the ground, the plant may be touched without the leaſt degree of danger. Notwithſtanding what has been ſaid, it is related that this plant has a property that is more than equivalent to all it noxious qualities. It will not be diſputed that to be poſſeſſed with evil ſpirits is one of the greateſt calamities to which human nature is ſubject. Theſe evil ſpirits, which we place under the denomination of demons or devils, are only the ſouls of men, who, during their mortal exiſtence, had abandoned themſelves to iniquity: having gained poſſeſſion of living bodies, they would inevitably deſtroy them, if their operations were not to be counteracted by preventive remedies. Now the plant in queſtion poſſeſſes ſo extraordinary a virtue that upon only touching the patient with it his affliction is immediately removed.

In the valley above-mentioned there is an uncommon variety of ſprings and fountains, each differing from the other in quality and flavour, being ſweet, bitter, hot, &c. and there are likewiſe a number of cold ſprings, in the loweſt parts of the valley: but nothing of all this is ſo extraordinary as a cave of ſmall depth, over which is a ſtone of a hard, rocky nature, out of which ſtone appear two fountains in the ſhape of breaſts, from one of which flow hot waters, and cold from the other. Theſe waters, when intermixed, form a very pleaſant bath, which is a ſpecific in the cure of nervous, and many other diſorders. Mines of ſulphur and allum alſo abound in this valley.

When Baſſus had taken a careful ſurvey of Machæras, he came to a determination to beſiege the place; and for this purpoſe he intended to have filled up the valley to the eaſtward of the town, and to make his approach from that quarter. His firſt proceeding was to throw up a mount, oppoſite the caſtle, with all poſſible expedition, as the readieſt way to enſure his ſucceſs. The Jews who were natives of the city now divided themſelves from thoſe who were ſtrangers, whom they diſmiſſed as perſons who were unworthy a connection with them, and ſent them into the lower town, to ſuſtain the firſt ſhock; themſelves taking poſſeſſion of the caſtle, which from its ſtrength they thought would be the moſt defenſible; and a place from which, in caſe of neceſſity, it was probable that they might make the beſt terms with the Romans. In the mean time they exerted their utmoſt induſtry to repel the attacks of the beſiegers. There was not a day paſſed in which the Jews did not ſally forth in a determined manner, when violent ſkirmiſhes enſued, and both parties loſt a conſiderable number of men. The advantage lay ſometimes on one ſide, and ſometimes on the other: the Jews being ſucceſsful when they attacked the Romans by ſurprize, and the latter being the victors when they were properly adviſed of the advance of the enemy, and had time to prepare for their reception. But it appeared evident that the ſiege was not to end in this manner; ſince a moſt ſingular accident reduced the Jews to the diſagreeable neceſſity of ſurrendering the caſtle.

In Machæras there was a young man of a ſpirit remarkably bold, daring and enterprizing. His name was Eleazar, and he exerted himſelf, in a very extraordinary manner, both by advice and example, to check the progreſs of the Romans, and encourage his countrymen to oppoſe their proceedings. This Eleazar frequently ſallied forth in a moſt determined manner, and was conſtantly the firſt man to begin an encounter, and the laſt to retreat, when retreat became abſolutely neceſſary.

Now it happened, after the concluſion of a ſkirmiſh on a particular day, when both parties were retired, that Eleazar, determined to evince his utter contempt of danger, and to prove that he was incapable of fearing any man, ſtopped without the gate of the city, and entered into an idle converſation with ſome of the Jews that were on the walls; ſeeming to pay no kind of regard to any thing that might paſs around him.

Eleazar being now within view of the Romans in their encampment, an Ægyptian ſoldier named Rufus took an opportunity to run to him, unnoticed, and ſeizing him with all his accoutrements, conveyed him to the enemy. The priſoner was no ſooner brought, than Baſſus directed that he ſhould be ſtripped, laid on the ground, and publicly whipped within view of thoſe in the city. The diſtreſsful ſituation of this youth afflicted the Jews to ſuch a degree, that the generality of them burſt into tears, and lamented his unhappy fate. Baſſus finding how exceedingly concerned the people in general were for the misfortunes of this one man, a thought ſtruck him that he hoped to improve to his advantage; for he conceived that if he could but encreaſe the ardor of their paſſions, they might be induced to purchaſe the life of Eleazar by a ſurrender of the place. The ſcheme ſucceeded to the height of his expectation: a croſs was erected, on which it ſeemed to appear that

that Eleazar was to be immediately crucified; but no ſooner was this croſs fixed, than the whole garriſon exclaimed, as with one voice, that "they "could no longer bear their ſufferings." Immediately hereupon Eleazar entreated them to conſider their own ſituation, and that of himſelf, who was ſentenced to an ignominious death: and he conjured them to deſiſt from contending againſt the ſuperior courage and ſucceſs of the Romans, to whoſe dominion all the world had ſubmitted.

Eleazar being of a diſtinguiſhed family, and having many friends and relations in the caſtle, their intereſt was exerted in ſupport of his earneſt ſupplication; ſo that, in the end, the beſieged, compaſſionating his caſe in a high degree, diſpatched deputies to the Romans, who were commiſſioned to offer the ſurrender of the caſtle, on the condition that Eleazar's life and liberty ſhould be granted him, and that the garriſon ſhould be permitted to diſpoſe of themſelves as they thought proper.

Baſſus readily conſented to theſe terms: but the people in the lower town, enraged to think that they had not been conſulted before the agreement was made, determined to ſecure themſelves by privately retreating in the night. Thoſe who were in the caſtle gave notice of this to Baſſus, as ſoon as the gates were opened; partly leſt themſelves ſhould be ſuſpected to have been concerned in the plot, and partly through envy of their aſſociates. Hereupon Baſſus attacked them: but the moſt gallant of thoſe who firſt got out made their eſcape; while the reſt, in number no leſs than one thouſand ſeven hundred, were ſlain, and their wives and children made ſlaves. Notwithſtanding the above-mentioned circumſtance, Baſſus gave Eleazar his liberty, and diſmiſſed the garriſon, agreeable to his contract.

CHAP. XXVI.

A number of Jews attacked, in the foreſt of Jardes, by Baſſus, who ſlays three thouſand of them. A poll-tax ordered to be paid by the Jews.

THE tranſactions above-mentioned being at an end, and Baſſus having received information that great numbers of the Jews who had effected their eſcape during the ſieges of Jeruſalem and Machæras, had aſſembled together, and retired to the foreſt of Jardes, he marched with his army immediately to that place; and on his arrival, found that the intelligence which had been brought him was true: wherefore he iſſued orders that his cavalry ſhould inſtantly ſurround the whole wood; which were ſo punctually obeyed that not a ſingle Jew could make his eſcape. In the mean time the infantry were employed to cut down the trees and buſhes which formed thoſe thickets under which the Jews had taken ſhelter; ſo that by this means they were deprived of all poſſibility of concealment, and had no hopes of ſafety but in cutting their way through the forces of the enemy. Being reduced to the alternative of periſhing, or taking this deſperate ſtep, they united in a body, and made a violent attack on thoſe who ſurrounded them, who received the aſſault with the utmoſt bravery. In a word, the raſhneſs excited by deſpair on the one ſide, and determined courage on the other, combined to ren-

der the engagement equally obſtinate and violent. In the end, however, the Romans obtained the advantage, with the loſs of only twelve men ſlain, and a ſmall number wounded; whereas every man of the Jews was killed in the action, amounting, in the whole, to the number of three thouſand. Among theſe was the commander in chief, named Judas, the ſon of Jair, of whom mention has been made in a former part of this work. This Judas was an officer during the ſiege of Jeruſalem, from whence he effected his eſcape through a ſubterraneous paſſage.

At this juncture the emperor ſent a letter to his officer Tiberius Maximus, commiſſioning him to expoſe the lands of the Jews to ſale, and declaring that he would not rebuild any of their cities, but ſeize them all to his own uſe. Tiberius was directed to leave eight hundred ſoldiers in Emmaus, which is ſituated about ſixty furlongs from Jeruſalem. The emperor likewiſe iſſued orders that the Jews ſhould pay a poll-tax of two drachmas annually; and this money was to be paid into the capitol, as ſimilar taxes had been formerly paid at the temple. Thus deplorably unfortunate was the ſtate of the Jews at the period of which I am writing.

CHAP. XXVII.

The misfortunes of Antiochus, king of Comagene, who is repreſented by Ceſennius as an enemy to Veſpaſian. Ceſennius makes an incurſion into Comagene. Antiochus determines not to return any act of hoſtility: but the Romans are encountered by his ſons Epiphanes and Callinicus. Antiochus retreating to Cilicia, his ſons are left to conſult their own ſafety. They are generouſly received by Vologeſes. Antiochus ordered to be ſent priſoner to Rome by Ceſennius; but ſet at liberty, and treated with great liberality by Veſpaſian. Antiochus and his two ſons conducted to Rome, where they recive the honors due to their rank. A number of confederate Scythians invade Media, and poſſeſs themſelves of immenſe property. Iuridates effects a ſingular eſcape.

IN the fourth year of the reign of the emperor Veſpaſian it happened that Antiochus, king of Comagene, and all his family, were involved in very conſiderable difficulties, which took riſe from the following circumſtance. Ceſennius Petus, who was at that time governor of Syria, ſent an expreſs to the emperor, informing him that Antiochus and his ſon Epiphanes, being determined to renounce their allegiance to the Romans, were in actual treaty with the king of Parthia: he therefore repreſented the neceſſity of putting a ſtop to the meaſure by an immediate interpoſition. Thoſe who heard of this information entertained great doubts of its being founded in fact: but, as the two kings above-mentioned were near neighbours, it would have been imprudent in Veſpaſian to have ſlighted the advice: and the danger was conſiderably encreaſed by Samoſata, the capital city of Comagene, being ſituated almoſt on the banks of the Euphrates; ſo that the Parthians, could paſs and repaſs at their pleaſure, and be at all times ſecure of a ſafe retreat.

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Whether the above-mentioned intelligence was well founded or not, Veſpaſian paid ſo much regard to it, that he left Ceſennius to act as he thought proper, directing that his own judgment ſhould be the rule of his conduct in the affair. Immediately hereupon Ceſennius began to exerciſe his authority: for calling to his aſſiſtance Ariſtobulus, king of Chalcis, and Sohemus, king of Emeſa, he made an incurſion into Comagene, with the ſixth legion, and ſeveral detachments of his cavalry and infantry, to the utter aſtoniſhment of Antiochus and his adherents, who had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of ſuch an invaſion. His entrance, therefore, met with no kind of oppoſition, for the inhabitants were wholly unprovided with means to repel the attack. It is not in the power of language to deſcribe how much Antiochus was ſurprized on receiving intelligence of this incurſion; for he had not entertained the ſlighteſt idea of forfeiting his good faith with the Romans.

In this extremity he came to the reſolution of abandoning his kingdom juſt in its preſent ſituation, and of taking with him his wife and children; which he thought would afford a full proof of his innocence, and that he had no intention of departing from his allegiance. Thus reſolved, he retired to a plain at the diſtance of about one hundred and thirty furlongs from the city, where he encamped. In the interim Ceſennius ſent a number of ſoldiers to take poſſeſſion of, and keep garriſon in Samoſata; and marched in perſon, accompanied by other forces, in purſuit of Antiochus, who could not be induced to take any violent meaſures to the prejudice of the Romans, notwithſtanding all theſe aggravations. In a word, he did nothing elſe than lament his misfortunes, and form the reſolution of ſubmitting to them with all the fortitude in his power.

However, Epiphanes and Callinicus, the ſons of Antiochus, being in the prime of youth, and celebrated for their military ſkill and courage, thought they were bound in honor to have recourſe to arms: wherefore they muſtered all the forces in their power, and gave battle to the Romans. The battle continued the whole day, and the young princes ſuſtained very little loſs: a proof that their conduct was equal to their courage.

Though the iſſue of this day's conteſt was greatly in favour of Antiochus; yet he ſtill held his former reſolution of retiring; wherefore he departed with his wife and daughters into Cilicia: and this reſolute determination, ariſing from a principle of integrity, and a ſenſe of conſcious innocence, afflicted his ſoldiers in the higheſt degree: they were almoſt abandoned to deſpair, on obſerving the deſpair of the king; and dreaded the thought of deſerting to the Romans, and leaving their prince in ſuch diſtreſs. With regard to Epiphanes and Callinicus, it became them to conſult their own ſecurity: wherefore they took with them eight ſelect friends, and all of them being well mounted, they croſſed the river Euphrates, into the dominions of Vologeſes, king of Parthia: and, on their arrival, this prince gave a proof of the magnanimity of his mind, not by treating them as vagabonds, but with all thoſe marks of diſtinction and reſpect which their high birth and rank demanded.

No ſooner had Antiochus arrived at Tarſus in Cilicia than Ceſennius diſpatched an officer to apprehend him, and conduct him a priſoner to Rome: but Veſpaſian, having too much generoſity to permit a ſovereign prince to be treated in ſo ignominious a manner, determined rather to ſhew a regard to the former friendſhip that had ſubſiſted between himſelf and Antiochus, than to take advantage of an imagined injury: he therefore ſent orders that his chains ſhould be taken off; that his journey to Rome ſhould be delayed; and that he ſhould remain ſome time at Lacedæmon; at which laſt place he furniſhed him with an ample ſupply of money, that he might be enabled to ſupport the dignity of his rank.

The brothers who had been in great fear and anxiety on the account of their father, were not only relieved from their apprehenſions, by this liberal behaviour towards Antiochus; but likewiſe entertained hopes that they might be themſelves reconciled to the emperor; and in theſe hopes they were encouraged by the interceſſion of Vologeſes, who ſolicited the permiſſion of Veſpaſian for their return to Rome: for though they had no reaſon to be uneaſy in their preſent ſituation, yet they were anxious to live within the pale of the empire. In a word, they went to Rome; and ſoon after their arrival their father was conducted thither; and they were all entertained in a manner expreſſive of the higheſt eſteem and regard.

A number of the people formerly called Scythians, but who were at this period known by the name of Olanes, and reſided (as hath been heretofore obſerved), near the river Tanais, and the lake of Mæotis, confederated with the king of Hyrcania to invade and lay waſte the country of Media. Now this king was maſter of the only paſſage into that country; and it is ſaid that Alexander had ſo contrived, that this paſſage ſhould be ſhut up with iron gates: but the paſſage being now laid open, and no ſuſpicion ariſing of what would happen, no reſiſtance could be made, and the invaders took poſſeſſion of the place, where, in cattle and other effects, they poſſeſſed themſelves of immenſe property. This incurſion ſo terrified Pacorus, at that time king of the country, that he left his poſſeſſions to the mercy of the invaders, and flying for refuge among the rocks, he at length redeemed his wife and concubines at the expence of a hundred talents.

The enemy now continued to preſs forward, ravaging and deſtroying through the whole courſe of their progreſs, without meeting with any oppoſition, till they came to the confines of Armenia, which was at that time governed by a king named Tiridates. In conſequence of this, Tiridates advanced and attacked them, and had a narrow eſcape from being taken priſoner; for during the battle the nooſe of a halter was thrown over his head, and his opponents were juſt on the point of drawing him away, when he had the preſence of mind to cut the rope with his ſword, by which he effected his eſcape. The invaders met with ſuch ſucceſs in this engagement that they became more violent and blood-thirſty than before; and were ſo encouraged in their depredations that deſtruction marked their ſteps; they depopulated the country; and took away with them a great booty in cattle, and an incredible number of priſoners.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The caſtle of Meſſada is governed by Eleazar. The Jews never ſo abandoned as at this period. The Sicarii ſet the example of wickedneſs, but are exceeded by John of Giſchala. Character of Simon, ſon of Gioras. The ſavage inhumanity of the Idumæans. The extreme wickedneſs of the Zelotes. The Sicarii in garriſon in Maſſada. The place is beſieged by Silva. Deſcription of the natural and artificial advantages of Maſſada. Silva advances with machines, and gets poſſeſſion of the rock named Leuce; but the engines not ſucceeding, he ſets fire to a wall compoſed chiefly of timber. Eleazar pronounces an oration on the contempt of death, and the immortality of the ſoul. His reflections on the philoſophers and Brachmans of India: recital of particular ſufferings of the Jews: he deems death more deſireable than life. The Jews join in a reſolution not to ſurvive their laws and liberties. They fix on a method of carrying this reſolution into execution. On the following day the Romans proceed to the attack, but find that the Jews had ſlain each other, and that the place was beſtrewed with dead bodies.

THE death of Baſſus, which happened in Judæa, made room for the advancement of Flavius Silva, who ſucceeded to his government. Silva being informed that all the country was in due ſubjection, one caſtle only excepted, he collected all the forces he was able, with a determination to make an attack on it. The name of this caſtle was Maſſada, and it was under the command of Eleazar, the leader of the Sicarii, who had obtained poſſeſſion of this fortreſs. Eleazar was the lineal deſcendant of Judas, who, at the time that Cyrenius diſcharged the office of cenſor in Judæa, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by oppoſing the Jews entering their names on the roll, as hath been mentioned in a former part of this work.

Now the Sicarii were the determined enemies of all thoſe who exhibited any proofs of their friendſhip to the Romans: and, in fact, they treated them like enemies: for they robbed them of their effects, drove away their cattle, and burnt their houſes. Their argument was, that thoſe men were to be conſidered as ſtrangers and enemies, who would rather reſign their liberties than contend for them, and choſe a ſtate of ſlavery rather than freedom, though freedom is a bleſſing above all price: they ſaid that perſons of ſuch a diſpoſition had better join the Romans without any farther ceremony. This, however, was a kind of language uſed only to diſguiſe the barbarity and avariciouſneſs of their diſpoſitions; as evidently appeared in the ſequel: for when thoſe very men, who had been thus branded as traitors to their country, afterwards united in the common cauſe againſt the Romans, they were treated even with more ſeverity than before: particularly thoſe among them who had courage and reſolution to oppoſe the hypocriſy and baſe practices of the Sicarii.

Since the commencement of the world there never was a period when the Jews were ſo totally abandoned to all kinds of vice as at preſent. They had practiced ſuch variety of wickedneſs that invention itſelf was loſt in the contrivance

trivance of new crimes. Corruption ſtalked at large, both in public and private: there appeared to be a harmony of evil; and if there was any emulation, it was who ſhould be guilty of the moſt atrocious acts of iniquity. Perſons in power oppreſſed the vulgar by every extravagant exertion of their authority; while the common people, in return, plundered them of their effects as often as they could find an opportunity.

This violent and licentious courſe of proceeding was firſt encouraged by the Sicarii, who, being determined on doing all the miſchief that lay within their power, loſt no opportunity either by word or deed, of exciting others to acts of deſperation. However, all that they did, or cauſed to be done, fell far ſhort of the outrageous cruelties of John of Giſchala, who ordered many of the citizens to be put to death, as if they had been enemies, merely becauſe they recommended ſuch modes of proceeding as would tend to the advantage of the public: in fact, he committed every poſſible outrage on his unhappy countrymen. And indeed what better could be expected from a man who made no ſcruple of conſcience of affronting even the Deity? And this he did, by the uſe of meats that were forbidden; by abandoning the laws and cuſtoms of our anceſtors; and by renouncing the purity of his original profeſſion. It is therefore not in the leaſt ſurprizing, that a man who could deſpiſe his God, ſhould behave with inhumanity to his neighbours.

Simon, the ſon of Gioras, was not leſs diſtinguiſhed by every ſpecies of vice that could diſgrace the name of a man: he inflicted the moſt horrid barbarities on thoſe very perſons who had raiſed him to power; who, having been born freemen, ſubmitted to the ignominy of becoming his ſlaves. In a word, the men above-mentioned were loſt to all thoſe affections ariſing from the ties of conſanguinity, and dead to every ſentiment of friendſhip. Their conduct was the moſt cruel to thoſe who had a prior right to their compaſſion; and they diſdained to exerciſe their tyranny over ſtrangers, while they had, what they thought, a more agreeable opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on their own friends and countrymen. Such was the unfeeling diſpoſition of their minds.

Nor were the crimes of the Idumæans much leſs atrocious. Theſe execrable villains aſſaſſinated the high-prieſts, in order, as far as lay in their power, to ſtrike at the very root of religion: they likewiſe confounded all good management in the city, deſtroyed even the appearance of juſtice and civil government, and eſtabliſhed tyranny and oppreſſion in their ſtead. Thoſe who were called Zelotes were particularly active in promoting the confuſions above-mentioned; and indeed their conduct gave them a juſt title to their name; for they were the moſt violent patrons and promoters of vice that ever exiſted, at the ſame time pretending to the utmoſt degree of virtue, and the moſt conſummate piety. In fact, they impoſed on all that liſtened to their doctrines, making evil appear as good, and good as evil.

In the end, however, the righteous vengeance of Heaven overtook, and puniſhed their crimes; for they ſuffered every calamity that human nature is capable of enduring; and theſe calamities continued during the whole

courſe of their lives. It may poſſibly be ſaid that the puniſhment they ſuſtained was inadequate to the crimes they had committed; and that no puniſhment could equal their offences: but as I do not intend to enter into the hiſtory of thoſe unhappy wretches who ſuffered by the vices of theſe monſters of iniquity, I ſhall here reſume the thread of my narrative.

The Roman general Silva now marched to lay ſiege to Maſſada, in which was a garriſon of the Sicarii, commanded by Eleazar, who was the chief of the people bearing that name. Silva ſoon poſſeſſed himſelf of the adjacent country, and with very little difficulty: he then diſpoſed of his troops in the moſt commodious manner poſſible, and ran up a wall round the caſtle, at once to ſecure his ſoldiers, and to prevent the eſcape of the enemy. He now looked out for a place the moſt convenient for the ſtation of his camp, which he found to be on the ſpot where the adjacent mountain communicated with the rock on which the caſtle ſtood. One great inconvenience now attended Silva; for the proviſions with which his army was ſupplied by the Jews were brought from a very great diſtance; and, as there was no fountain near the place, the procuring of water was likewiſe attended with very great difficulty.

As ſoon as the above-mentioned diſpoſition of affairs had taken place, Silva prepared to commence the ſiege, which, as will appear from the ſituation of the caſtle, was likely to coſt much time, and to be attended with great difficulty. This caſtle is ſituated on a large and high rock, which is ſurrounded by deep and craggy precipices. Thoſe who ſtand at the top cannot ſee the bottom, on account of the higher rocks hanging over thoſe that are beneath. Even the beaſts cannot climb this rock, ſo difficult is the acceſs, except by two paſſages, one of which is from the eaſt ſide, from the lake Aſphaltitis; and the other from the weſt ſide; the former being much more dangerous than the latter. One of theſe paſſages bears the name of the Snake, from the number of turnings that there are in the aſcent: for in many parts of it the ſtones ſo interſect each other, that paſſengers are obliged to go backwards and forwards to paſs them: and the road is ſo narrow that the traveller cannot keep both his feet on the ground at the ſame time. Excluſive of all this, one falſe ſtep would plunge a man to the bottom of a moſt horrid precipice. This road is deemed thirty furlongs from the bottom to the top of the mountain; and on this eminence there is a plain, on which the high prieſt Jonathan cauſed a caſtle to be built, to which he gave the name of Maſſada; and claimed the honor of being the founder of this caſtle, which was afterwards fortified and adorned, with immenſe labour, and at a large expence, by Herod the great: a wall being alſo built round it by Herod, eight cubits in breadth, and twelve in height, with white ſtones of conſiderable value. Herod likewiſe cauſed ſeven and twenty turrets, each of fifty cubits high, to be erected; and made a communication between theſe turrets and the buildings on the interior ſide of the wall. The nature of the ſoil of the plain being found to be extremely rich, Herod gave orders that it ſhould be well cultivated, with a view that thoſe who might, in future times, have occaſion to take refuge in the caſtle, might be certain

of being ſupplied with the neceſſaries of life. Within the limits of the caſtle he cauſed a ſumptuous and magnificent palace to be erected for his own accommodation. The entrance of this palace was ſituated ſo as to front the north-weſt: the walls of it were of great ſtrength, and remarkably high; and at each of the four corners was a tower, of the height of ſixty cubits. The variety, decorations, ornaments, richneſs and ſplendor of the ſeveral apartments, baths, and galleries exceed all deſcription. The whole was ſupported with pillars, each of one entire ſtone, and ſo diſpoſed, as to give proof of the ſtrength of the ſtructure, and the judgment of the architect. The pavement and the walls were diverſified with ſtones of a variety of colours. A great number of large ciſterns, hewed out of the rock, for the preſervation of water, were diſperſed in the different quarters of the palace to the caſtle, which was quite inviſible from the outſide; and, as hath been heretofore obſerved, the other paſſage was rendered altogether impaſſable: and with regard to the weſtern paſſage, it was totally blocked up by a tower that was erected in the narroweſt part of it, at about the diſtance of a thouſand cubits from the caſtle. This will ſerve to ſhew how ſtrongly the place was fortified by art as well as nature; and how difficult the conqueſt of it muſt have been, even with the ſlighteſt oppoſition.

Thus fortified, this caſtle had the appearance of being proof not only againſt force; but was unlikely to be ſubdued by famine; for, when it was ſurprized by Eleazar and the Sicarii, there were found in it great treaſures of corn, wine, oil, pulſe, dates, &c. equal to the conſumption of many years; and theſe articles were as freſh as if they had been but newly depoſited, though they had been treaſured up a hundred years. Perhaps this circumſtance might be owing to the extreme purity, and ſalubrious quality of the air in ſo elevated a ſituation.

Agreeable to the king's order there was likewiſe laid up a magazine of various kinds of arms for the accommodation of ten thouſand men; and alſo an immenſe quantity of unwrought iron, braſs, lead, and other articles, which it is preſumed, were intended for ſome capital enterprize.

Tradition has handed down to us a report that Herod provided this caſtle for a retreat, in caſe of neceſſity, from two evils which he thought threatened him: the one was that his ſubjects might depoſe him, and reſtore the Aſmonæan family to the throne: but the other was an affair of which there was much greater danger: for Cleopatra, queen of Ægypt, had formed a deſign againſt the life of Herod, of which ſhe made little ſecret. In ſeveral converſations which ſhe had with Anthony on this ſubject, ſhe avowed her deſign, and repeatedly urged him to give private orders for the deſtruction of Herod, and to permit her to govern the Jews in his ſtead, in the character of queen. Conſidering the paſſion that Anthony entertained for Cleopatra, it is aſtoniſhing that he denied her requeſt. Be this as it may, however, Herod, apprehenſive of the danger, fortified Maſſada ſo ſtrongly that there could be ſcarcely a hope of conquering it; and he knew that without poſſeſſion of it, the Jews could never be wholly ſubjected to the Romans.

I have already obſerved that the Jews were now ſo cloſely pent up within the walls of Maſſada, that it was utterly impoſſible that they ſhould effect an

an eſcape; whereupon Silva advanced with his machines, to the only place which he could fill up, in order to raiſe a mount. Beyond the tower which blocked up the weſtern paſſage to the palace and caſtle, there was a large rock, which bore the name of Leuce: this rock was larger than that on which the caſtle of Maſſada ſtood, but not ſo high by about three hundred cubits. Silva had no ſooer taken poſſeſſion of this rock, than he iſſued orders to his ſoldiers to raiſe a mount upon it; and they were ſo diligent in this buſineſs that they ſoon got it up to the height of two hundred cubits; but finding that it was not of ſufficient ſtrength to ſupport the machines, they raiſed on it a kind of platform, compoſed of large ſtones, fifty cubits in height, and of the ſame breadth. On this platform they built a tower of the height of ſixty cubits, which they fortified with iron. Excluſive of their common machines, they had another kind, which had been invented by Veſpaſian, and were afterwards improved by Titus.

From the tower above-mentioned the Romans aſſailed the beſieged with ſuch impetuous ſhowers of ſtones and flights of arrows, that they were afraid to appear on the walls. In the interim Silva directed his battering-rams againſt the wall, till at length it was damaged in ſome places. In conſequence hereof the Sicarii inſtantly ran up another wall behind it, which was compoſed of ſuch materials as to deaden the ſtroke, and ſuſtain no kind of damage. This wall was built in the following manner. A row of large pieces of timber was mortiſed into another of equal ſize, and a ſpace was left between them equal to the thickneſs of the wall. This ſpace was filled with the earth of the nature of clay, and boards were nailed acroſs the frame, to prevent the earth from falling. Thus prepared, it was as ſtrong as the wall of a houſe; and the more violently it was battered the ſtronger it became, the earth being more firmly cloſed by each ſtroke it received.

Silva finding that the battering with his machines did not produce the conſequence he expected, ordered his ſoldiers to provide themſelves with firebrands to deſtroy the works of the enemy. The new wall being hollow, and chiefly compoſed of timber-work, it immediately took fire, and the flames raged with the utmoſt violence: but the wind being at north, it drove the fire with ſuch rapidity on the Romans, that they expected the almoſt inſtant deſtruction of their machines: but, juſt at this juncture, the wind veered to the ſouth, and beat ſo violently on the wall, that the whole of it was in flames in a moment. The Romans, grateful for this providential ſtroke in their favour, returned to their camp, full of ſpirits, and with a fixed determination to attack the enemy by break of day on the following morning; and, in the mean time, to place ſtrong guards, that their opponents might not eſcape in the night.

However, Eleazar had no idea of departing himſelf, or of permitting any of his people to evacuate the place: but as the wall was now totally conſumed, and there appeared to be no longer any chance either of relief or ſecurity, it became neceſſary to conſider how their wives and children might be moſt effectually preſerved from the violences to be expected from the Romans, on their taking poſſeſſion of the place. Having ſeriouſly reflected on this affair,

affair, Eleazar determined in his own mind that a death of glory would be greatly preferable to a life of infamy; and that the moſt magnanimous reſolution they could form, would be to diſdain the idea of ſurviving their liberties. His own ſentiments being thus formed, he reſolved to endeavour to inſpire others with the ſame; and for that purpoſe he ſummoned a number of his friends and aſſociates, whom he addreſſed to the following effect.

" It has been, my friends, the uſual cuſtom with the people of our nation, to deny the authority of every other lord than the great ſovereign of " the univerſe, the eternal God; and this not with particular exception to " the Romans, or any other people. The period haſtily advances when we " ſhould demonſtrate our ſincerity by our conduct: wherefore let us act like " men of reſolution. Till this time we have run every riſk in preſervation " of our freedom: but we muſt now expect thraldom and tormenting pu- " niſhments if the enemy take us alive; ſince we firſt departed from their " dominion, and have been the laſt to reſiſt them. This being the caſe, we " may deem it a favour if we are permitted to chooſe the death we would " die; a favour that has been refuſed to many of our people. We ſhall all " be made ſlaves to-morrow, if we obtain not our liberty this night: but " this we may do in a way that our enemies cannot prevent. The utmoſt of " their ambition is to make us priſoners; and it is in vain for us to ſtruggle " againſt them any longer. It is poſſible ſomething effectual might have " been done, if the aſſertors of our liberties had properly reflected on our " ſituation: they would have ſeen that we could not have ſuffered from our " enemies, and from our internal diviſions; nor would our principal people " have been deſtroyed, and our ſacred city fallen a ſacrifice to fire and " ſword, if God had not abandoned us, though we were formerly his cho- " ſen people. How happens it now that we alone, of all our people, con- " tend for our liberties, as if we were innocent of the crimes in which we " have inſtructed others? You may now be convinced of the vanity of your " hopes, and the extremity of your diſappointments. We have here a for- " treſs that has been deemed impregnable, with a great number of arms, " and ample proviſions for our ſupport: but theſe avail nothing, ſince Pro- " vidence hath decreed our deſtruction. The wind and the fire that com- " bined to deſtroy our new wall furniſh a proof of this juſtice of this obſer- " vation: for you cannot think but that the ſudden turning of this wind was " intended as a puniſhment of the crimes of which we have been guilty to- " wards each other. Admitting, then, that our puniſhment is at once juſt " and inevitable, what remains but that we rather execute juſtice on our- " ſelves, than leave it to the victorious Romans to pour down on us the " vengeance of Heaven; thus acting, we ſhould ſecure the honor of our " wives, and protect our children from ſlavery. Let us copy the magna- " nimity of the Romans, make our own terms, and die free. But let us " firſt ſet fire to the caſtle, and melt down our gold and ſilver: and thus " the Romans, neither taking us priſoners, nor obtaining our treaſure, will " even regret the poſſeſſion of the place. I adviſe, however, that we leave " the neceſſaries of life undeſtroyed; to ſerve as a proof that we were not

" driven to this procedure by famine, but maintained our firſt reſolution of " dying rather than ſubmitting to ſlavery."

This ſpeech of Eleazar was received in a very different manner by his different auditors; ſome of whom were charmed with his propoſal, and ready to execute it, deeming death an object of deſire in their preſent ſituation; while others, from the tenderneſs of their nature, were equally terrified at the thought of deſtroying their friends, or becoming their own executioners. They regarded each other with looks of the utmoſt anxiety, while their flowing tears teſtified the ſentiments of their minds. Eleazar was greatly chagrined at what he deemed a weakneſs that degraded the dignity of his plan, and might tempt thoſe who had appeared to be determined to abandon their reſolutions. He therefore purſued his plan of exhorting the people; but in a different manner: for he now diſcourſed on the immortality of the ſoul; and addreſſing himſelf particularly, and with the utmoſt earneſtneſs, to thoſe who were weeping, he ſpoke to the following effect:

" I find that I have been greatly miſtaken in the opinion that I had form- " ed, that brave men would rather loſe their lives than their liberties. In " you, at leaſt, have I been miſtaken, ſince you fear to die, to extricate " yourſelves from a calamity that is worſe than death; and this too, while " you are ſo ſituated that delay cannot be admitted, nor have you time to " conſer on your affairs. It is an opinion confirmed by all antiquity; by " the ſacred ſcriptures; by the doctrine and practice of our anceſtors, and " the laws and cuſtoms of our country, that death renders a man abundant- " ly more happy than life. It is death that gives freedom to the ſoul, and " permits it to range through eternal regions of purity and bliſs. But " while the ſoul is in conjunction with the body, it partakes of all the evils " incident thereto; its powers are in a great degree ſuſpended, as there can " be no affinity between divine and mortal natures. It is true that much is " effected by the ſecret conjunction and operation of ſoul and body; for the " latter is but the inſtrument of the former. But when the ſoul is once diſ- " charged of the incumbrance that oppreſſes it, and regains its proper ſta- " tion, it enjoys the moſt unbounded liberty; a liberty that is as inviſible to " human eyes as the Deity himſelf: and the ſoul is likewiſe inviſible while " connected with the body. It enters us unſeen, and departs in the ſame " manner. It cauſes various changes in the body, though incorruptible in " itſelf: it gives life and vigour as long as it is preſent, but death immedi- " ately follows its departure. The ſoul, however, at all times retains its " immortality. When the body reſts from its labours in ſleep, the ſoul en- " joys the moſt perfect and delightful freedom. All this evidently proves " that the felicity of the ſoul is concentered within itſelf, and that it has " ſome kind of communication with the Deity, in the knowledge of future " events. It is abſurd that any man ſhould fear death who is not averſe to " repoſe. What man in his ſenſes would abridge any part of his eternal " happineſs, for the ſake of a ſhort reſidence in this world? The laws and " inſtitutions of our nation, my brethren, have taught us not only to de-

" ſpiſe the fear of death, but to endeavour to inſpire others with the ſame " degree of magnanimity.

" On this ſubject it cannot, ſurely, be neceſſary that I ſhould refer to the " practice of ſtrangers, or I might inſtance the conduct of the Indian philo- " ſophers and Brackmans, who were diſtinguiſhed by their wiſdom and vir- " tue. Theſe people deemed life a burden that muſt neceſſarily be borne; " though they were anxious to be rid of the incumbrance: not becauſe they " felt any ſingular uneaſineſs, pain, or inconvenience in this life; but be- " cauſe they looked forward to that life of immortality in which the happi- " neſs of the bleſſed ſhould be eternal. Theſe people take a ſolemn farewel " of their friends, and ſpeak with pleaſure of the country to which they are " travelling. No one preſumes to offer any objections to their deſign, but " wiſhing them the perfection of happineſs, ſend meſſages to their acquaint- " ance in the other world, in the full confidence that they will be delivered. " Thoſe who are about to depart, having received the neceſſary inſtructions, " commit their bodies to the fire, and are conſumed, amidſt the applauſes " and acclamations of the ſurrounding multitude: for among theſe people it " is cuſtomary for friends to follow each other to death with more pleaſure " than they would attend them on a common journey; rejoicing that they " are about to enter on a ſtate of eternal bliſs, and only commiſerating the " fate of thoſe who are to remain in this world.

" Ought not we then to bluſh at the idea of being excelled by the Indians " in an affair of ſuch great conſequence, and of ſcandalizing the laws and " religion of our anceſtors by the puſillanimity of our diſpoſitions? Let us " ſuppoſe, for the ſake of argument, that we had been otherwiſe inſtructed " from our infancy, and had been taught to think the preſent life the ſu- " preme bleſſing, and death the greateſt misfortune of human nature; yet, " one would imagine that the neceſſity of the caſe, and the will of Heaven " would determine us how to act on this occaſion. It appears that the ordi- " nations of a Divine Providence have decreed that we ſhould be now pu- " niſhed with the loſs of life, for our former abuſe of it: and it is not to the " benevolence of the Romans, nor to our own valour, that we are to aſcribe " our being preſerved to the preſent moment. It appeared that the Romans " conquered us; but this circumſtance evidently aroſe from the intervention " of a ſuperior power. The Romans do not appear to have interfered in " the leaſt in that deſtructive maſſacre at Cæſarea, when the citizens of that " place deſtroyed every man, woman and child of the Jews on the ſabbath- " day, though there were no grounds to think that a conſpiracy ſubſiſted, " nor was any reſiſtance made. The Romans have never conſidered the Jews " as their enemies, but when they departed from their obedience. It may " be ſaid that an enmity ſubſiſted between the citizens of Cæſarea and the " Jews: and that the former choſe to revenge themſelves in the manner a- " bove-mentioned. Allowing this, how are we to account for the Scytho- " politans joining the Greeks againſt us, rather than the Romans who were " then our friends? In conſequence whereof the Scythopolitans and their " families were utterly deſtroyed. This, in fact, was the manner in which

" they

" they expreſſed their gratitude; we had heretofore reſcued them from diſ-
" treſs, and they reduced us to a ſimilar extremity.

" To enumerate many particular inſtances would be tedious. You are
" not ignorant that we have been better treated by the Romans, than we
" have been by the inhabitants of any one city of Syria. But let me men-
" tion the horrid maſſacre at Damaſcus, where no leſs than ten thouſand
" Jews, with their wives and children, were put to death, without even the
" ſhadow of a pretence for ſuch an inhuman ſacrifice: and it is calculated
" that at leaſt ſixty thouſand Jews were deſtroyed in Ægypt. You may
" argue that, in a foreign country, where they had no friends to ſupport
" them, this is not to be wondered at. Let us therefore conſider the ſitua-
" tion of ourſelves at home. We have not wanted courage to aſſert our li-
" berties in oppoſition to the Romans; we have had a ſufficient ſupply of
" men and arms; our cities and fortreſſes were ſtrong; and we were in all
" reſpects ſo provided as to inſpire us with reaſonable hopes of ſucceſs. But
" what has been the iſſue, what are the fruits of all our preparations, but
" confuſion and deſtruction? We have loſt all the mighty ſtores of which
" we had boaſted, and our loſs has contributed only to aggrandize the
" enemy.

" Happy indeed are thoſe who fell glorioufly, with their ſwords in their
" hands, gallantly fighting in defence of thoſe liberties which they loſt but
" with their lives: Happy indeed! in compariſon with us who ſurvive, to
" be diſpoſed of as our different fates ſhall determine; ſome to be tortured;
" others burnt; others impriſoned; ſome to be reſerved for public ſpecta-
" cles; ſome for the combat; others to be whipped; and others again de-
" voured by wild beaſts. What man of a common ſpirit can refuſe to ſub-
" mit to death, rather than endure life under ſuch an accumulated load of
" miſery! Yet there are among us thoſe who are more contemptibly miſer-
" able than all the reſt; which are thoſe that behold the approach of wretch-
" edneſs in ſuch a variety of forms; yet have not the courage to be their
" own executioners.

" I beſeech you, my friends, to recollect yourſelves for a moment. Re-
" flect on the fate of your diſtinguiſhed metropolis; your walls, fortifica-
" tions, caſtles and towers; your large magazines and treaſuries, and your
" immenſe armies. Your ſacred temple is likewiſe deſtroyed, which you
" called the houſe of God. The whole is entirely demoliſhed, nothing re-
" maining but the ruins, which ſerve as a camp for the conquerors; while
" a few ancient men lament the deſtruction of the temple, and ſome unfor-
" tunate women wait upon the ſoldiers.

" After all that I have ſaid, will any one who is not deſtitute of the com-
" mon ſpirit of a man wiſh to view the riſing of another ſun? Nay, would
" he wiſh it, even if he might live in ſafety? Can any one have ſo little re-
" gard to his country; ſo mean, ſo contracted a ſoul, as not to regret that
" he has ſurvived to behold this fatal day? Happy would it have been for
" us if we had been all ſacrificed, rather than to have witneſſed this ſacri-
" legious deſtruction; and to have beheld Jeruſalem itſelf become a pile of
" ruins.

" ruins. While hope remained, however, our courage did not fail, and we " deſpaired not of a happy change in our affairs. But as we have now no " farther reaſon to expect ſo auſpicious a circumſtance, and as we are urged " by an invincible neceſſity to the ſtep we ought now to take, it becomes us " to have ſome regard to our wives, our children, and ourſelves; and in " the plan of our proceeding we ſhould be expeditious, while the means " are yet in our power. All men are equally deſtined to death; and the " ſame fate attends the coward as the brave. Can we think of ſubmitting " to the indignity of ſlavery; can we behold our wives diſhonoured, and " our children enſlaved? Nature has not made this neceſſary; and if the " evil ariſes, it muſt be from the force of cowardice, and the fear of dying " when we have it in our power. We had courage to abandon the Romans; " to defy thoſe who called themſelves our maſters; to reject their offered " terms of quarter and pardon, and to refuſe an indemnity when they " beſought us to accept of it. Will any one think that theſe circumſtances " will be forgotten, if they ſhould take us priſoners?

" It is a melancholy reflection to conſider the ſituation of our old people " or our youth when we are ſubjected: the former will die beneath their " torments, and the latter languiſh under them while ſtrength remains. The " huſband muſt expect to be an eye-witneſs of the diſhonour of his wife, and " the parent to behold his children begging for relief from their chains. " Yet, while freedom is our own, and we are in poſſeſſion of our ſwords, " let us make a determined uſe of them to preſerve our liberties. Let us " die freemen, glorioufly ſurrounded by our wives and children. This " event is wiſhed for even by themſelves: our laws require the ſacrifice; and " the decrees of Providence have rendered it neceſſary. Expedition, in " this caſe, muſt be uſed; and we ſhall obtain eternal renown by ſnatching " the prize from the hands of our enemies, and leaving them nothing to " triumph over but the bodies of thoſe who dared to be their own execu- " tioners."

Thus far had Eleazar ſpoken, and would have proceeded, but that the people interrupted him with the warmeſt expreſſions of their readineſs to adopt the plan he had recommended, each being ambitious to excel the other in giving this diſtinguiſhing proof of his wiſdom and courage: thus paſſionately were theſe people devoted to the deſtruction of themſelves and their families! It was very extraordinary that, when they came to give proof of their reſolution, not a man of them failed in the arduous trial. They retained their kindeſt affections for each other to the laſt moment, conceiving that they could not render a more acceptable office, or give a more perfect proof of their regard. While they embraced their wives and children for the laſt time, they wept over, and ſtabbed them in the ſame moment; rejoicing, however, that this work was not left to be performed by their enemies. They conſidered the neceſſity of the action as their excuſe, and reflected that they only deſtroyed their deareſt friends to prevent their falling by the hands of the Romans. In a word, there was not one man who wanted the neceſſary courage on the occaſion, and they killed their

dearest friends and relations without distinction: and they thought the destruction of their wives and children far preferable to the evils to which they would otherwise be exposed.

Those who had been the principal agents in the slaughter above-mentioned, penetrated as they were with grief for the necessity that had occasioned it, resolved not to survive those they had slain, and immediately collecting all their effects together, they set them on fire. This being done, they cast lots for the selection of ten men out of their number to destroy the rest: and these being chosen, the devoted victims embraced the bodies of their deceased friends, and then ranging themselves near them, chearfully resigned themselves to the hands of the executioners. When these ten men had discharged the disagreeable task they had undertaken, they again cast lots which of the ten should kill the other nine, having previously agreed that the man to whose lot it might fall, should sacrifice himself on the bodies of his companions; so great was the trust that these people reposed in each other. The nine devoted victims died with the same resolution as their brethren had done; and the surviving man, having surveyed the bodies, and found that they were all absolutely dead, threw himself on his sword, among his companions, but not till he had first set fire to the palace.

This melancholy scene, which happened on the fifteenth day of the month Xanthicus, was now concluded; and the deceased had imagined that not a single Jew would fall into the hands of the Romans: but it afterwards appeared that an old woman, and another woman who was related to Eleazar, together with five children, had escaped the general massacre, by concealing themselves in a common sewer. Including women and children, no less than nine hundred and sixty persons were slain on this occasion.

On the dawn of the following morning the Romans prepared their scaling-ladders, in order to make an attack: but they were astonished in the highest degree on not hearing any noise but the crackling of the flames, and were totally at a loss what conjecture to form. On this they gave a loud shout, (such as is customary when a battery is played off); in expectation of receiving an answer. This noise alarmed the women in their place of retreat, who immediately coming out, related the truth to the Romans, as it really had happened. The story, however, appeared so extraordinary that they could not give credit to it: but they exerted themselves in extinguishing the fire; and being employed in this service till they came to the palace, they there found the bodies of the deceased lying in heaps. Far, however, from exulting in the triumph of joy that might have been expected from enemies, they united to admire the steady virtue and dignity of mind with which the Jews had been inspired, and wondered at that generous contempt of death by which such numbers had been bound in one solemn compact.

CHAP. XXIX.

The factious disposition of the Sicarii. The Jews publicly arraign these people as the authors of all their misfortunes. None of the Sicarii will acknowledge the authority of the emperor, even for the preservation of their lives.

WHEN the Roman general Silva had made a compleat conquest of Massada, he settled a garrison in the place, and then proceeded with his army to Cæsarea, leaving the country behind him in a state of the most perfect tranquillity. By this time the continuance and expence of the war had so reduced and broken the spirits of the Jews of Judæa, that no such thing as opposition was to be heard of in all that district: yet the consequence of the war was felt as far as Alexandria in Ægypt, where a number of the Jews were put to death. It may not be improper to relate something respecting this affair.

Numbers of the factious Sicarii had fled for refuge to Alexandria, where their restless dispositions would not permit them to live at ease; but they were continually inciting the citizens to acts of disobedience, by advancing a number of arguments in defence of universal liberty, and decrying the doctrine of submission. They asserted that the Romans were by no means their superiors, and that they would own no lord but the Sovereign of the universe. When any persons, even the most respectable, of their own profession, opposed their arguments, they did it at the hazard of their lives. Some of these they murdered; and others they induced to abandon their allegiance; while a third sort were tempted so to do, but in vain. These practices were carried to such a length that the principal men among them were afraid to make an example of them; but they summoned a general meeting of the Jews, in which they arraigned the rash and obstinate conduct of the Sicarii, whom they represented as the great source of all their calamities. "What good purpose would be answered (said they) by obliging them "to fly, with a view to secure themselves? It would be no advantage to "them, and an injury to us: for the moment the Romans should be in"formed of such a design, they would immediately attack every one with"out distinction; so that the innocent would be involved in the punish"ment due to the guilty." For these reasons, the Jews were advised not to hold any correspondence with the Sicarii; but to consult their own safety by surrendering those villains to the Romans.

This representation so opened the eyes of the Jews to their own danger, that they made an instant attack on the Sicarii, six hundred of whom they made prisoners; while the rest fled to Ægypt, Thebes and the adjacent country; but they were soon taken and brought back; on which occasion they gave evident proofs of their obstinate resolution. They bore the severest torments rather than acknowledge the authority of the emperor; nor did any of them hesitate on the part they were to act; but they all combined in sentiment with such a degree of firmness, as if they had not felt the tor-

tures that were inflicted on them: but the moſt incredible part of the ſtory is, that the boys, and even mere children, ſuſtained their ſufferings like the older people: and ſtill not one of theſe people would acknowledge the authority of the emperor, notwithſtanding the extremity of ſufferings they endured: for inſtead of feeling their torments, they appeared to deſpiſe them.

CHAP. XXX.

Ptolemy is ſolicited by Onias to permit the Jews to build a temple, and to have the free exerciſe of their religion. Hereupon Ptolemy grants the requeſt, and gives the Jews a ſpot of ground for the purpoſe. The temple is built, but afterwards rifled and ſhut up.

ALEXANDRIA was at this time under the government of Lupus, who ſent early intelligence to the emperor of the commotion abovementioned; and the emperor being well apprized of the ſeditious temper of the Jews, thought it adviſeable to prevent their meetings and conferences, leſt they ſhould be divided into parties, and factions ſhould enſue; wherefore he commanded Lupus to deſtroy the temple of the Jews in the city of Onion in Ægypt; of which temple and its founder I ſhall now ſpeak.

At the period of the war betwixt Antiochus, king of Syria and the Jews at Jeruſalem, Onias, the ſon of Simon, one of the high-prieſts, was obliged to quit that city; whereupon he retired to Alexandria, where Ptolemy, king of Ægypt, treated him in a friendly manner; partly on account of his being an enemy to Antiochus, and partly in reference to the following contract which was made between them. Onias made one requeſt to Ptolemy, and engaged that, on condition he would comply with it, he would bring over all the Jews to his intereſt. Ptolemy promiſed his concurrence to the utmoſt of his power; on which Onias named his requeſt, which was that the Jews might be permitted to build a temple in ſome part of Ægypt; where they might worſhip God, and enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion: and Onias diſplayed the advantages that would thence ariſe; that Antiochus would become ſtill more obnoxious to the Jews, and Ptolemy altogether their favourite; adding, that immenſe numbers, tempted by the opportunity of enjoying their religious rights undiſturbed, would put themſelves under the protection of the latter.

This propoſal proving agreeable to Ptolemy, he preſented the Jews with a piece of ground which was well adapted for their intended deſign, ſituated in the diſtrict of Heliopolis, and one hundred and eighty furlongs from Memphis. On this ſpot Onias cauſed a caſtle to be erected, and when that was finiſhed, he built a temple; not indeed to be compared with that at Jeruſalem; though it had a tower on the ſame plan, ſixty cubits high, and was compoſed of ſtones of an immenſe ſize. It had likewiſe an altar built in the ſame form as that at Jeruſalem, and adorned with a number of valuable things which had been preſented thereto: it is true that there was no candleſtick;

ſtick; but inſtead thereof there was a golden lamp of amazing brightneſs, which hung before the altar, ſuſpended by a chain of gold. A wall of brick was built round this temple, the gates of which were of ſtone. And a large income in land and money was appropriated to its ſupport, that the ſervice of God might be celebrated in the moſt ſolemn and diſtinguiſhed manner. Now in this procedure Onias was inſpired not by mere motives of religion, or unaffected goodneſs of heart; but animated, in a great degree, by the enmity he bore to the Jews of Jeruſalem, who had obliged him to quit that place. By the erection of this temple he hoped to entice to him many of thoſe Jews who had abandoned him; and he was encouraged by reflecting on a prediction of the prophet Iſaiah, reſpecting a temple to be erected in future time in Ægypt, by a Jew; and on another prophecy of nine hundred and ſeventy years old, which would well bear a ſimilar interpretation.

This is the hiſtory of the building of the temple: but Lupus having received the commands of the emperor, as above-mentioned, went immediately to the place, ſeized on a number of the valuable preſents and offerings, and then ſhut up the temple. After the death of Lupus the government came into the hands of Paulinus, who ranſacked the temple, not only making prey of every thing he found therein, but threatening to puniſh the prieſts in the moſt exemplary manner, if they concealed a ſingle article. This being done, he aboliſhed all Divine worſhip, made faſt the doors, and would not permit any perſon to repair thither on account of religion. This event happened at the end of three hundred and thirty three years after the temple was firſt built.

CHAP. XXXI.

An enthuſiaſtic weaver, named Jonathan, ſeduces a number of people to follow him. The whole party routed, and moſt of them being taken priſoners, are ſent to Catullus; but Jonathan effects his eſcape: however, he is at length alſo taken, and ingratiates himſelf with Catullus. The rich Jews being accuſed by falſe witneſſes, no leſs than three thouſand are put to death. Jonathan himſelf becomes a falſe witneſs. Joſeph, the writer of this hiſtory, taken priſoner. Veſpaſian admits the innocence of Joſeph and his companions. Jonathan burnt alive, having been firſt whipped. The miſerable end of Catullus. Concluſion of this hiſtory.

THE whole country of Cyrene now felt the ill effects of the ſingular inſolence of the Sicarii, of which the following is a ſtriking inſtance. An enthuſiaſtic weaver, named Jonathan, a man of equal wickedneſs and cunning, made his eſcape into that country. This man enticed great numbers of weak and credulous people to follow him into the woods and deſarts, pretending that he would ſhew them viſions and wonderful prodigies; and many of the vulgar gave credit to the impoſition: but ſeveral of the moſt eminent Jews of Cyrene hearing of the affair, traced it to its ſource, and having learnt what rout the deluded people had taken, and the real ſtate of the caſe,

eaſe, they ſent immediate intelligence thereof to Catullus, governor of the Pentapolitan Lybia. Hereupon the governor diſpatched a body of cavalry and infantry, who intercepted them, and, as they were unarmed, made an eaſy conqueſt of them. Moſt of them were taken priſoners, and conveyed to Catullus; but conſiderable numbers were killed on the ſpot.

However, Jonathan, the ſeducer of theſe unhappy people, effected his eſcape. Diligent ſearch being made after him for a conſiderable time, he was at length apprehended, and ſent priſoner to Catullus: but he found a method of ingratiating himſelf with the governor, and while he diverted the ſtorm from falling on his own head, furniſhed the other with a pretence to direct it another way. This was to charge the richeſt Jews of the place with being the contrivers and promoters of the plot. Catullus was charmed with this ſcheme, however ill-founded, and reflected on it till he had in a manner declared war againſt the Jews in his own mind. What aggravated the wickedneſs of this avaricious governor was, that he not only pretended to believe the calumny, againſt the convictions of reaſon and common ſenſe, but likewiſe excited the Sicarii to join their endeavours for effecting the ruin of the innocent people. There was one Alexander, a Jew, to whom Catullus had long been a determined enemy; and having inſtructed falſe witneſſes to accuſe this man and his wife Berenice, they were put to death. Theſe were the firſt ſufferers by this ſcheme of iniquity: but ſoon afterwards no leſs than three thouſand perſons ſhared a ſimilar fate, at one time, through the baſe arts of perjury; all their crime being that they were men of character and fortune. Catullus left their eſtates as a forfeit to the empire, which he thought would ſecure, if not juſtify him, in appropriating their ready money to his own uſe.

Catullus, being now apprehenſive that the capital Jews in other parts might detect and reveal the vile plot of which he had been guilty, inſtructed Jonathan, and ſome other priſoners, to exhibit articles of complaint againſt ſuch of the Jews of Rome and Alexandria, as were moſt diſtinguiſhed for their unblemiſhed reputation. Among the perſons thus accuſed was Joſeph, the writer of this hiſtory. Catullus now repaired to Rome, taking with him, in chains, Jonathan and the reſt of his priſoners. He entertained no doubt but that all enquiry was at an end, and that every thing he had aſſerted would obtain full credit: but the event of the affair proved that his contrivance had not ſucceeded as he could have wiſhed: for Veſpaſian, entertaining great ſuſpicion, enquired diligently into the circumſtances of the caſe, in which he was aſſiſted by Titus, who adviſed him to declare the innocence of Joſeph and the other perſons accuſed. This was accordingly done, and they were ſet at liberty; while orders were given that Jonathan ſhould be whipped, and then burnt alive; and this ſentence was executed in its utmoſt rigour.

Veſpaſian and Titus were ſo merciful to Catullus, that, for the preſent they permitted him to eſcape unpuniſhed: but ſoon after this event he was attacked with a variety of diſeaſes. His limbs were filled with pain, and his bowels with tormenting gripes: but the aggravated horrors of his mind

greatly exceeded his bodily sufferings. He was haunted by the ghosts of those he had murdered, beheld their apparitions, and heard their outcries. He would frequently start from his bed, and shriek out, as if he were burnt in the fire, or tortured on the rack. His torments encreased, till at length his bowels putrified, and fell from his body. Thus ended the life of this wicked man, who fell an exemplary sacrifice to the rigour of Divine vengeance.

Thus concludes this history of the Wars of the Jews and Romans, which I have endeavoured to execute in a candid and faithful manner, for the information of those who chuse to be acquainted with so interesting a series of events. The reader must judge how far I have succeeded as to the manner in which I have conducted the narrative: but as to the truth of the relation, I solemnly declare that I have, to the best of my abilities, most rigidly adhered thereto, in every page of the preceding work.

END of the WARS of the JEWS.

PHILO'S

PHILO's EMBASSY

TO THE

EMPEROR CAIUS CALIGULA,

FROM THE

JEWS OF ALEXANDRIA.

PREFATORY DISCOURSE,

CONCERNING

The NATURAL FRAILTY of MAN,

AND

The GOODNESS, POWER, PROVIDENCE and GRANDEUR of the ALMIGHTY.

WILL the time never arrive when the experience and knowledge of age will ſupercede the folly of youth! When we have arrived to the age of fourſcore, and our heads are overſpread with grey hairs, ſhall we ſtill continue to act like children! What can be more abſurd than to place a dependance on fortune, which is ſubject to continual variation and uncertainty, and neglect the dictates of reaſonable nature, which is fixed in abſolute immutability? Is it not to invert and confound the juſt order and value of things to conſider thoſe as certainties which are every moment liable to change, and neglect thoſe which in their nature are incapable of alteration and decay. The reaſon of this error is, that preſent objects ſtrike men of weak diſcernment, whoſe ſphere of obſervation is too contracted to reach thoſe at a diſtance: and people of this character depend more on the evidence of the ſenſes, however deceiving, than on the operations of judgment: but the reaſoning faculties muſt be employed to form ideas reſpecting future events and the nature of inviſible things. The eye of the ſoul, however, is by far more penetrating and quick than that of the body, excepting when its power is deſtroyed by an intemperate indulgence of luxury in eating and drinking, or, which indeed may be juſtly conſidered as the

greateſt misfortune, by ignorance and ſtupidity, naturally proceeding from the neglect of rouſing the mental faculties from a ſtate of ſhameful inactivity.

So numerous and wonderful have been the events that have occurred in our own days that it is unneceſſary to recur to the hiſtory of ancient times to prove the exiſtence of an over-ruling Providence, which protects all people of virtue and piety, but particularly thoſe who adore and ſerve the Almighty with due humility and veneration. The Chaldeans call ſuch people Iſraelites, ſignifying that they are the beholders of the Lord; which is a bleſſing infinitely ſuperior to all the riches of the univerſe.

If we are inſpired with awe, and diſpoſed to a modeſt and reſpectful deportment, by the preſence of a father, a governor, or a preceptor, what glorious advantages may we not promiſe to ourſelves in exalting our imaginations beyond all earthly creatures, and familiarizing our ſouls to the contemplation of an uncreated Being in the perſon of the Almighty, whoſe bleſſedneſs, beauty and goodneſs infinitely tranſcend every idea we can form of perfection. It is not poſſible for words to give an adequate deſcription of the Supreme Being, who is ſo far above our weak conception that, if we advance, by the ſcale of his attributes, with a view to ſearch into the nature of the Great Origin of things, the myſtery ſtill appears utterly incomprehenſible. If the ſentiments of the whole creation were to be declared by one tongue no juſt explanation could be given of his omnipotence manifeſted in the formation of the world; his ſupreme dignity and providential wiſdom, by which it is governed; and his unerring juſtice in the diſtribution of puniſhments and rewards. The Divine vengeance is even to be accounted among the things which operate to the benefit of mankind; for it affords us a conſciouſneſs of our delinquency, and deters us from regulating our conduct in compliance with wicked examples.

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TO THE

EMPEROR CAIUS CALIGULA.

CHAP. I.

The great and uninterrupted felicity of the first seven months of the reign of the emperor Caius Caligula, the successor of Tiberius.

UPON the decease of Tiberius the imperial dignity devolved to Caius Caligula, who may justly be considered as affording a most striking instance in confirmation of the sentiments given in the above introductory discourse. When this prince assumed the throne the Greeks and Barbarians, soldiers and burghers, lived in a state of brotherhood, and in the mutual interchange of the offices of affection and friendship; and a profound tranquillity prevailed both by sea and land in all the provinces in the different quarters of the globe. The happiness of Caligula was so extraordinary as almost to

to exceed credibility; for the profusion of the good-fortune which he enjoyed exceeded his most sanguine hopes. He possessed an immense treasure in coin, gold and silver manufactured into articles of use and ornament, and a great quantity of those valuable metals unwrought. His force both by sea and land was prodigious; and the source of his revenues was inexhaustible; for every inhabited part of the world contributed towards the expences of his government. The Euphrates and the Rhine are the two rivers which formed the boundaries of his empire; the first bordering upon Germany and other barbarous nations; and the other upon the countries of the Parthians, the Sarmatians, the Scythians, &c. who were people equally uncivilized with those of Germany. Upon the continent, as well as in the islands, nothing was known but the most perfect happiness; for the people of Rome and Italy, and those of the several provinces of Europe and Asia, passed their time in a kind of uninterrupted festival. In short, no instance could be produced wherein people had enjoyed such remarkable ease and freedom under any other prince, or had in other respects been so peculiarly favoured with the blessings of Providence. People in general had such considerable portions of all those advantages which contribute to form the happiness of life, that they had no desires remaining ungratified. In the several villages, towns and cities, altars, victims, sacrifices, men clothed in white and adorned with garlands, horse-racings, musical concerts, merry-meetings, dancing to the lute and harp, and all other kinds of entertainments and recreations that can be conceived were to be continually met with; while the countenances of the people fully expressed the joy and satisfaction of their hearts. In short, such was the abundance of all the necessaries and conveniences of life, and so universal were the contentment and pleasure, that debtors and creditors, domestics and their superiors, common people, and those in exalted stations were equally happy; and it appeared as if the poetical description of Saturn's golden age was realized. This state of general felicity continued during the first seven months of the reign of Caligula.

CHAP. II.

In the eighth month of his reign Caligula is attacked by a dangerous distemper; in consequence of which the inhabitants of the different provinces are deeply concerned; but the recovery of the emperor proves a circumstance productive of joy equal to their former affliction.

HAVING abandoned that temperate and healthful course of living which he had strictly adhered to in the time of his successor Tiberius, and having indulged himself by unseasonable bathing, immoderate eating and drinking, and all the luxuries, riotous excess and liberties of the court, in the eighth month of his reign Caligula was attacked by a violent and dangerous disease. To such an excess did he carry his intemperance that, unsatisfied with immoderate eating and drinking, it was his custom to take emetic draughts in order that, by clearing his stomach, he might the sooner

return to the indulgence of luxury. He was violently addicted to every ſpecies of the moſt abominable ſenſuality, and practiced uncleanneſſes with either ſex; for, according to the impulſes of his depraved inclinations, he gratified the common paſſion in an intercourſe with the other ſex, and that unnatural luſt, the bare mention of which cannot fail to fill the minds of thoſe who poſſeſs the ſmalleſt veſtiges of the principles even but diſtantly allied to virtue with aſtoniſhment, horror and deteſtation. In ſhort, his ungovernable and ſenſual appetites led him into every kind of debauchery that could tend to the deſtruction of the union between ſoul and body; for as the bleſſings of ſound health and vigour of body are the natural conſequences of temperance and regularity; ſo on the contrary, debility, diſeaſe and death are produced by an unreſtrained indulgence of inordinate deſires.

The emperor's diſtemper ſeized him in the beginning of autumn, at which ſeaſon the ſhips employed in trading to different quarters of the globe, which could not winter in foreign parts, were under the neceſſity of ſailing for their reſpective countries. By means of the ſhipping intelligence of the emperor's dangerous indiſpoſition was in a ſhort time communicated to all parts of the world; in conſequence whereof a general mourning and lamentation took place of the ſatisfaction and pleaſure that the people had uninterruptedly enjoyed till the arrival of the afflicting news. The towns and houſes were filled with affliction and mourning, in proportion to the great happineſs they had before enjoyed: the indiſpoſition of the emperor proved the ſource of great affliction to the ſeveral provinces, who, indeed, were more ſeverely troubled than Caligula himſelf; for he only ſuffered corporeal pain, while the people laboured under the moſt exquiſite diſtreſs of mind, being terribly apprehenſive that the peace they had ſo long enjoyed would be interrupted, and that their lives, liberties and poſſeſſions would be ſubjected to the moſt imminent danger; and they reflected that the death of princes was generally followed by war, famine, depopulation, rapine, impriſonment and other dreadful calamities; and theſe conſiderations encreaſed their uneaſineſs nearly to a ſtate of deſpair. In ſhort the recovery of Caligula was the only circumſtance in which they could place the ſmalleſt hopes of future ſecurity or happineſs.

The emperor now began to recover his former ſtate of health; and the happy news of this event was immediately tranſmitted to the moſt diſtant quarters of the univerſe; for fame travels with the rapidity of lightening. The grateful information reſpecting the encreaſing health of Caligula created in the people the utmoſt impatience for the news of his perfect recovery; and, at length, by divers expreſſes they learnt that he was entirely reſtored to his former ſtate of health and vigour; in conſequence of which the ſeveral provinces immediately recovered their tranquillity and happineſs; and this was the caſe with the inhabitants of the iſles as well as the people upon the continent. In fine, the memory of man could not produce an inſtance where the preſervation of a particular prince had been productive of ſuch univerſal tranſports of joy to any people or nation as were manifeſted on occaſion of the recovery of Caligula. It appeared as if, by a momentary

tranſition, the people had been removed from a ſtate of barbariſm to that of ſociable and civil life; from the diſorder and confuſion of deſarts to the regularity of political communities; and theſe were the conſequences which the people experienced upon imagining that ſince Caligula was recovered, they ſhould ſtill enjoy the happineſs of living in ſubjection to, and under the protection of, their generous and lawful ſovereign. But people immoderately rejoiced in their ſuppoſed good fortune, without conſidering on how very precarious a foundation their hopes of happineſs were built.

CHAP. III.

The emperor Caligula proves himſelf a monſter of tyranny. His ingratitude towards his predeceſſor in barbarouſly compelling Tiberius to become his own executioner.

IN a ſhort time the conduct of Caligula afforded a convincing proof that mankind are apt to form erroneous judgments and adopt wrong meaſures; and that their actions are more generally the reſult of precarious opinion than the conſequence of a real knowledge as to the certain ſtate and nature of things.

The profuſion of bounties and favours which he had diſtributed in all parts of Europe and Aſia had acquired Caligula the reputation of being the moſt illuſtrious character that had been known, whether he was conſidered as a public or a private benefactor: but this prince ſo far degenerated from that ſpecimen he afforded in the early part of his reign, whence it was univerſally concluded that he would prove a moſt glorious example to all future ſovereigns, as to become a moſt execrable monſter of tyranny and cruelty: or, perhaps it would be moſt proper to ſay, he diveſted himſelf of the maſk of hypocriſy, and betrayed to the world his natural tyrannical, malevolent and cruel diſpoſition.

The emperor Tiberius had a grandchild, the offſpring of his ſon Druſus; and this grand child received the name of Tiberius; and Caius Caligula, the nephew of the emperor Tiberius, was the deſcendant of Germanicus. In preference to the young Tiberius the emperor nominated Caligula to the imperial ſucceſſion, on the condition that he ſhould acknowledge the great obligation of his advancement to the throne by obſerving a due reſpect and attention towards his kinſman. But Caligula, inſtead of being touched with gratitude upon his advancement by adoption to that dignified ſtation which Tiberius had a right to enjoy in virtue of his birth, carried his inhumanity to ſuch an exceſs as to cauſe the death of his near kinſman, the coheir of the throne and the immediate ſucceſſor of the emperor Tiberius, under the pretext that the youth had engaged in a conſpiracy for depriving him of life. The tender age of Tiberius conſtituted a ſufficient proof that the accuſation adduced againſt him was founded in utter improbability. It was the generally received opinion that had Tiberius been but a few years older, he would indiſputably have been appointed the ſucceſſor of his grandfather, who, it was alſo ſuppoſed, would have removed Caligula, againſt whom he had already conceived ſome jealouſy.

Caligula

Caligula adopted the following means with the execrable view of effecting the deſtruction of young Tiberius, with whom common juſtice ſhould have inſtructed him to jointly ſhare the ſovereignty. He ſummoned Tiberius into his preſence, and aſſembled a council of his friends, to whom he addreſſed a diſcourſe to the following purpoſe:

"Towards this youth (meaning Tiberius) I entertain not only that regard which is due to him as being my couſin german, but I even eſteem him with the utmoſt tenderneſs of a brother; and there is nothing I more anxiouſly deſire than to admit him to an equal ſhare of the ſovereignty, in compliance with the laſt will and teſtament of his grandfather. But, alas, we are all fully ſenſible that youth and inexperience are unequal to the weighty cares of government. The tender age of Tiberius renders it neceſſary that he ſhould be placed under the direction of a governor. Would it not then be an inſtance of extreme imprudence to inveſt the youth with a commiſſion for the exerciſe of authority over others? But that his time of life is an impediment, I would joyfully divide with Tiberius the ſovereign dignity; whereby I ſhould relieve myſelf from one part of the laborious office of governing ſo many nations, and render leſs formidable the danger I am continually expoſed to of ſinking under the burthen of public adminiſtration. So great is my affection for Tiberius that I here ſolemnly pledge myſelf to receive him as a ſon and a pupil, and faithfully to acquit myſelf towards him in the characters of a father and a governor; and, let it be obſerved, that from this moment he is to be conſidered as being under my particular and immediate protection."

This artful addreſs ſo powerfully operated upon the auditors as to remove every obſtruction to the abominable deſign which Caligula had conceived of effecting the ruin of the young prince. His harangue, inſtead of confirming the adoption, and ſecuring to Tiberius the dignity which by virtue of his birth he had a right to enjoy, effectually excluded him from the benefit of the grant which had been paſſed in his favour: and Caligula had now a full power and opportunity of putting his treacherous deſigns againſt Tiberius into execution, without fear of control or oppoſition; for the Roman law inveſts parents with an abſolute authority over their children, and gives to the ſupreme magiſtrate an equally abſolute and uncontrolable power over the people. To effect his infamous purpoſe, therefore, Caligula had only to accuſe Tiberius of being an enemy, and to conduct himſelf towards the youth accordingly. In ſhort, this mode of behaviour he adopted; nor was he touched with compaſſion on account of the tender age of his kinſman, the circumſtance of having known him from his earlieſt years, his exalted birth, and the education he had received, as the apparent heir to the throne. Upon the deceaſe of Druſus, Tiberius was conſidered rather as the immediate ſon than the grandchild of the emperor.

It is related of Caligula that, in the accompliſhment of his cruel deſign againſt Tiberius, he commanded the youth to become his own executioner in the preſence of a number of tribunes and centurions, who were prohibited from aſſiſting him in the action: and the pretence of the barbarous tyrant on this

this occaſion was, that it would prove a circumſtance derogatory to the imperial dignity if the blood of the deſcendants of royalty was permitted to be ſpilt by any but royal hands. Caligula was ambitious of the reputation of being a moſt rigid obſerver of legal forms, though he ſcrupled not to commit murder, and offer other moſt daring violations againſt all the laws of God and man; and to conceal his enormous wickedneſs he had recourſe to an abominable hypocriſy in pretending that he acted under the influence of a religious intention.

This unhappy and innocent young prince who had never been witneſs to the ſpilling of blood, either in real engagements or the repreſentations of battles, which during the times of peace are practiced by the military people, preſented his throat to the ſpectators, entreating them reſpectively to put an end to his life: but they all declined a compliance; in conſequence of which he took a poniard, and requeſted to be informed to what part of his body he could moſt effectually direct the weapon to put a ſpeedy period to a miſerable exiſtence. They inſtructed him where to ſtrike, and he inſtantly followed their directions, continuing to repeat his ſtrokes while his ſtrength remained. Thus did the tyranny of Caligula urge Tiberius to the deſperate extremity of depriving himſelf of life.

CHAP. IV.

Macro, commander of the Pretorian troops, expoſtulates with Caligula on the impropriety of his conduct. The tyrant puts both Macro and his wife to death, notwithſtanding his being indebted to the former for the frequent preſervation of his life, and for his exaltation to the ſovereignty.

HAVING effected the deſtruction of Tiberius, whom he had conſidered as the only perſon likely to become a competitor for the poſſeſſion of the ſovereign dignity, Caligula imagined that there now remained no man of ſufficient conſequence to raiſe a party againſt him, or to interrupt him in the tyrannical exerciſe of government: and he determined that Macro, the commander of the Pretorian bands, ſhould be the next object of his cruelty and ingratitude.

Caligula was indebted to Macro for many important ſervices after his advancement to the throne; but his zealous endeavours in favour of the emperor are not to be conſidered as any evidence of extraordinary attachment; ſince it will be found that court-paraſites are ever attendant upon perſons in exalted ſtations, whoſe inclinations it is the buſineſs of their lives to conſult and gratify. While Caligula remained in a private ſtation, however, he received many inſtances of friendſhip from Macro; and it was principally through his influence that Tiberius was induced to nominate Caligula as the ſucceſſor to the imperial dignity.

The emperor Tiberius being a man of long experience in the world, and of an uncommon ſagacity and depth of penetration, it will conſequently be

ſuppoſed that he poſſeſſed a knowledge of the human heart; and indeed he was in this point inferior to no man of his time. Tiberius conceived a very ſtrong ſuſpicion and jealouſy that Caligula was an inveterate enemy to the whole Claudian family, and that if he entertained any tenderneſs of regard towards any of thoſe with whom he was connected by the ties of conſanguinity, his affection was confined entirely to his relations on his mother's ſide: and hence he became exceedingly diſtreſſed on account of his grandchild, whom, after his deceaſe, he feared might be expoſed to great difficulties and danger. He conſidered Caligula as wholly unequal to the important office of governing ſo extenſive an empire, deeming him, from the inconſiſtency of his words and actions, and the levity of his general behaviour, to be diſqualified from ſucceſsfully engaging in undertakings wherein ſolidity of judgment and patient fortitude were required; and, in ſhort, ſo volatile and uncertain was his conduct as to poſſeſs people with an opinion that he was infected with ſome degree of lunacy.

Macro uſed every poſſible means to remove the unfavourable impreſſions that Tiberius entertained reſpecting Caligula; giving the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that he held the perſon and dignity of the emperor in the higheſt deference and veneration; aſſerting that he cheriſhed a moſt tender regard and reſpect for his kinſman, and had repeatedly declared that he would gladly reſign in his favour every pretenſion to the right of ſucceeding to the throne; adding that it was the misfortune of Caligula to have the natural modeſty and reſerve of his temper interpreted into a want of ſpirit and diſcernment. Theſe perſuaſions did not operate with the deſired effect upon the emperor; and when Macro perceived this, he propoſed to engage his own perſon as a ſecurity that Caligula would not prove unworthy of the encomiums which he had paſſed upon him. Macro having in many inſtances approved himſelf a man of fidelity and diſcretion, and manifeſted his firm attachmeet to Tiberius in the diſcovery of, and rendering abortive the conſpiracy of Sejanus, there appeared no reaſon to entertain the leaſt doubt of his honor in the preſent mediation.

Macro was ſo indefatigable in promoting the intereſt of Caligula that he availed himſelf of every opportunity of influencing Tiberius in his favour, by aſſiduouſly endeavouring to defend him againſt uncertain ſuſpicions and ſurmiſes, indeterminate accuſations and prejudicial reports. In ſhort, had Caligula been his own brother, or even his ſon, he could not have laboured with a more unremitting attention in his ſervice. Many were of opinion that Macro exerted his intereſt with the emperor in conſideration of the great deference and reſpect obſerved towards him by Caligula: but a ſtill greater number ſuppoſed Macro's conduct to proceed from the perſuaſions of his wife; alledging that, being engaged in an intrigue with Caligula, ſhe was induced, by private reaſons, inceſſantly to urge her huſband to ſuffer no occaſion to eſcape of rendering proofs of friendſhip to the young man: and it is known that it is ſcarcely poſſible to reſiſt the perſuaſive addreſs of an artful woman.

Being entirely ignorant and unſuſpicious of his wife's infidelity, Macro believed her careſſes to be proofs of the violence of her affection: and the inſinuating artifices practiſed upon him operated ſo powerfully that he conſidered the very perſons who were treacherouſly labouring to deſtroy his happineſs as bearing towards him the moſt ſincere and exalted friendſhip.

Having manifeſted his attachment to Caligula by repeatedly affording him relief in great extremities, wherein his life was in the moſt imminent danger, Macro conceived that his many and ſignal ſervices entitled him to ſome authority, and that he might thence preſume to ſpeak with more freedom than would be conſiſtent with the ſituation of any other perſon. Macro was exceedingly anxious to prevent Caligula from indulging inclinations that would be productive of miſchievous conſequences, and to guard his mind from being corrupted by the example and influence of others: and in this inſtance his conduct bore ſome reſemblance to that of an ingenious artiſt who is ſolicitous to preſerve his productions in a laſting ſtate of perfection.

When he perceived Caligula aſleep at table, it was his cuſtom to rouſe him, and to obſerve that, beſides being indecent, his indulgence argued an high degree of imprudence, ſince it expoſed him to the power of any perſon who might conceive the horrid deſign of perpetrating an aſſaſſination; when dancers and tumblers ſo engroſſed the emperor's attention that he could not refrain from an imitation of their geſtures and attitudes; when he gave way to violent burſts of laughter at the groſs conceits and vulgar jokes of a ſtage-buffoon; or condeſcended to accompany the fingers or performers on muſical inſtruments; Macro, on theſe occaſions, if he happened to be ſeated near him, never omitted his endeavours to diſcourage him by a wink expreſſive of his meaning, touching him with his elbow, or by ſome other private intimation; and he ventured farther than any other man would have done in expoſtulating with him to the following effect:

" Believe me, ſir, that by abandoning yourſelf to the pleaſures of the " ſenſes, like people of an inferior rank, you muſt neceſſarily diſgrace your " exalted character. It is a duty you owe to your own character to render " yourſelf as much diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of mankind by a uniform " dignity of conduct, as you are ſuperior to them by your royal ſtation. " Can a more glaring inſtance of impropriety be produced than that of the " ſovereign of the univerſe directing his principal attention to, and deriving " his greateſt ſatisfaction from, ſinging, dancing, the agility of tumblers, " the inſipid jeſting of buffoons, and other amuſements equally frivolous and " contemptible? It is the buſineſs of royalty, at all times, and on every oc- " caſion, to maintain the imperial dignity; to act, as a prince over the peo- " ple, with the ſolicitude of a ſhepherd over his flock; and to be continu- " ally adding ſome improvement to his character, that he may daily ap- " proach nearer to the perfection of human nature. Permit me, ſir, to add " that, when you attend at the circus, the theatre, or other places for the " exhibition of public ſpectacles, or the performance of exerciſes, the en- " tertainments themſelves are not what ſhould engroſs your principal atten- " tion, which ſhould be directed to the labour, ingenuity and care employed

" by thoſe whoſe occupation it is to provide for the public amuſement; and " thence you will naturally ſuggeſt to yourſelf arguments to the following " effect: Since people employ ſuch attention upon matters which do not " operate to the advantage of mankind, and have no view in their undertak- " ings but the amuſement of the public, deeming themſelves amply recom- " penced if their endeavours to pleaſe ſecure the approbation and applauſe " of the ſpectators; muſt not a prince then promiſe himſelf infinitely greater " ſatisfaction in the due adminiſtration of government, which is an office ſo " much more noble and important? Human nature is not capable of greater " dignity of character than is ſhewn in the man who proves himſelf equal to " the arduous taſk of government: he cauſes the lands to be properly culti- " vated; encourages navigation; and eſtabliſhes a commercial intercourſe " between the provinces, whereby they reciprocally ſupply each other with " all the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life. To interrupt this happy and " advantageous communication it muſt be allowed that envy and jealouſy " have diſperſed their malignancy among ſome particular perſons, and even " throughout a few towns; but ſo far from the whole univerſe having re- " ceived the poiſon, the majority thereof is wholly free from the infection. " But ſince the advancement of your illuſtrious family to the royal dignity " the evil in queſtion has decreaſed in a ſurprizing degree; and thoſe mon- " ſters of iniquity who inſolently dared to interrupt the harmony of cities and " towns are now compelled to ſeek their ſecurity, like ſavage beaſts, in ca- " verns and other ſecret places; and we now enjoy an advantageous and " happy intercourſe with all quarters of the globe, over which you are in- " veſted with the ſupreme earthly authority. We may compare the univerſe " to a mighty ſhip, and ſay that Providence has committed the rudder to " your charge, and conſequently rendered you anſwerable for the ſafety of " the veſſel and the good of mankind. Permit me, therefore, to obſerve " that it is your indiſpenſable duty to maintain an unremitting ſolicitude in " the diſcharge of the important commiſſion with which you are inveſted; " and that the proſperity and happineſs of the people ſubject to your domi- " nion are the great objects to which you are bound to direct your principal " attention, and the ſources whence you muſt derive thoſe comforts which " contribute to form the moſt perfect happineſs that the nature of a ſubla- " nary ſtate will admit. Conſiderable advantages both to the public and in- " dividuals may reſult from a mutual interchange of friendly offices among " perſons in the inferior ſtations of life: but the bleſſings of peace, eaſe, " freedom and happineſs of a people muſt alone depend on the bounty, diſ- " cretion, ſagacity, juſtice and paternal care of the prince. The ſovereign " who would reign with honor to himſelf and advantage to his ſubjects muſt " poſſeſs a capacious ſoul, and his bounties muſt be confined within no li- " mits but thoſe preſcribed by prudence, which will ſuggeſt the neceſſity " of keeping a conſtant reſerve ſufficient for obviating the exigencies inci- " dental to government."

Thus, with a view to effect a reformation in his conduct, did Macro expoſtulate with Caligula, who, inſtead of receiving any benefit from what was

was intended as a remedy, converted the good and friendly council of Macro into the moſt deadly poiſon, and degenerated into a ſtill greater exceſs of iniquity. The ſincerity and freedom with which Macro behaved procured him the contempt of the emperor, who, at length, effected his utter deſtruction. Caligula conceived a moſt inveterate and implacable enmity againſt Macro, and when he obſerved him approaching towards him, he uſually ſpoke to thoſe attending near his perſon in terms to the following purpoſe:

" Behold, my good friends, the emperor's governor approaches; but I " thank Heaven that the period of my wardſhip is expired. This man pre- " ſumes to regulate my conduct; but happily for me the ſtate of infancy is " paſſed; yet he inſolently expects that I ſhould obſerve an implicit obe- " dience to his directions, pretending that no man poſſeſſes a more perfect " knowledge of the world. The pedagogue has the inſolence to obſtrude " inſtructions upon an emperor as to the manner in which he ſhould conduct " himſelf towards his people; and even upon an emperor who is indiſpu- " tably more converſant than himſelf in the ſcience of politics. Since the " man is ſo extravagantly vain as to ſuppoſe himſelf qualified to inſtruct me " in the duties of my royal ſtation, it would afford me no inconſiderable ſa- " tisfaction to learn which are the particular branches in the art of govern- " ment wherein he excels and I am myſelf deficient. From my tendereſt " infancy I have been trained up to a knowledge of the myſteries of go- " vernment and ſtate affairs; and my inſtructors have been numerous and " reſpectable; for inſtance, my father, brothers, uncles, couſins, grand- " fathers, and great grandfathers; and ſurely I derive ſomething from a long " and uninterrupted ſucceſſion of ſo many great princes, in a direct line, " both on the ſide of my father and likewiſe on that of my mother; and I " might preſume on the ſeeds of the royal virtues which are naturally im- " planted in thoſe who are born to guide the reins of government. It will " be allowed that children frequently reſemble their parents in the features " of the face, motions, attitudes, deportment, geſture, inclinations, hu- " mours, habits, manners, and in many other reſpects; nor can it be denied " that the virtues of royalty, and the qualifications neceſſary for public ad- " miniſtration, are infuſed into the very blood of thoſe who are deſtined to " the command of a people. Shall this contemptible dotard, then, preſume " to become my inſtructor in an art of which, from his obſcure birth and in- " ferior ſtation in life, he muſt of neceſſity be entirely ignorant, and in the " myſteries of which I derived an intuitive knowledge even with my firſt " breath, being deſcended from a long line of illuſtrious anceſtors, and qua- " lified by nature for command and empire."

The enmity of Caligula continued daily to encreaſe, and it arrived, at length, to ſo high a degree that he formed the barbarous determination of ſacrificing the life of Macro to his revenge. He now employed himſelf in ſuggeſting the means of executing his horrid deſign, reſolving to exhibit an accuſation againſt Macro, but wholly regardleſs as to its being founded in fact. While he was revolving this ſubject in his mind he conceived that an expreſſion uſed by Macro afforded him a favourable opportunity of advancing a cri-

a criminal charge againſt him, which would bear a plauſible appearance and effectually anſwer his purpoſe. The following are the words on which Caligula determined to found his accuſation againſt Macro:

"Caligula is an emperor of my own making; and the obligations he owes "to me are far greater than what he owes even to his father. Thrice did "Tiberius reſolve to put him to death, but as often did I exert my influ- "ence, whereby the violence of the emperor's rage was averted, and the life "of the youth preſerved. After the deceaſe of Tiberius I ſurrendered to "Caligula the Pretorian bands, over whom I held the command, exhorting "them to obſerve a rigid obedience to him, and admoniſhing them that the "empire could not be preſerved entire and in perfect ſecurity, unleſs the ſo- "vereign authority was inveſted in one perſon."

Many perſons bore teſtimony that Macro had, in their preſence, ſpoken preciſely to the above purpoſe; but theſe people were entirely ignorant of the treachery, diſſimulation and conſummate art of Caligula. In ſhort, a few days only having elapſed, Caligula cauſed the death of the unhappy Macro and his wife. This ingratitude and barbarity was the reward which Macro obtained for preſerving the life of Caligula, advancing him to the throne, and rendering him many other moſt eſſential ſervices. It is related that Macro was compelled to put an end to his own life; and that his wife was ſubjected to the ſame extremity, notwithſtanding the intimacy of her criminal intercourſe with Caligula. But there is no poſſibility of accounting for the diſguſt and loathing which ſucceed an inconſtant and ill-placed love. Caligula carried his cruelty to ſuch exceſs as to cauſe all the domeſtics of Macro to be put to death.

CHAP. V.

Caligula is offended with his father-in-law, Marcus Sylanus, for offering him prudent and friendly advice; he renounces all regard to the memory of his deceaſed wife, and cauſes Marcus Sylanus to be put to death. This murder followed by ſeveral others. The people are ſo extravagantly prepoſſeſſed in favour of Caligula, that they endeavour to juſtify his ſacrificing the lives of Tiberius, Macro and Sylanus.

THE perfidious and cruel Caligula having effected the murder of Tiberius, who was the only perſon that he apprehended might become a competitor for the imperial dignity, and ſubjected Macro and his whole family to a ſimilar fate, in requital for having repeatedly preſerved his life, and, at length, ſecured to him the ſucceſſion of the throne; he now meditated a third exploit, the accompliſhment of which he conceived would require the utmoſt exertion of his ſkill and addreſs.

Marcus Sylanus, the father-in-law of Caligula, was a man of great bravery, generous ſentiments, and noble extraction. His daughter died at an early period of life; but he ſtill continued to obſerve an equal, if not a ſuperior, degree of reſpect and affection towards Caligula, not doubting but he ſhould experience a due return of kindneſs and eſteem; for he was entirely

ignorant and unſuſpicious of the real diſpoſition of his iniquitous ſon-in-law. Sylanus, being naturally of a frank and open temper, frequently addreſſed Caligula on the ſubjects of morality and politics, recommending to him a juſt and equitable adminiſtration of government, and an irreproachable conduct in private life, as the only effectual means of realizing thoſe hopes the people had formed of enjoying a ſtate of perfect happineſs under the dominion of a prince who had already afforded the moſt flattering ſpecimen of the admirable qualifications which he poſſeſſed for the proper exerciſe of the functions of royalty. To this freedom of diſcourſe Sylanus was in ſome degree entitled, in conſequence of his rank in life and his near relationſhip to the emperor: and being ſtill deeply ſenſible of a tender affliction conſequent on the unhappy circumſtance of his daughter's death, he imagined that his friendly expoſtulations could not be interpreted into the cauſe of offence, ſince it was ſcarcely poſſible that, in ſo ſhort a time, the ſenſe of affinity could be obliterated from the mind of Caligula.

Caligula, however, flattered himſelf in the vain opinion that his wiſdom, moderation, valour, juſtice and other qualifications, rendered his character ſo diſtinguiſhed, that it was incapable of greater perfection; and it was an office of great danger to offer him good and friendly counſel, which he underſtood as reproach and inſult, ſince it implied the poſſibility of his amendment; and hence he deemed his moſt firm and faithful friends to be his moſt inveterate enemies. He conceived a moſt violent averſion to Sylanus, as being a kind of check to the indulgence of his extravagant and unruly paſſions. His enmity encreaſed to ſuch an outrageous degree, that he renounced all regard to the memory of his deceaſed wife, and determined on the unnatural and barbarous ſcheme of ſacrificing the life of Sylanus, who had inconteſtibly proved himſelf a moſt tenderly affectionate and indulgent father-in-law, and a ſincere and diſintereſted friend.

The death of Sylanus was followed by that of many of the moſt conſiderable perſons of the empire: and when the news of theſe murders was propagated among the public they conſidered them with aſtoniſhment, deteſtation and horror; but they ſuppreſſed a public declaration of their ſentiments, leſt they ſhould incur the reſentment of the cruel tyrant. Many people, however, being of unſteady tempers, and liable to impoſition, could not entertain an idea that a prince who had ſhewn ſuch remarkable inſtances of humanity, moderation, generoſity and candour could, by a momentary tranſition, become a moſt bloody and mercileſs tyrant; and hence they endeavoured to juſtify the iniquitous conduct of which he had been guilty, by arguments to the following effect:

" No cenſure can juſtly fall upon Caligula for his behaviour in regard to " young Tiberius, ſince the nature of things will not admit of the ſuppoſition " that a divided ſovereignty can be conſiſtent with the ſafety of a ſtate; and " therefore the removal of the youth was a preventive meaſure indiſpenſably " neceſſary; eſpecially if it be conſidered that, had Tiberius poſſeſſed the " power, he would unqueſtionably have taken away the life of the emperor; " and that, with the encreaſe of time, that power he would have naturally ac-

" quired. Caligula is by no means deſerving to be reprobated as a cruel " murderer, but, on the contrary, is to be conſidered as the inſtrument of " Divine Providence, by whoſe decree he put an end to the life of Tiberius, " in order to ſecure the ſafety and happineſs of mankind. Had he been per- " mitted to ſurvive, is there not every reaſon to apprehend that he would " have proved the cauſe of involving the empire in all the horrors of foreign " and domeſtic hoſtilities? For the contentions of parties and factions would " have perpetually ſubſiſted between thoſe eſpouſing the reſpective intereſts " of the two princes. It will not be diſputed that peace is the greateſt " bleſſing a people can enjoy; nor that public tranquility muſt depend on a " regular and equitable adminiſtration of government. Where the ſove- " reignty is divided, competitions and the moſt violent and dangerous con- " tentions are ever to be apprehended: to avoid theſe evils, therefore, it be- " comes neceſſary to ſecure to one prince the power of exerciſing the regal " authority."

Reſpecting the murder of Macro the ſame perſons thus argued in extenuation of the accuſation adduced againſt the emperor:

" Macro proved himſelf a man of an imperious and preſuming diſpoſition; " he became wholly regardleſs of the Delphic oracle, which commands " every man to *know himſelf*; from which admirable leſſon we are to under- " ſtand that we cannot be unhappy while we ſtrictly conform to it, nor fail " to be miſerable when we hold it in contempt. Can it be ſaid that to in- " terfere in the province of ſovereignty is conſiſtent with the duty of a ſub- " ject; or that he is excuſable for obtruding upon a prince inſtructions for " the diſcharge of the functions of his high office? The province of the ſo- " vereign is to command, and it is the duty of the ſubject to obſerve impli- " cit obedience."

Thus did people, either through ignorance, or a deſire of offering the incenſe of flattery to the emperor, miſrepreſent the motives which prompted the honeſt admonitions of the unfortunate Macro: and they ſuggeſted the following excuſes reſpecting the cruelty of Caligula towards Sylanus:

" The conduct of Sylanus was extremely abſurd in aſſuming over a ſon-in- " law an authority ſimilar to that which men have a right to exerciſe over " their immediate deſcendants. It is uſual among private citizens to relin- " quiſh the paternal authority when their children are engaged in offices of " truſt, or meet with honourable preferment. Sylanus could have no claim to " the honor of being father-in-law to the emperor; for the affinity ceaſed " with the death of his daughter; but he, notwithſtanding, had the pre- " ſumption to expoſtulate with Caligula on affairs of adminiſtration, where- " in he could not juſtly pretend to have even the leaſt concern. It is beyond " contradiction that marriage connects families in a ſtate of alliance: but it " is equally certain that the alliance is temporary; for the diſſolution of all " relationſhip neceſſarily takes place upon the deceaſe of either of the con- " tracting parties."

In the above manner did people endeavour to reſcue Caligula from the imputation of criminal actions. They were ſo prepoſſeſſed in favour of the ſuppoſed

poſed extraordinary generoſity, moderation, juſtice, tenderneſs of diſpoſition, and other perfections in the character of this prince that they could not conceive him capable of a conduct that could merit cenſure; nor that it was poſſible, after having moſt glorioufly diſtinguiſhed himſelf beyond the example of former ſovereigns, he could degenerate, by ſo ſudden a change, to the oppoſite extreme of wickedneſs.

CHAP. VI.

The extravagant vanity of Caligula in aſſuming the appearance of ſeveral demi-gods, and claiming the public honors and veneration uſually obſerved towards the deities whom he perſonates.

THE cruel murders of Tiberius, Macro and Sylanus were conſidered by Caligula as ſo many victories over the moſt formidable enemies he had in the empire. The death of Tiberius relieved him from all apprehenſion of his right to the ſovereignty being conteſted; he was eaſy reſpecting the ſoldiery, ſince Macro, who had poſſeſſed a great influence over them, was now effectually removed; and he judged himſelf perfectly ſecure with reſpect to the ſenate, in conſequence of the death of Sylanus, who commanded a great intereſt in, and had been eſteemed one of the moſt glorious ornaments of, that illuſtrious aſſembly. Having then effected the deſtruction of every perſon whom he apprehended might prove an obſtacle to the unlimited indulgence of his extravagant humours, he conceived the vain deſign of aſſuming the character of a demi-god, and exacting the honors and obedience obſerved towards the deities: and to reconcile himſelf to this ridiculous ſcheme, he argued in the following manner:

"Since thoſe who have the command of beaſts in the fields, as goat-herds, "ſhepherds, herdſmen and people of other denominations, are neither goats, "ſheep nor oxen, but are of a very different ſpecies, being creatures en- "dowed with rational faculties, and infinitely ſuperior, in every reſpect, to "the animals under their direction; on the ſame principles it may be pre- "ſumed that the ſovereign of the univerſe has an equitable claim to an ex- "altation beyond the ſcale of human nature, and to exact the veneration of "a deity."

Having determined upon this abſurd and vain deſign, his diſtempered imagination repreſented the employment which he was preparing to undertake as being worthy the imperial character; and he proceeded by degrees to the gratification of his ambitious views. His firſt imaginary exaltation was in aſſuming the character of a demi-god; ſuch as Hercules, Bacchus, Caſtor, Pollux, Amphiaraus, Amphilochus, Trophonius and others. He turned the oracles and ceremonies of theſe deities into ſubjects of ridicule, but ſtill claimed a right to the enſigns and privileges belonging to them with the view of advancing the honor of his own character.

It was the cuſtom of this man, like a theatrical performer, to be continually changing habits, intending thereby to render his appearance exactly conformable

conformable to that of the parties whom he was desirous to personate. At one time he would strive at an imitation of Hercules, being habited in the skin of a lion, and carrying a club in his hand; sometimes he would assume the appearance of Castor or Pollux, wearing a cap upon his head similar to those used by the illustrious brothers; and to personate Bacchus he would wear the skin of a faun, and provide himself with a thyrsus wreathed with ivy. Caligula, in short, materially differed from the imaginary deities; for they have ever been perfectly satisfied with their respective ensigns and privileges, and equally free from envy towards each other: but the emperor was ambitious of engrossing to himself all the respect and veneration usually paid to the ideal divinities, whose characters he was so highly ambitious to emulate.

The circumstance that attracted the most particular notice and admiration of the public was, not that Caligula, like Geryon, had three bodies, but that he possessed the wonderful power of assuming such an extensive variety of characters as to become the rival of Proteus, whom Homer represents as transforming himself into the elements, rivers, plants, different species of animals and a diversity of other appearances.

What value didst thou, Caius, imagine would be added to your character by a vain resemblance of the figures of the demi-gods, when you wholly neglected an imitation of their virtues, which would have been an employment whence you might have derived immortal honor? Hercules engaged in his laborious and hazardous undertakings from the noble motive of delivering the universe, both by sea and land, from the monsters that infested it, to the great interruption of the happiness and security of mankind. Vines were planted and cultivated by Bacchus, who extracted from their fruit a beverage highly grateful to the palate, and possessing the quality of improving the corporeal strength and the natural vigour of the mind: besides adding to our bodily power, the juice of the grape has the virtue of giving us greater activity and contributing towards the encrease and preservation of health: it charms our cares to sleep, renders us insensible to afflictions, and inspires us with the hope of a more auspicious fortune; a chearful draught relieves us from the langour and fatigue of long-continued labor. The salutary effects of wine are not experienced alone by people in a civilized state, but even by the most barbarous nations. Feasts, entertainments, music, dancing and merry-meetings would no longer be attractive if the spirits of the company were not to be occasionally exhilerated by the generous juice expressed from the fruit of the vine. But it is unnecessary any longer to dwell on the virtues of wine, which can never prove injurious while it is made use of with moderation.

Castor and Pollux are represented as being the twin sons of Jupiter; one of them is said to have been immortal, but that he shared with his brother the privilege of not being subject to the common lot of humanity, because his fraternal affection was so great that he could not support the idea of being left eternally to deplore the irreparable loss he should sustain in the death of his

tenderly-beloved brother. The noble behaviour of this man is unparalelled; for what greater facrifice can be imagined than that of one brother refigning in favor of the other a part of his privilege of enjoying an eternal exiftence, and rendering himfelf, in a proportionate degree, fubject to the power of death. The contemporaries of thefe heroic brothers paid them great deference and veneration; nor has their juftly acquired renown yet fuffered the leaft diminution. By the great benefits which they conferred upon mankind, and their exemplary virtues, thefe worthies acquired to themfelves the honor of being confidered as demi-gods.

But have you, Caligula, purfued a conduct that you could reafonably expect would entitle you to divine honors? Let us firft fpeak of Caftor and Pollux. Can an inftance be produced of a greater diffimilarity of character than what will appear upon drawing a comparifon between yourfelf and thofe illuftrious brothers? So far from being infpired with a noble emulation of their unbounded friendfhip, and heroic generofity, you have cruelly bathed your hands in the blood of an innocent youth, whom it was your duty to treat with the utmoft tendernefs of a brother; for exclufive of his alliance to you by the ties of blood, he had a juft and indifputable claim to a co-partnerfhip in the imperial dignity. With a view to fecure yourfelf in the quiet poffeffion of the throne, you condemned the fifters of Tiberius to perpetual baniftment.

In what refpect is it that you have acted in conformity to the example of Bacchus? Of what difcoveries are you the author, whereby the world derives any kind of advantage? Have you, in any one inftance, contributed towards the peace or happinefs of mankind? It muft, indeed, be allowed that you are not deftitute of invention; but your inventions, like epidemical diffeafes, convert joy into affliction, and render life infupportable. To gratify your infatiable avarice your coffers are daily repleniftied with immenfe treafures from the four quarters of the globe: but inftead of paying grateful acknowledgments for the readinefs and punctuality with which the people combine to raife fo confiderable a revenue as you enjoy, you continually oppreis them by exacting the payment of heavy and unprecedented taxes. In fhort, the unrelenting cruelty of your difpofition has diftinguifhed you as an object of public abhorrence, and your tyrannical and oppreffive meafures in the magifterial capacity have rendered your government wholly intolerable. Thefe facts are incontrovertible; therefore you, in no fingle inftance, bear the leaft refemblance to Bacchus.

Hercules engaged and perfevered in fuch heroic and laborious undertakings as appeared too great for human power to accompliih; and in thefe he proved indefatigable and fucceisful. His glorious actions proceeded from the public fpirited defire of enacting fuch laws as fhould operate to the general advantage of mankind; of caufing a plenty both at fea and land, and eftabliihing peace and promoting commerce throughout the world. This is a concife account of the real character of Hercules. So far from imitating the virtues of this hero, Caligula is of an inactive, dull, and heavy difpofition, and fo falfely grounded are his pretenfions to bravery, that in the whole human race there cannot

cannot be found a more timorous creature; this man ſeems to delight in baniſhing good order and happineſs from ſociety, and introducing in their place tumults, ſeditions, and every ſpecies of miſery that can interrupt the felicity of mankind. There cannot be imagined a greater diſparity than appears on a compariſon of theſe two characters: and yet Caligula has the effrontery to declare himſelf the rival of Hercules, and to claim public veneration as being a demi-god.

Could you imagine, Caligula, that the horrid barbarities of which you have been guilty, and the unexampled tyranny and oppreſſion of your reign were merits on which you might preſume to be conſtituted a divinity? Were you deſirous of immortality that you might everlaſtingly ſubject mankind to the grievous afflictions in which you had already involved them? Is there not every reaſon to believe that if thou wert exalted into a deity the enormity of thy wickedneſs would degrade thee into thy original ſubjection to the power of death? For if great virtues can transform a man into a deity, it neceſſarily follows that atrocious crimes can degrade a god to a ſtate of mortality. No longer, then, indulge the ridiculous vanity of comparing yourſelf to thoſe illuſtrious heroes Caſtor and Pollux, who are ſo deſervedly celebrated for their fraternal friendſhip; ſince you have treacherouſly taken away the life of an innocent prince, whom you were bound to cheriſh and protect with the utmoſt care and tenderneſs of brotherly affection; nor expect to receive the honors that are paid to Bacchus and Hercules, whoſe extraordinary merits raiſed them into objects of public veneration; ſince you are wholly deſtitute of every principle of virtue and honor, and purſue a ſyſtem of conduct diametrically oppoſite to that which would effectually ſecure you from the ſevere reproaches and execrations which are always levelled againſt thoſe who are ſo ſhockingly abandoned to the moſt abominable wickedneſs.

CHAP. VII.

The extravagant vanity of Caligula ſtill continues to encreaſe; and being ambitious of the diſtinction of a deity of the ſuperior order, he perſonates Mercury, Apollo and Mars.

THE vanity and preſumption of Caligula encreaſed, at length, to ſuch an immoderate degree that he could no longer be contented in the idea of being conſidered as a demi-god, but became ambitious of exacting the honors paid to the deities of the ſuperior order, as Mercury, Apollo and Mars. He firſt determined to perſonate Mercury; and clothed himſelf in a mantle, reſembling the garment of that deity, carried a white rod in his hand, and wore buſkins with wings affixed to them. He now diveſted himſelf of the ornaments and enſigns of Mercury, and aſſumed the appearance of Apollo, wearing a radiant crown repreſenting the beams of the ſun upon his head; and to convey an intimation that he would be ſlow to puniſh offences

fences and ready to execute benevolent offices, he carried a bow and arrows in his left and the graces in his right hand.

After this he caused holy songs to be sung, and dances to be exhibited in honor of the new deity, though but a short time had elapsed since he had been contented with being distinguished by the names of Liver, Evius and Lycæus. In order to counterfeit Mars, he provided himself with a costly headpiece, sword and buckler, and marched with priests and bravoes attending him on each side, ready to obey his inhuman commands; for he ridiculously imagined that by spreading destruction, and an indiscriminate spilling of blood, he should gain a more near resemblance to the god of war. This spectacle struck the spectators with the utmost astonishment and horror; they were unable, calmly and unmoved to behold an audacious impostor arrogating to himself the honor of the deities, to whose virtues he was an absolute stranger, and to whom he bore not the least similarity in any respect but in a ridiculous imitation of their habits, which convey no other meaning than that the gods are bountiful to those who bear towards them an unaffected love and veneration.

The moral implied by the winged buskins of Mercury is only that, being the ambassador or messenger of the gods, according to the import of the Greek word, and the bearer of happy intelligence (for we cannot suppose that either gods or good and wise men would willingly be the propagators of unfortunate events), rapidity of motion is necessary in the conveyance of intelligence requiring dispatch. The wand, or white rod, of Mercury is to be understood as the ensign of one who is commissioned to make a league or restore peace; for it is the office of the herald, by agreement or truce, to stop the progress of hostilities; and but for this mediation there would be no end to the horrors and devastation of war.

What motive could induce Caligula to affix wings to his buskins? Did he thereby expect to disperse throughout the empire an idea of the abominable wickedness of his life, and the execrable profligacy of his manners? Instead of publishing his crimes to the world, he should have followed the dictates of prudence in burying the recollection of them in perpetual oblivion. What reason had he for adopting the ensign of a speedy passage, since, without changing his situation, he might be considered as the inexhaustible source from which the streams of misery were incessantly to flow, till they had overwhelmed the whole universe? Is not his bearing a white rod a most palpable evidence of absurdity, since his words and actions have so invariably militated against every idea of good order, tranquillity and happiness? In all his concerns both with the Greeks and barbarians, whether in private families, towns, or cities, he has constantly proved himself the promoter of disagreements, insurrections and civil hostilities. It will, then, become this fictitious deity to relinquish the appellations, and divest himself of the honourable ensigns, which are in every respect so highly inconsistent with his character.

Caligula bears not a nearer resemblance to Apollo than to Mercury. He wears, indeed, a radiant crown upon his head, and this ornament exhibits a very ingenious representation of the beams of the sun: but we are sensible that

that the ſun and light are not favourable witneſſes to the perpetration of the moſt horrible iniquities. Virtuous actions cannot have too many ſpectators, and will bear the light of the ſun in the fulneſs of his meridian luſtre; but let thoſe who are guilty of impious deeds, which are the works of night and darkneſs, ſeek to conceal themſelves in the regions of perpetual obſcurity. To afford a nearer emblem of his real diſpoſition, Caligula ſhould carry the bow and arrows in his right, and the graces in his left hand, or, indeed, it would be more proper if he were to caſt the latter entirely from him; for it has been his conſtant practice to effect the deſtruction of men, women, children, families and even whole cities; and that he has no kind of pretention to the credit of benevolence, bounty and tenderneſs, which are intimated by the figures of the graces, is notoriouſly evident from the intolerable oppreſſions of which he has been guilty for the gratification of his inſatiable avarice. As to the article of phyſic the counterfeit bears no greater reſemblance to the real Apollo than in other reſpects. So far from being the author of ſalutary medicines, or exerting a benevolent deſire of affording aſſiſtance to mankind by preventing or removing bodily afflictions, he infects thoſe in perfect health, makes cripples of men whoſe limbs are ſound, and by treacherouſly poiſoning, and other means, barbarouſly deſtroys people without regard to ſex, age, or rank in life. His rage has been moſt particularly directed againſt the people of wealth and diſtinction in Italy; and had not Divine juſtice put a check upon his iniquitous proceedings, a virtuous and rich inhabitant of that country would ſcarcely have been ſuffered to ſurvive; for his avarice and cruelty were equally without bounds, and a greater profuſion of gold and ſilver had been amaſſed in Italy than in all the other parts of the globe together. Apollo was not only celebrated for his ſkill and knowledge in phyſic, but alſo for the predictions which he delivered for the benefit of mankind. When people were embarraſſed in difficult and intricate caſes, by his oracles he always admoniſhed them againſt miſtaking evil for good, and thereby enabled them to avoid the dangers with which they were threatened. So infallible was his knowledge of future events that his predictions were received in the full confidence that, in due time, they would be verified in the moſt minute particulars. But the predictions of Caligula denounce confiſcations, baniſhment and diſgrace againſt perſons of the moſt diſtinguiſhed rank and merit. The characters of the real and the fictitious Apollo agree not in a ſingle inſtance. Is it then not ſhameful that ſongs of triumph and joy, to the honor of Caligula, ſhould be ſung to the very notes adapted to thoſe in honor of Apollo? It is deemed a crime to counterfeit the image of a prince in order to give the appearance of reality to ſpurious coin; but to practice a falſe worſhip is infinitely more unpardonable.

But no part of Caligula's conduct excites greater wonder than his extravagant vanity in pretending to the ſtrength and courage of Mars; for both his mind and body are effeminate and debilitated; but he makes no ſcruple of impoſing the moſt groſs deceptions upon the multitude; for which purpoſe he transforms himſelf into a variety of appearances; and therefore he may be

aptly compared to a theatrical performer. There cannot exist a greater contrariety than will be found on drawing comparison between Caligula and the god of war. I mean not the fabulous Mars, but that which signifies a promptitude for exertion of bravery and power in favour of the innocent and oppressed, according to the meaning of the Greek word, Αρης from αρηγειν, to help, or assist. Two names are given to the fabulous Mars; he receives one of them as being the friend and promoter of peace as far as it operates to the advantage of the public; and the other as being equally sanguine for the prosecution of war, wherein blood, confusion and horror must necessarily prevail.

CHAP. VIII.

The Jews refuse to venerate the emperor as a divinity, in consequence of which he becomes extravagantly exasperated against them.

I Believe it will be admitted that what has been already said will be deemed sufficient to prove that Caligula had no reasonable claim to be enrolled either among the demi-gods, or the deities of a superior order. He exceeded every preceding prince in the abuse of power; he gave full indulgence to the most lewd and profligate desires; his obstinacy was invincible, and his ambition deserved the name of madness.

The Jews, who had before enjoyed the most perfect felicity, severely experienced the effects of Caligula's unexampled wickedness. Being a people educated by parents and preceptors to a rigid adherence to the doctrines of the holy scriptures, a due observance of the law of nature, a belief in the existence of but one God, the Father, Creator and Preserver of the whole world, the emperor imagined that the principles they so unanimously professed would naturally induce them to oppose his designs: but he was not in the least apprehensive of obstruction from any other quarter; for all other people, though actually groaning under the terrible weight of his cruel tyranny, servilely subscribed to the propriety of his conduct, however contrary to their genuine sentiments, and made him the subject of their most extravagant panegyrics, thereby encreasing his immoderate vanity and presumption.

In compliance with the humour of the detestable tyrant many of the Romans combined in offering a most degrading affront to the liberties of their country by introducing into the empire the modes of worship practiced by the barbarous nations. But Caligula was convinced that rather than violate the religious rites of their country, the Jews would chearfully surrender their lives, cherishing the firm belief that they should be translated into the regions of eternity. If one stone of a building is displaced, the remaining part may appear to be in a perfectly sound and lasting condition; but the effects of time will gradually be perceived, and the whole fabric will inevitably fall in premature destruction: so every thing is of high importance which regards the worship of the Almighty. Caligula was guilty of a most horrid blasphemy in pretending to exalt a man into an immortal god; he would indeed have been

been more excuſable had he endeavoured to change a deity into a mortal creature. He made an opening for the introduction of every ſpecies of ingratitude and infidelity towards the Creator of the world, whoſe bleſſings and bounties are continually diſtributed among his creatures with unlimited beneficence.

Such was the cauſe of the mercileſs war which was ſo fatally purſued againſt the Jewiſh people. Servants cannot be in a more dangerous or unhappy ſituation than when they are the objects of the inveterate hatred of their maſters. The ſubjects of emperors are indiſputably their ſervants. So far from continuing in the ſtate of happineſs they had enjoyed under the mild government of preceding princes, the miſerable ſituation of the people was rendered intolerable under the oppreſſive dominion of the tyrant Caligula. He was an abſolute ſtranger to every ſentiment of compaſſion and humanity, and he abrogated all legiſlative inſtitutions as being wholly ſuperfluous, ſince he was reſolved to have no other guide to his conduct than his own arbitrary and capricious will. The Jews were the people againſt whom he moſt particularly directed his vengeance: he reduced them to a ſtate of the moſt vile and abject ſlavery that has ever diſgraced human nature; and therefore they had ſufficient reaſon to reprobate him for having infamouſly neglected to act as the common father and protector of his ſubjects, and diſgraced the royal ſtation by proving himſelf a moſt deteſtable monſter of tyranny and wickedneſs.

CHAP. IX.

The barbarous perſecutions of Caligula afford the Alexandrians an opportunity of revenging themſelves upon the Jews. Horrid cruelties exerciſed upon the Jews, whoſe effects are ſeized. Places of worſhip and other buildings deſtroyed. Statues dedicated to the honor of Caligula. Excellent character of the deceaſed emperor Tiberius.

THE inhabitants of Alexandria having gained intelligence of the implacable enmity of Caligula towards the Jews, which was ſufficiently evident from the oppreſſive meaſures that he conſtantly purſued againſt them, they entered into a conſpiracy, determining to add every poſſible aggravation to the miſery of thoſe unhappy people who were already ſinking under the weight of intolerable perſecution.

Our enemies were ſo unanimous, and the injurious treatment we received was offered in ſo open and daring a manner, that it appeared as if the emperor actually gave encouragement to thoſe who were labouring to effect our deſtruction. Our habitations were forcibly entered, and men, women, and children cruelly driven from thoſe hoſpitable retreats, and the enemy made booty of all the moſt valuable effects that they could poſſibly find. Our oppreſſors entertained not the leaſt dread of being apprehended and rendered amenable to juſtice, and therefore ſought no means for the concealment of their atrocious crimes, but continued their depredations in open day; and

their audacity was such that they ostentatiously exposed to each other the property which they had so infamously obtained, with as much confidence as they could have shewn had it descended to them by inheritance, been acquired by purchase, or any other justifiable means. Many who had formed themselves into companies, and agreed equally to divide the spoil they should gain, assembled in the public market for the purpose of allotting and receiving their respective portions of the booty; and the real proprietors of the effects so surreptitiously acquired were the melancholy witnesses to this infamous business; and they were grossly insulted under their misfortunes with contemptuous reflections and virulent abuse.

It was certainly a terribly unfortunate circumstance for people of wealth and distinction to be suddenly expelled their habitations, reduced to the utmost penury, turned, like vagrants, into a wide inhospitable world, wholly destitute of the means for procuring the necessaries indispensably required for the preservation of existence: but still a greater aggravation of misery was to ensue. These cruel enemies confined many thousands of our people, men, women and children, in a small space, like beasts in a pound, and as they were entirely destitute of provisions, it was expected that they would perish in a short time, either through want of nourishment or the corruption of the air, which could not fail of being rendered of a very impure quality by passing through the lungs of such a number of people. The body possesses a natural heat, and a constant succession of fresh air is necessary. for the assistance of respiration; but if pure and refreshing air cannot be inhaled, that which is already vitiated operates as fuel added to flames, and the consequence must be fatal.

The miserable people confined in the above-mentioned manner being unable to exist for want of fresh air, some of them retreated to the sea shore, some to the deserts, and others to lonely cemeteries: those who ventured to remain in any part of the city excepting the small space allotted to them, were furiously assaulted with cudgels, tiles, bricks and other weapons, which were directed against those parts of the body where it was supposed wounds and bruises would be most likely to deprive the unhappy sufferers of life; and those who came into the city, being unconscious of the popular fury that prevailed, were treated with equal severity. A strict guard was kept on that narrow quarter of the city where the miserable wretches were confined, and such as were detected in attempting to escape were put to death, after suffering the most excruciating tortures that it was possible for human cruelty to suggest: and admitting that they had fortitude sufficient to bear their own calamities, it is still reasonable to suppose that the hope of rescuing their families from the miserable fate of falling sacrifices to hunger would induce them to attempt effecting an escape.

A numerous party of our enemies stationed themselves upon the banks of the river, in order to seize the Jewish merchants who came to trade at Alexandria. They made fires of the timbers belonging to the vessels, and cast the merchants alive into the flames, and made spoil of all their effects. Other Jews suffered in a still more cruel manner in the middle of the city; where brush-

brush-wood being provided instead of billets, the fuel was kindled, and the unhappy victims were thrown into the fire; the wood being green, and consequently moist, the smoke operated more powerfully than the flames, whereby the sufferings of the people were rendered more terrible and lasting. Many of our people were drawn through the streets and across the market place by means of ropes, and so implacable was the rage of our enemies that, after putting them to death in this manner, with more than savage barbarity they insulted the dead carcasses by quartering and cutting them to pieces, after which they trampled them under their feet, suffering no parts of the bodies to remain in a state that would intitle them to interment.

The Alexandrians finding that the governor of the province adopted no measures for the suppression of the popular tumult, which he could have effected without the least difficulty, but that he pretended to be wholly ignorant of the outrageous transactions, they interpreted his conduct on this occasion into an encouragement of their abominable practices; and in this confidence they proceeded to the exercise of more daring crimes. There were great numbers of oratories, or places of prayer, situated in divers parts of the city, and against these buildings the rage of the enemy was now directed with the greatest violence: they destroyed many of the oratories by fire and other means, and cut down, or tore up by the roots, the surrounding groves and trees. The flames communicated to the adjacent habitations; and it will be naturally supposed that considerable damage was sustained, it being a matter of great difficulty to stop the progress of fire where inflammable materials abound. The gilt statues, with their titles and inscriptions, the crowns, bucklers, garlands, and other illustrious memorials, which several of the Roman emperors had established in testimony of the honor and virtue of the Jews, and which were held in high veneration, were entirely consumed in this conflagration. But no considerations had power to restrain the impetuous fury of these people who so far from entertaining the least apprehension of being brought to condign punishment for their outrageous violences, were conscious that, as Caligula harboured the most implacable enmity against the Jews, they could by no means more effectually ingratiate themselves into his favour than by persecuting them with the most excessive rigour.

That they might prosecute their barbarous and sanguinary designs with the greater security, they deemed it expedient to have recourse to every possible stratagem of insinuation and flattery for the purpose of gaining an interest with the emperor; and with this view they proceeded in the following manner:

The rioters had not ventured to attempt the burning or otherwise destroying a great number of the oratories, on account of their being attended by very strong parties of Jews, with whom they judged it would be dangerous to engage in a contention: but with a design to interrupt our religious worship, offer a gross indignity to our holy law, and, at the same time, ingratiate themselves with the emperor, they determined to erect his statue in all those places for religious meetings which they had not destroyed. In the prin-

cipal of these buildings they placed the statue of Caligula in a chariot with four horses of brass This was an example that many of the Alexandrians were anxiously desirous to copy; and being unable to procure perfect figures of horses, they took from the gymnasium, or place of exercises, those mutilated ones which are said to have been dedicated to the honor of Cleopatra, the great grandmother of the last queen of that name.

It was, indeed, extraordinary that they should expect to gain the esteem of a prince so remarkably vain and imperious as Caligula by pretending to manifest a veneration for his person in the dedication of mutilated, old and decayed figures, which had been formerly dedicated to a woman, and were now unworthy the regard of an imperial prince. They had the confidence to expect that the ridiculous mockery which they had practised under the pretext of veneration and respect would intitle them to extraordinary rewards: but the circumstance from which they claimed the greatest merit was the transforming such numbers of oratories into temples, and encreasing the number of those buildings dedicated to the honor of the emperor; though it is beyond all dispute that they were not influenced by a regard to the honor of their prince, but by a desire of gratifying the implacable and inveterate rage which they entertained against the Jewish people.

Ten sovereigns reigned in the space of three hundred years, during which time not a statue or an image was consecrated to any one of them; but though conscious that they were no more than men, they placed them among the number of the gods, and behaved to them with the veneration and respect that are usually observed towards the divinities: but this is a matter that will not greatly excite our admiration, since it is their custom to pay adoration to crocodiles, serpents, birds, beasts, fishes and other creatures; and since temples, altars and groves dedicated to the honor of various kinds of animals abound in all parts of Ægypt.

The Alexandrians are more remarkably addicted to flattery than any other people in the universe, and it is their custom to cultivate the favour of princes according to the good fortune they enjoy, without regard to their personal virtues or merits: and therefore, they may urge, in reply to what we have said above, that since the Roman emperors greatly surpass the Ptolemies in point of power, grandeur and prosperity, they must consequently be intitled to more distinguished honors. The absurdity of this answer must instantly appear; but let it be demanded of those who may be inclinable to contest the matter, What reason can be assigned that similar honors were not observed towards Octavianus, to whom Caligula stands indebted for the possession of the imperial dignity? The reign of this prince continued for the space of three and forty years, during which time he exercised the government with so much wisdom and discretion that he preserved both Greece and Barbary in a state of the most perfect and uninterrupted tranquillity, enjoying the great blessings necessarily resulting from peace; and on his decease there appeared no prospect to threaten a disturbance of the public happiness. But Octavianus received none of those honors which have been paid to his successor. Did this neglect of Tiberius happen because he was inferior to Caligula

gula in point of family? That objection cannot be urged; for it is indiſputable that the deſcent of Tiberius was much more illuſtrious, both by father and mother, than that of Caligula. Can it be aſſerted that Tiberius was deficient in a knowledge of the world, or a capacity for buſineſs? The age in which he lived could not boaſt a man poſſeſſing a more ſound judgment, a deeper penetration into human nature, or greater powers of elocution. No prince or emperor was ever more juſtly celebrated for the perfection of the intellectual faculties at an early period of life, or known to have declined into old age with more diſtinguiſhed honors. It is not uſual for the maturity of underſtanding to arrive but with years and experience: to this, however, Tiberius proved a remarkable exception; for ſo early in youth did the powers of his mind diſplay themſelves in full vigour that he was diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *the old young prince*. The eminent virtues of Tiberius, and his great qualifications for the diſcharge of the functions of royalty, ſeemed to have exalted him above the level of human nature. His ſteady reſolution, profound policy, ſound judgment, ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice, and other great virtues, gave him the firſt title to the glorious name of Auguſtus; and that honourable diſtinction, which he derived not from his anceſtors by virtue of an hereditary claim, but which originated in his own perſonal merit, will be tranſmitted to his deſcendants. But the folly and ingratitude of man is ſuch, that the merit of this incomparable prince has been entirely neglected, and his memory inſulted; for the honors of which he was deemed unworthy have been offered to the barbarous tyrant Caligula.

When Tiberius aſſumed the government, ſo general and deſtructive a war prevailed that the extirpation of mankind ſeemed to be threatened in the apprehended conſequences of the furious and bloody contention; in which nation was oppoſed againſt nation, and people againſt people; and, in ſhort, the greater part of the world was concerned in this diſpute for empire, whereon the felicity, and even the exiſtence of mankind ſeemed to depend. At this important juncture it was the pleaſure of Divine Providence to appoint the deſcendant of an illuſtrious family as the agent by whom mankind was to be relieved from the alarming proſpect of impending ruin. When Tiberius took poſſeſſion of the helm, the ſtorm, as at the word of a guardian angel, ſubſided into a profound peace. This incomparably excellent prince put a period to the hoſtilities and devaſtations which ſo violently raged in every quarter of the globe; he cleared the ſeas of pirates, and cauſed an abundance of all the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life by promoting a commercial intercourſe between the different countries; reformed the manners of the moſt barbarous nations, and gave them to experience the happineſs reſulting from civil ſociety; relieved the provinces from oppreſſion, and ſo great was his bounty to the different towns, that they were ſcarcely ſenſible they did not enjoy unlimited freedom. He adminiſtered juſtice with ſtrict impartiality; ſucceſsfully exerted his endeavours to preſerve an uninterrupted tranquillity, and diſtributed his bounties with unlimited generoſity; ſo that the people had every reaſon to congratulate themſelves on the circumſtance of living under the dominion of a prince ſo admirably qualified to render their happineſs in

every reſpect complete. Tiberius continued in the uniform purſuit of this excellent line of conduct till the concluſion of his life. This truly great and glorious prince, the common benefactor of mankind, held the government of Ægypt for the ſpace of three-and-forty years with unblemiſhed honor to himſelf and unexampled benefit to the public: but no deſign has been conceived of commemorating his extraordinary virtues by dedicating images or ſtatues to his honor in any of the places of public worſhip.

Of all mankind Tiberius had indiſputably the moſt juſt pretenſion to extraordinary reſpect and veneration, not only as being the author of the auguſt imperial family, but alſo on account of his having aſſumed to himſelf the whole powers of ſovereignty, which were before divided amongſt diverſe perſons, and continued to exerciſe his authority with ſo much moderation, wiſdom and diſcretion as to procure the moſt perfect happineſs to his people. It was a juſt obſervation of an ancient, that "Danger is ever attendant upon "a divided ſovereignty, ſince public evils are to be apprehended from the "diſagreement of private ſentiments." The great merit of Tiberius has been univerſally acknowledged by mankind, who have decreed to him divine honors, ſuch as temples, groves, porticos and ſuch other proofs of magnificence and ingenuity as greatly ſurpaſs all other productions, whether ancient or modern. The moſt remarkable of theſe is Cæſar's temple in Alexandria, bearing the name of Sebaſte. The ſituation of this incomparable ſtructure is oppoſite an exceedingly commodious harbour. It is ſo high that it is to be perceived at a ſurprizing diſtance, and it is extenſive in proportion to its elevation. All the parts of the building are beautified with gold and ſilver. In point of architecture it is a moſt curious and maſterly performance. Nothing can be imagined more truly magnificent than the galleries, libraries, porches, courts and halls; and the elegance of the ſtructure is greatly improved by the pleaſing diſpoſition of the conſecrated groves. It abounds with capital paintings and ſtatues, and various other rich donatives and oblations. In ſhort, the whole work was finiſhed with all the grandeur and elegance that it could receive from the utmoſt exertions of ingenuity, indefatigable labour, and unlimited expence. It is a conſpicuous guide to mariners, whom it enables to navigate their veſſels with greater ſafety both to and from the harbour.

Since ſuch diſtinguiſhed honors were paid to Tiberius by the common conſent of the different nations, can it be urged that the people were deficient in acknowledging their great obligations to that moſt excellent emperor, becauſe they omitted to erect his ſtatues in the oratories belonging to the Jews? The reaſon that ſtatues were not erected in thoſe places of worſhip to the honor of Tiberius was a conſciouſneſs in the people that he was not more deſirous of exacting a conformity to the laws, inſtitutions and ceremonies of Rome than of allowing the inhabitants of the different provinces the full enjoyment of their cuſtoms, rights and privileges. Though he did not entirely approve of the great veneration that was ſhewn towards him, he deemed it not prudent to diſcountenance a practice which the dignity of the empire required, and ſerved to inſpire the public with reſpect and obedience to the government. As a proof that he was not elated by vanity, and that he abhorred

ſervile

ſervile adulation, it is only neceſſary to mention that he would not permit his ſubjects to treat him in the character either of a deity or a maſter; nor did he ſcruple to declare his approbation of the conduct of the people of our nation in holding ſo abominable a practice in the utmoſt abhorrence. But for theſe ſentiments it cannot be ſuppoſed that he would have ſuffered ſo conſiderable a part of the city beyond Tyber to remain in poſſeſſion of the Jews, (the majority of whom had been priſoners of war, but were reſtored to freedom by their maſters), and have allowed them the privilege of living according to the laws and cuſtoms of their own country. He was perfectly acquainted with the nature of the oratories, and that the Jews aſſembled in thoſe buildings, particularly on the ſabbath-days, for the purpoſe of exerciſing the duties of religion, according to the cuſtom of their anceſtors; nor was he a ſtranger to the contributions that were made, and tranſmitted to Jeruſalem, under the denomination of firſt-fruits; or that ſacrifices were offered, and the functions of the prieſthood regularly performed. But he never expreſſed the moſt diſtant intention of expelling our people the city. Even in Paleſtine they were indulged in the uninterrupted practice of the religion of their country, nor was any kind of reſtraint impoſed upon them with regard either to their oratories or their meetings for deliberating upon legiſlative points. So far from entertaining a diſapprobation of the ſolemnities of our religion, he preſented our temple with a variety of rich donatives, which we are yet able to produce in teſtimony of the ſanction he gave to our cuſtoms, thereby manifeſting the veneration in which he held our religion. He iſſued an expreſs command, that entirely at his own expence ſacrifices ſhould be daily offered to the moſt High God: this cuſtom has been obſerved to the preſent time, and it will ever be ſtrictly adhered to, and juſtly conſidered as an honourable memorial of the virtue and piety of Tiberius. On occaſion of public diſtributions of money and corn, this incomparable prince provided that the Jews ſhould be included in the number of thoſe who partook of the royal bounty; and if the benefactions were to be delivered on the ſabbath of the Jews, when they are prohibited from giving or receiving, or performing any kind of work or buſineſs, particularly if their intereſt is concerned therein, he expreſsly commanded the proper officers to deliver due proportions to them on the following day. The favourable treatment which they experienced from Tiberius gave the Jews a conſiderable ſhare of conſequence with the other nations, who, though naturally enemies to them, dared not venture to interrupt them in the enjoyment of their privileges, ſince they were ſo evidently patronized and greatly favoured by the emperor.

The circumſtances of the Jews were as auſpicious under the dominion of Tiberius as under that of Auguſtus, although Sejanus exerted his utmoſt endeavours to effect the ruin of ſuch of our people as reſided in the city of Rome, by groſsly calumniating them to the emperor. Soon after the miſerable death of Sejanus, Tiberius diſcovered that the injurious reports which he had communicated reſpecting the Jews, were entirely deſtitute of a foundation in truth, and calculated to anſwer no other purpoſe than that of vio-

lently irritating him againſt them, becauſe Sejanus had found them to be a people, whom, of all others, he had moſt reaſon to apprehend would vigorouſly oppoſe the impious deſign he had meditated of ſacrificing the life of his prince. Hereupon Tiberius diſpatched immediate orders to the governors of the ſeveral provinces, enjoining them to treat the Jews with great lenity, excepting only ſome few who had been concerned in Sejanus's conſpiracy; and that no interruption ſhould be offered to them in the exerciſe of their religion; for that he conſidered them as a people whoſe laws, lives and manners were by no means repugnant to the inſtitutions of government, or dangerous to the public tranquillity.

CHAP. X.

The vanity and preſumption of Caligula ſtill continues to encreaſe, and the Alexandrians comply with his deſire of being venerated as a deity. Some account of the worſhip practiced by the Alexandrians. An Ægyptian, named Helico, who had been a ſlave, and preſented by his maſter to the late emperor Tiberius Cæſar, is in great favor with Caligula, whom he irritates againſt the Jews of Alexandria.

THE phrenſy of Caligula was now arrived to ſo immoderate a degree, that he not only claimed divine honors, but actually believed himſelf to be a divinity; and neither the Greeks, the Barbarians, or any other people, were ſo ready to encourage his extravagant pretenſions as the Alexandrians. They are a people who greatly ſurpaſs all the other inhabitants of the earth in the arts of flattery, diſſimulation and hypocriſy: they have a remarkably inſinuating manner, a great command of words, and are eminently qualified for creating popular tumults and deſtroying the order of government. A proper idea of the religious principles of theſe people will be formed, when it is conſidered that they pay adoration to their ibes, aſps, and diverſe other animals; and thus they deceive people who are not apprized of the abominable impiety of the Ægyptians: but they are held in the utmoſt abhorrence by all good men who are acquainted with the real nature of their practices.

Caligula was vain enough to entertain the abſurd ſuppoſition that the Alexandrians believed him to be a god in reality; for they hailed him with the acclamations, and obſerved towards him the external formalities, uſual in the religious ceremonies of their country, and there was ſo great a plauſibility in their manner, that the emperor could not perceive the difference between a falſe and a true worſhip. Thus infatuated, he conſidered the veneration paid him by the people, and the ſacrileges they had committed in the oratories, as evident proofs of their great zeal and affection towards his perſon: and the moſt excellent poems or hiſtories could not have been more acceptable to him than the accounts he daily received of what paſſed in Alexandria reſpecting theſe ſubjects. The intelligence was conveyed by his own domeſtics, who were admirably qualified to gratify the inclinations of their maſter; for they extravagantly praiſed whatever he approved, and as ſeverely condemned

condemned every thing to which he expreſſed an averſion. Theſe domeſtics were principally Ægyptians, an abject, and in every reſpect a contemptible people, educated from their infancy in the abominable practice of paying adoration to ſerpents and crocodiles. The chief of theſe people was an Ægyptian, named Helico, a man of obſcure birth and abandoned principles, who had inſinuated himſelf into favor at court, by unjuſtifiable practices. Helico had acquired ſome literary knowledge while in the capacity of a ſlave to his firſt maſter, by whom he was preſented to the deceaſed emperor Tiberius Cæſar. But this prince, even in the early part of his life, was of a grave diſpoſition, and ever inclined to conſider frivolous matters with contempt; and therefore he entertained no regard for Helico, in whom he obſerved buffoonery to be the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic. Upon the deceaſe of Tiberius, and the ſucceſſion of Caligula to the imperial dignity, Helico determined to accommodate himſelf to the diſpoſition of his new maſter, whom he obſerved to be a prince wholly abandoned to the unlimited indulgence of his inordinate and vicious deſires: and thus he argued with himſelf:

"The time is now arrived when thou mayeſt promote thy own advantage; " therefore, Helico, permit not ſo favourable an opportunity to eſcape, but " rouſe thyſelf into activity. Thou haſt now a maſter perfectly agreeable to " thy wiſhes: he will attentively liſten to thy diſcourſe, and yield to thy " perſuaſions. Thou haſt a diſpoſition that can eaſily accommodate itſelf to " all perſons and circumſtances; and there are but few, if any, who can ri- " val thee in the talent of humour, raillery and ſatirical mirth. Thou art " not more deeply ſkilled in the liberal ſciences than thoſe which are deemed " illiberal. Thou art not only able to employ the arts of flattery with ſuc- " ceſs, but alſo to render thoſe againſt whom thou haſt conceived an " enmity the objects of ſuſpicion and reſentment by oblique inſinuations: " and thou art well aware that thy efforts will operate the more powerfully " in proportion to the degree of art with which thy motives are diſguiſed; " and that thou haſt now to deal with a prince ever willing to yield attention " to reproach and calumny. Thou haſt no cauſe to apprehend the want of " ſubjects; for the Jewiſh people, their laws and ceremonies will afford thee " ample materials for the exerciſe of thy ingenuity. To execrate theſe peo- " ple and their cuſtoms, thou haſt been inſtructed from thy infancy, not " merely by particular individuals, but by nearly the whole body of the " Alexandrians. Let it then be proved how far thy abilities are able to " render thee ſervice."

Helico's thoughts were now wholly engroſſed by the plan he had conceived; and he continually employed himſelf in endeavouring to exaſperate Caligula againſt the Jews: he paid no regard to proper times or ſeaſons, but either by day or night, as his inclinations happened to dictate, interrupted the emperor in his moſt private retirements, and during the hours dedicated to pleaſure, and adopted every ſpecies of artifice that was likely to encreaſe that averſion which he already entertained againſt the people of our nation; and his wicked and malicious inſinuations had the greater effect, as they were delivered in a ſtyle of ironical pleaſantry. He judged it not good policy

openly to declare himself the enemy of the Jews, but so artfully disguised his meaning, and conducted his treacherous scheme with so much address that he involved our people in greater calamities than he could possibly have done had his intention been obvious.

The ambassadors appointed by the people of Alexandria had no sooner discovered that Helico was a man capable of rendering them essential service, than they pursued every possible means for attaching him to their interest, for which purpose they presented him with very considerable sums of money, and promised to procure him distinguished honors upon the emperor's arrival at Alexandria, where he was expected in a short time; and he engaged to fulfil their requests. Helico greatly delighted himself by anticipating in his imagination the respect and honor that would be paid to him by the ambassadors who would resort to Alexandria from all quarters of the universe for the purpose of manifesting their veneration towards the person of the emperor.

The means of defending ourselves against our open and and professed enemies had hitherto entirely engrossed our attention, so that we entertained not the least suspicion that measures were pursuing for our destruction by an inveterate and concealed enemy in the person of Helico. But upon discovering that this man was violently prejudiced against us, we exerted our utmost endeavours, by flattery and such other means as we judged most likely to prove effectual, to incline him to our interest, considering him as a man from whom we had the greatest reason to apprehend danger; for he attended Caligula at feastings, balls, wrestlings, bathings, and all other entertainments and exercises, and was his companion in his sensual debaucheries. Being first gentleman of the bed-chamber, he could on no occasion be at a loss for the opportunity of engaging the emperor in conversation. The great object of his desire was to effect the destruction of the Jews; and for this purpose he calumniated us with the most barbarous severity, but in a style of such exquisite humour and raillery, that his malevolent reflections seemed to be unpremeditated, without the least design of promoting mischief, but wholly calculated to afford pleasure to the emperor. He pursued his infamous machinations with the most consummate art, connecting his misrepresentations together with such ingenuity that they mutually served to elucidate and add force to each other. In short, the artifices he employed proved so successful, that their effects were never to be eradicated from the mind of Caligula.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

The Jews of Alexandria despair of succeeding with Helico, and therefore appoint deputies to represent their case to the emperor, Philo being the chief of the embassy.

HAVING assiduously laboured to the utmost extent of our abilities to influence Helico in our favor, and having experienced the mortifying disappointment of finding him to be a man of an insufferably arrogant and haughty disposition, and so difficult of access that it was not possible to gain his attention to our cause, we deemed it necessary to seek redress by other means, not knowing but some particular and personal pique or enmity might be the cause of his prejudicing us in the opinion of Caligula. It was deemed expedient to present a memorial to the emperor representing the grievances we suffered, and supplicating redress. When king Agrippa was going to Syria, not long previous to this time, he stopped at Alexandria, and we then presented to him an address, of which the above-mentioned memorial was an abstract.

We departed in order to repair to Rome, cherishing the flattering belief that we should find Caligula a benevolent prince and an equitable judge: but we were miserably deceived in our opinion; for fatal experience convinced us that he entertained a most inveterate and implacable enmity against the people of our nation. He received us in the field of Mars, adjacent to Tyber, and disguised the real sentiments of his heart by saluting us with great complacency and apparent good-will, signifying by a motion of his right hand that we were perfectly welcome; and he dispatched Homulus, the introducer of ambassadors, to inform us, that on the first opportunity of leizure he would take our cause into mature consideration. From these circumstances it was imagined, not by the Jews alone, but by all persons present, that our application would succeed to the extent of our wishes.

I had the honor to be appointed chief of the embassy from the Jews of Alexandria to the emperor Caius Caligula; and the experience and knowledge which I had acquired in the world enabled me to avoid the error of judging from superficial appearances; and therefore what afforded satisfaction to other people, inspired me with jealousy and apprehension, and suggested the following reflections:

"Is it not strange that though ambassadors are here assembled from all "quarters of the universe, we alone should receive audience? Does not Cali- "gula know that we are Jews, and that we cannot reasonably expect a de- "ference that is refused to other people? It would, indeed, be a degree of "lunacy in us were we to expect peculiar favors and protection from a "youthful and free prince, of a different nation from ours, and of princi- "ples contrary to those we profess. It is indisputable that he entertains a "partiality towards the Alexandrians, and that he is induced by his regard

" to them to haſten the deciſion on our appeal. I am terribly alarmed by the " apprehenſion that he will be a powerful enemy to the Jews, and a firm " advocate for the Alexandrians: but would to Heaven he may ſo conduct " himſelf in the cauſe which is ſubmitted to his determination as to approve " himſelf worthy the character of an equitable judge.

CHAP. XII.

Philo and the other Jewiſh ambaſſadors are informed that Caligula has iſſued orders to Petronius, the governor of Syria, to cauſe his ſtatue to be erected in the temple of Jeruſalem, in conſequence of which they are greatly afflicted. Account of the deaths of Helico and the tragedian Apelles.

MY mind was ſo entirely occupied by the above reflections, that I was unable to take repoſe either by day or night; but additional troubles were yet to arrive. A circumſtance occurred that foreboded the utter ruin of the whole Jewiſh nation, and I was now moſt heavily oppreſſed with affliction.

We had followed the emperor to Puteoli, whither he had repaired for the purpoſe of enjoying the freſh air on the the banks of the ſea, and entertaining himſelf with the view of the palaces and other magnificent buildings which abound in that neighbourhood. We waited in daily expectation of being admitted to an audience, in the laſt degree of anxiety leſt our petition ſhould be rejected.

We were accoſted by a man trembling and ſo out of breath that he was at firſt unable to ſpeak: wildneſs and diſtraction appeared in his eyes, and all his features were expreſſive of the utmoſt horror. He retired a little that he might not be over-heared by the ſtrangers who were preſent, and then, in a low tone of voice, ſaid, " Hark ye; have you not heard the dreadful news?" He endeavoured to proceed, but burſt into tears, and was unable to articulate another ſentence. After a ſhort pauſe he prepared again to ſpeak, and frequently renewed his attempts, but his voice was as often interrupted by the ſame cauſe. We were greatly ſurprized at this very extraordinary ſpectacle, and earneſtly entreated the man to inform us what was the motive of his conduct, ſaying we could not ſuppoſe, from what we had obſerved, but that he came with a deſign to weep in our preſence; adding, that if he had cauſe of great affliction, we, who had been long and daily exerciſed in miſery, would join him in mourning and lamentations. At length, he made another effort to ſpeak, and, after many tears, ſighs and other expreſſions of grief, he ſaid, " Our temple is inevitably ruined; for the emperor has iſſued an ex- " preſs order for his ſtatue, with the name of Jupiter inſcribed thereon, to " be erected in the holy ſanctuary." This intelligence operated ſo powerfully upon all who heard it, as nearly to deprive them of all ſenſe and motion; and in a ſhort time we received a fatal confirmation of its authenticity. We now ſecluded ourſelves in an apartment, where we condoled each other on the

the calamitous ſituation of affairs; for grief is naturally eloquent, and we had ample cauſe for lamentation.

When we committed ourſelves to the mercy of the tempeſtuous ocean, engaging in a hazardous, fatiguing and dangerous winter-voyage, in the hope of relieving ourſelves from intolerable perſecution and oppreſſion, we entertained no apprehenſion of ſo terrible a ſtorm as we have experienced at land. The tempeſts of winter, and all the revolutions of the ſeaſons, happen according to the common courſe of nature, and are to be conſidered as the works of Providence, being meant to operate to the general good of mankind; and therefore they are not only ſupportable, but to be ſubmitted to with chearfulneſs. The tempeſt which now prevails is cauſed by a youthful, ambitious and turbulent prince, who delights in public calamity, and who is ſo entirely diveſted of all principles of virtue, that he reſembles humanity in no circumſtance but that of the external form: and he is to be conſidered as the more dangerous enemy ſince, the whole power of the empire being at his command, no bounds can be preſcribed to his wanton and inſupportable tyranny. Who would preſume to diſſuade the moſt cruel enemy of mankind from offering ſacrilegious violence to the temple? Would it not be contrary to reaſon and common ſenſe to hope for mercy from a monſter whoſe heart is eſtranged to all the tender feelings of humanity; or to expect ſafety and protection from our barbarous and unrelenting oppreſſors? The man who would dare to violate the holy temple, which, like the ſun in the firmament, is conſpicuous to the whole world, and is held in univerſal veneration, muſt be capable of every ſpecies of wickedneſs, and it would be the height of abſurdity to expect that he ſhould, even in a ſingle inſtance, approve himſelf the friend of mankind.

" He who ſubmits to death for the laws and religion of his country will " inevitably be rewarded for the glorious ſacrifice by a life of eternity and " inexpreſſible happineſs. Why then (continued we) ſhould we expreſs " an anxiety for prolonging the date of mortal exiſtence? But depriving " ourſelves of life without being influenced to the irrevocable action by the " proſpect that happy conſequences would thence reſult to the public, muſt " neceſſarily ſubject us to juſt and ſevere cenſure. Should we be guilty of a " conduct of this nature we ſhould but add to the calamities under which " we already labour. Being here in the character of ambaſſadors we ſhould " involve thoſe by whom we are deputed in circumſtances of aggravated " diſtreſs, and afford thoſe among our own people who are unfavourably diſ- " poſed towards us an opportunity of attributing a wrong motive to any glo- " rious reſolution we might adopt. They may, perhaps, urge that being in " embarraſſed circumſtances, we dreaded to encounter the threatened danger, " and infamouſly deſerted the public cauſe.

" Smaller intereſts muſt give way to greater and thoſe of individuals muſt " yield to conſiderations, for the public good. If this rule is violated the " order of government will be confounded, and the very exiſtence of " government itſelf, and conſequently of the laws by which the national im- " portance and grandeur is ſupported, will be in danger of falling in a com-

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" mon deſtruction. We muſt not, for a moment, be ſo inſenſible of the " great duties which we owe to our country as to entertain the thought of a- " bandoning the cauſe of the Jews of Alexandria, who have inveſted us " with powers to negotiate an affair on the iſſue of which depends the ſafety " and welfare of the whole Jewiſh nation, who are now in moſt imminent " danger of being entirely extirpated from the face of the earth by the vio- " lent and barbarous perſecutions and oppreſſions of the inhuman tyrant " Caligula.

" Perhaps it may be urged, that if we can by no means enſure ſucceſs, we " may ſtill indulge the thoughts of retiring in ſafety, even under the great " affliction of our diſappointments. In reply to this I ſay, that a propoſi- " tion of the above nature cannot be advanced by a man poſſeſſed either of " perſonal bravery or a knowledge of the holy ſcriptures. It is the natural " diſpoſition of truly generous ſpirits never to abandon themſelves to deſpair; " and thoſe who believe and heartily embrace the doctrines of the ſacred " ſcripture, will find therein an unfailing foundation for ſuſtaining their " hopes. The diſtreſs to which we are at preſent reduced may, perhaps, be " meant as a trial of our virtue, and to prove with what degree of conſtancy " and fortitude we are able to ſupport affliction. Farewell then to all ex- " pectations of ſublunary comforts, which are ſo uncertain and deceiving as " to deſert us when we have moſt occaſion for their ſupport. Let us, with a " firm confidence and ſteady faith, rely on the power and goodneſs of Al- " mighty God, by whom our anceſtors were frequently delivered from the " moſt calamitous circumſtances, and by whom we ſhall never be forſaken " while we hold his ſacred name in due veneration."

In the above manner we conſoled ourſelves on ſo melancholy and unex- pected an event. After remaining ſilent for a ſhort time, addreſſing our- ſelves to the perſon who had communicated the afflicting intelligence, we ſpoke to following purpoſe:

" How happens it that you appear to be ſatisfied with having ſimply rela- " ted to us the matter of fact, which has involved us in extreme miſery; as " a ſingle ſpark may occaſion the moſt terrible conflagrations? We ſtill re- " main wholly ignorant of the motive of the impious reſolution which you " ſay the tyrant has adopted."

" It is a matter of public notoriety (replied he) that the emperor is ambi- " tious of being diſtinguiſhed as a divinity. Conceiving the Jews to be the " only people who would endeavour to fruſtrate his blaſphemous deſign, he " determined to exert every poſſible effort for obviating the oppoſition which " he apprehended from them. He judged that he could not proceed in a " more effectual manner towards facilitating the execution of his purpoſe " than by wreaking vengeance upon the Jews by offering indignities and pro- " fanations to the holy temple of Jeruſalem, which is univerſally allowed " to be the moſt magnificent and beautiful ſtructure that has ever been " formed by human invention and labour, and which contains immenſe trea- " ſures, donatives and oblations, that have been conſtantly accumulating

" during the ſucceſſion of many ages: and theſe ſacred articles Caligula had " the effrontry to claim for his own private uſe.

" Capito, who enjoyed the office of queſtor, and a commiſſion for receiv- " ing the tributes of Judæa, wrote letters to the emperor, which exaſperated " him to additional rage againſt the people of our nation. Capito came in- " to Judæa in very indigent circumſtances, but by fraudulent and corrupt " meaſures he amaſſed conſiderable wealth, though not without rendering " himſelf the object of univerſal abhorrence to the inhabitants of the ſeveral " provinces. Apprehending that the Jews would exhibit juſt complaints " againſt him, and call him to account for the notorious delinquency of his " conduct, he judged that it would be a ſeaſonable ſtroke of good policy to " irritate the emperor againſt them, that their expected accuſations might " operate with the leſs power; and he availed himſelf of the following occa- " ſion for carrying his treacherous purpoſe into execution:

" Jamnia is one of the moſt populous cities in Judæa, and, excepting " ſome few ſtrangers, who removed from the neighbouring countries, and, " unhappily for us, came to reſide there, it is inhabited entirely by the " people of our perſuaſion. Theſe ſtrangers have ever been violent enemies " to the laws, cuſtoms and manners of the Jews; and they had no ſooner " gained information that Caligula was ambitious of the character of a " deity, and that he harboured a mortal and unconquerable hatred towards " the people of our nation, than they determined to exert every poſſible ef- " fort for involving us in deſtruction, conceiving that a more favourable op- " portunity was not likely to occur for the execution of their treacherous and " iniquitous purpoſe. They cauſed the utmoſt expedition to be uſed in the " erection of an altar, formed of clay wrought into bricks; and this meaſure " they ſuppoſed would be underſtood by us as a ſufficient indication of their " hoſtile principles; and they were not deceived in the conjecture that a " quarrel would enſue.

" In a ſhort time the Jews aſſembled, and laid the altar in ruins; in con- " ſequence of which the faction exhibited complaints before Capito, and re- " queſted that he would grant them redreſs for the injury and affront they had " received. Capito, who originally concerted the ſcheme, induſtriouſly " aided its operation; and when it had arrived to maturity, he congratu- " lated himſelf on the ſucceſs of his invention, and tranſmitted to the empe- " ror an account of the affair, including every aggravation that appeared " likely to inflame him to an exceſs of rage and indignation. The intelli- " gence being received by the impetuous, vain and preſumptuous Caligula, " he immediately commanded that, in revenge for the deſtruction of the " brick altar in Jamnia, his ſtatue, of the ſize of a coloſſus, and richly " decorated with gold, ſhould be placed in the temple of Jeruſalem. In this " matter the emperor followed the advice of thoſe reſpectable counſellors " Helico, who had ſo greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf as the buffoon of the " court, and the tragedian named Apelles. Having ſignalized himſelf by " the profligacy of his manners in the early part of life, Apelles afterwards

" engaged in the theatrical profeſſion: and it will perhaps be thought " ſcarcely neceſſary to obſerve that there is no claſs of people more remark- " able than thoſe dependant on the ſtage, for the lewdneſs of their principles " and the licentious courſe of their lives. Helico and Apelles are the pre- " ceptors of Caligula: it is the buſineſs of the firſt to qualify him in the arts " of raillery, and that of the latter to inſtruct him in ſinging and the manner " of reciting poetry. Thus, like a ſcorpion, did Helico diſcharge his " Ægyptian venom againſt the Jews, as did Apelles that of an Aſcalonite, " which word ſignifies an irreconcileable enemy to the people of our nation."

The above relation ſo grievouſly afflicted us that we could not have been ſenſible of more acute pain had a poniard been ſtruck to our hearts at every word. The execrable adviſers of Caligula, however, ſurvived not long before they received the retribution of their abominable impiety. Apelles being apprehended and committed to priſon, was heavily laden with chains and ſubjected to the moſt excruciating tortures, which were inflicted at certain intervals that his ſufferings might be prolonged, and, at length, they produced his death. Helico was put to death by order of Claudius, who ſucceeded Caligula in the imperial dignity.

CHAP. XIII.

Petronius, the governor of Syria, receives the emperor's order for erecting his ſtatue in the temple of Jeruſalem; but he is greatly embarraſſed as to the conduct he ſhall purſue, foreſeeing, that if he executes the commiſſion unhappy events muſt conſequently ariſe. Babylon and other provinces attached to the intereſt of the Jews. Apprehending the dangerous circumſtances in which he would involve himſelf by a refuſal, Petronius determines to comply with the orders of Caligula.

THE emperor now diſpatched orders to Petronius, the governor of Syria, for erecting and conſecrating a ſtatue to his honor in the temple of Jeruſalem; and every poſſible precaution was inſerted in the commiſſion leſt the ſacrilegious ſcheme ſhould fail of being carried into execution. He commanded Petronius to ſummon half the troops forming the army ſtationed on the river Euphrates, for the purpoſe of repelling the oriental kings and nations, in caſe of their attempting inroads or other enterprizes, and to employ them in attending the ſtatue: the deſign of Caligula, however, was not to give an appearance of ſolemnity to the ceremony of conſecration, but that a ſufficient force ſhould be ready to deſtroy ſuch of the Jews as ſhould preſume to oppoſe the extravagant meaſure.

" Alas, (exclaimed Petronius) is it thus, inhuman prince, that you de- " clare hoſtilities againſt the Jews, who, you are conſcious will ſubmit to " the moſt violent and cruel deaths rather than live to be the miſerable wit- " neſſes of an infringement of their laws and a profanation of their temple? " What purpoſe will be anſwered by employing the military power but that " of conſecrating the ſtatue with the blood of ſo numerous a body of innocent " people as will loſe their lives on this unhappy occaſion?"

The order received from Caligula involved Petronius in a moſt afflicting embarraſſment. He was fully apprized of the great danger that would attend a refuſal to comply with the emperor's command, or the leaſt delay in carrying it into execution; and he was perfectly ſenſible that, in caſe of his acquieſcence, infinite difficulties would neceſſarily occur, as he knew the Jews to be a people in whom no conſiderations would repreſs the ſpirit of a moſt vigorous and unremitting oppoſition when their religion was in danger of violation.

It is natural for the people of every country to be jealous and apprehenſive leſt they ſhould be abridged of their cuſtoms and privileges; but the Jews are more remarkably ſo than any of the other inhabitants of the globe. They conſider their laws as being oracles delivered to them by the Almighty; they are inſtructed from their earlieſt years in the neceſſity of paying a rigid obedience to them; the more they reflect upon them the more does their veneration for them encreaſe; and they are ſo deeply engraven upon their hearts that the impreſſion is not to be defaced. It is their practice to grant ſtrangers, who become proſelytes to their profeſſion, the full enjoyment of all the privileges of free-citizens; and in ſhort, ſo ſacred is their veneration for their religious inſtitutions, that they would ſooner relinquiſh life than be guilty of the ſmalleſt violation of their duty. There cannot be a ſtronger proof of their great and ſcrupulous regard to the dignity of the holy temple, than the law which conſigns any man to death without mercy who ſhall preſume to enter the ſanctuary: but to all other parts of the building the Jews of the different provinces are allowed the indiſcriminate right of admiſſion.

The order which he had received for erecting the ſtatue of the emperor in the temple of Jeruſalem proved exceedingly diſtreſſing to Petronius, who, anxiouſly revolved the matter in his mind, and advanced a variety of propoſitions and objections before he could determine on the line of conduct that it was moſt eligible to purſue. The reſult of his deliberations was, that he muſt carefully avoid any kind of innovation in points of religion; and his reaſons were

1ſt, Becauſe the introduction of a change in the cuſtomary manner of the Jewiſh worſhip would be contrary to juſtice and piety: and

2dly, Becauſe the vengeance of an incenſed Creator was to be dreaded, beſides the conſequences that would probably enſue from irritating the paſſions of a violent and determined people, and driving them to a ſtate of deſperation.

He reflected on the immenſe multitudes compoſing the great body of the Jewiſh nation; a people, not like others, confined to any particular province, but diſperſed throughout every part of the univerſe, in the iſlands as well as upon the continent, and in ſuch numbers that they were ſuppoſed, upon computation, to be nearly equal to all the other inhabitants; and he thus argued with himſelf:

"In my preſent ſituation it will certainly be prudent to defer taking any "meaſures reſpecting the matter in queſtion until I ſhall have taken them "into mature deliberation. The Jews are ſo ſurprizingly numerous, that

"to

" to provoke them to a general confederacy would be a meaſure exceeding-
" ly dangerous to the public ſafety; for were ſuch myriads of people to unite
" in a common cauſe, their force would be ſufficient to ſubdue all the reſt of
" the world. Vaſt numbers of theſe people at preſent inhabit the country of
" Judæa; and, notwithſtanding they are repreſented by their enemies as bar-
" barians, they indiſputably poſſeſs noble and generous minds; they are
" a people ſkilled in the arts of war, able to bear fatigue, and of approved
" bravery; and they poſſeſs ſuch an invincible conſtancy that they will ob-
" ſtinately contend for the preſervation of their rights, and infinitely rather
" yield up their lives, with their ſwords in their hands, than ſubmit to be
" the witneſſes of a violation of their religion and the admirable laws tranſ-
" mitted to them by their anceſtors."

Petronius was alſo greatly apprehenſive of danger from the troops reſident on the other ſide of the river Euphrates, in Babylon, and diverſe other provinces, who he was confident were ſtrongly attached to the intereſts of the Jews. " Theſe people (ſaid he) have regularly tranſmitted their annual
" contributions, which they call holy treaſure, to the temple of Jeruſalem,
" under the denomination of firſt-fruits; and ſo great is their piety, that,
" notwithſtanding the danger and difficulty of the paſſage, they have never
" entertained the apprehenſion that the treaſure would not arrive in ſafety.
" Upon gaining intelligence of the dedication of the ſtatue of Caligula there
" is every reaſon to believe that they will immediately take the field, and
" then we muſt expect that they will ſurround us and ſacrifice our lives to
" their revenge.

Having ruminated in the above manner, the governor turned his thoughts to the character and diſpoſition of Caligula. " The emperor (ſaid he) is a
" young man of violent and impetuous paſſions; he has no idea either of
" humanity or juſtice, nor any guide to his conduct but the dictates of an ar-
" bitrary inclination; and his pride, arrogance and preſumption are ſo ex-
" ceſſive, that he is ambitious of being diſtinguiſhed as a divinity. Whether
" I comply with or diſobey his command, my life muſt be expoſed to moſt
" imminent danger. By a compliance I ſhall expoſe myſelf to the dangers
" attendant upon war, the events of which, however, it muſt be allowed
" are uncertain: but immediate death muſt be the inevitable conſequence
" of diſobedience."

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

The Roman officers under Petronius are diſpoſed to war. Petronius employs artificers in forming the ſtatue of Caligula, and endeavours to prevail upon the principal people among the Jews to conſent to the placing it in the temple of Jeruſalem. The Jews aſſemble, and proceed towards Phœnicia in ſearch of Petronius, with whom they remonſtrate on the ſubject of the intended dedication, and ſupplicate his permiſſion to repreſent their caſe to the emperor.

IN order to avoid the fury of the emperor, which they dreaded would fall upon them as a puniſhment for their diſobedience to the expreſs command reſpecting the dedication of the ſtatue, the Roman officers who aſſiſted in the government of Syria, under Petronius, recommended the engaging in the war as a meaſure highly expedient. But it proved a happy circumſtance that the time employed in preparing the ſtatue afforded an opportunity of mature deliberation, for orders were not iſſued either for conveying a ſtatue from Italy, or for making uſe of the beſt that could be procured in Syria. Thus it appeared as if a providential interference operated in favor of God's people; for had not the delay happened, the war would have taken place before we could have made the neceſſary proviſion againſt the terrible calamities with which we were threatened.

Having formed the reſolution of carrying the emperor's orders into effect, Petronius ſent to Phœnicia for the moſt celebrated artiſts to repair to him. Upon the arrival of theſe people he conſulted with them reſpecting the buſineſs they were to undertake, for which he furniſhed them with all neceſſary materials, and appointed Sidon as the place where they were to perform the work. He diſpatched intelligence of the intended dedication to the high-prieſts, magiſtrates, principal officers and other leading people among the Jews, exhorting them to a ready obedience to the emperor's pleaſure, as the only means of avoiding the grievous calamities that otherwiſe muſt inevitably enſue; adding, that in caſe of an oppoſition, death and deſtruction would univerſally prevail in all their variegated forms of horror; for ſtrict orders had been iſſued to the Syrian troops to employ fire and ſword in laying the whole country in a ſtate of abſolute deſolation if the Jews ſhould make the ſlighteſt attempt to obſtruct the dedication of the ſtatue in their temple.

Petronius proceeded in the above manner, hoping that he ſhould be able to prevail upon the leading people to acquieſce in the meaſure, and that their example would be readily followed by the multitude: but he was greatly deceived in his expectation. The matter being intimated to the people, they were ſtruck with inexpreſſible aſtoniſhment and horror; their grief was ſo exceſſive as to deprive them of the power of ſpeech, and they wept to ſuch exceſs that their tears ſeemed to proceed from an inexhauſtible ſource; their paſſions then became more violent, and they tore the hair from their heads

and beards, and by other extravagant actions proved that they were driven to the verge of distraction. Having, at length, recovered the power of utterance, they vented exclamations to the following effect:

"Alas, how deplorable is our fortune to have survived till this time to "experience miseries, of which our ancestors could not form the least con- "ception. But we will never submit to be the miserable witnesses of the "profanation of our holy temple; for rather than behold the abominable "impiety, we will deprive ourselves of the organs of sight, and at the same "time put an end to our existence."

The above resolution soon reached Jerusalem, and was circulated throughout the country of Judæa; and the Jews, as if by a common consent, deserting their cities, towns, castles and other places of habitation, collected themselves into one body, and directed their march towards Phœnicia, in order to make application to Petronius. Upon the appearance of such an immense concourse of people, the friends of Petronius urged him to be careful of his safety; adding, that a powerful army was on the march to attack him; for they did not conceive it to be possible that the Jews alone could form such an innumerable multitude.

Upon the nearer approach of the Jews they appeared to cover the whole space of ground as far as the sight could extend, but they were entirely destitute of arms either for assault or defence. The air resounded with the most terrible outcries and lamentations; and when their complaints were suspended the sound was for a long time continued by the echo. At length they had recourse to such earnest prayers and ejaculations as were deemed proper on the melancholy occasion. These unhappy people arranged themselves into six classes; the old men, young men and boys forming the three divisions on one side; and the old women, young women and virgins composing the three on the other; and in this order they proceeded.

Being arrived within view of Petronius, who, in order to receive them, had placed himself upon an elevated seat, they cast themselves upon the earth, still keeping their ranks with the utmost regularity, and conducting themselves in every respect perfectly consistent with the character and situation of earnest supplicants. That they were deeply penetrated by affliction was apparent from their whole behaviour, which was exceedingly pathetic, and attended with such an uncommon degree of harmony that they appeared to be actuated by one mind. The governor ordered them to rise and approach nearer to him, but such was their humility that it was not without the greatest difficulty that they were able to persuade themselves to comply. At length, however, they rose and advanced towards Petronius, being in sackcloth and ashes, their eyes bathed in tears, and their hands bound behind them, like those of prisoners under condemnation; and one of the senators, in the name of the whole people, addressed the governor in terms to the following purpose:

"Behold, powerful sir, the unhappy people who now present themselves "before you: lest it should be apprehended that we entertain hostile de- "signs, we come entirely unarmed; and even our hands are confined, so

"that

" that we have voluntarily deprived ourſelves of all power of making uſe of
" offenſive weapons; and we ſubmit ourſelves entirely to your mercy. We
" have abandoned our habitations, and brought with us our wives, children
" and families to unite in ſupplications to the emperor, through the agency
" of Petronius, to grant us a common preſervation, or ſuffer us to fall in a
" common deſtruction. We are a people naturally diſpoſed to peace; and
" it is our intereſt as well as inclination to entertain pacific ſentiments;
" for we are conſcious that we thence derive very conſiderable advantages.

" Upon intelligence being tranſmitted to Vitellius, your predeceſſor in
" the government of Syria, who then reſided at Jeruſalem, reſpecting the
" advancement of Caligula to the throne, we were the firſt people of the
" whole country who teſtified our joy on the occaſion, and congratulated
" him on his ſucceſſion to the imperial dignity, and it was through our means
" that the news of his exaltation was ſo rapidly circulated through the differ-
" ent cities and other places. Our temple was the firſt wherein vows and ſa-
" crifices were offered for prolonging the life, and rendering auſpicious the
" reign of the new emperor. Can it be juſt, then, that we ſhould be the
" firſt, if not the only, people to be abridged of the privilege of exerciſing
" the duties of our religion, according to the forms which, for ſo many
" ages, we have practiced in our holy temple? Our habitations, plate,
" houſehold effects, and all other poſſeſſions, both public and private, of
" whatever denomination, we are ready to reſign into your hands; and we
" ſhall do it with the utmoſt willingneſs, accounting ourſelves even to be
" gainers by the ſurrender of our property. We only deſire your acquieſ-
" cence to one condition; which is, that our temple may be preſerved from
" profanation. Suffer us to continue in the enjoyment of our religious pri-
" vileges as they were tranſmitted from our anceſtors, and we ſhall have no
" further requeſt to make: but if you are determined to reject our ſupplica-
" tions on this head, we moſt earneſtly entreat that you will condemn us
" to the loſs of life; for we can ſubmit to the moſt violent and tormenting
" deaths with infinitely more ſatisfaction than to the violation of our ſacred
" laws.

" A powerful military force is in readineſs to attack ſuch of our people
" as ſhall preſume to oppoſe the conſecration of the emperor's ſtatue: but we
" are not ſo thoughtleſs and imprudent as to harbour the moſt diſtant notion
" of offering reſiſtance to our lawful maſter. The ſoldiers may aſſault us and
" even cut us into pieces without ſubjecting themſelves to any kind of dan-
" ger; for, be aſſured, no oppoſition will be offered on our part. It was
" unneceſſary to draw out ſo powerful an army for the ſlaughter of our peo-
" ple, who will, on no conſideration attempt a defence of their lives. We
" will even execute the functions of our own prieſts; and in offering our
" ſacrifices, the victims ſhall be our wives, ſons, daughters, brothers and
" ſiſters; nor, in ſo deſperate an extremity, will we regret to incur the ap-
" pellation of the ſlayers of men, women and children; and having ſpilt the
" blood of ſo great a number of innocent people, it will be our next buſineſs
" to deprive ourſelves of exiſtence, mingling our blood with that of our

" friends. Our lives will be concluded with a ſupplication to the Almighty " that he will not be offended with us for a conduct to which we were actua- " ted by a regard to the authority of the emperor, and the ſacred laws and " religion of our country. Thus ſhall we behave, if we have ſufficient vir- " tue to perſevere in the reſolution of holding a life in contempt, by the pre- " ſervation of which all good men would think themſelves degraded.

" Among the ancient Greek fables there is related a ſtory concerning Gor- " gon's head, which had the power of transforming all who looked upon it " into ſtone. Though this matter is a mere fiction, it muſt be allowed that " it bears ſome emblematical reſemblance to truth; particularly in inſtances " of unexpected, great and aſtoniſhing events. To be the objects of the diſ- " pleaſure of their prince is the moſt deplorable misfortune that can befal a " people. Suffer me, Petronius, to requeſt that you will picture in your ima- " ginarion the circumſtance of our people being ſpectators of the dedication " of the emperor's ſtatue in the holy temple (but this event may gracious " Heaven avert). Do you not ſuppoſe that ſhocking ſpectacle would give " them the appearance of men transformed into lifeleſs marble? Their eyes " would be fixed in their ſockets with aſtoniſhment and horror, nature would " receive a ſhock, and all the functions of life be ſuſpended.

" We by no means intend to inſinuate that we are deſirous of obtaining a " diſcharge from our allegiance to the emperor: we moſt earneſtly ſuppli- " cate that you will not precipitate us into the laſt extremity of diſtreſs, but " grant us time and your permiſſion to repreſent our caſe to the imperial " Caligula, through the agency of ſuch deputies as we may nominate to " plead for redreſs. It is poſſible that the emperor may be prevailed upon to " grant us the liberty of living in a ſtrict conformity to the laws and religi- " ous inſtitutions tranſmitted to us by our anceſtors: and there will appear " ſome reaſon to hope that our petition will not be rejected, ſince privi- " leges equal to thoſe we requeſt are granted to the people of all other na- " tions without exception. Our remonſtrance may, perhaps, diſpoſe the " emperor to conſider our appeal in a favourable point of view. It cannot " be ſuppoſed that the minds of princes are incapable of change; the poſ- " ſeſſion of the royal dignity does not render the heart inexorable; and the diſ- " pleaſure of emperors and kings, like that of other people, will certainly " admit of palliation or entire removal. We have been greatly prejudiced " in the opinion of the emperor by calumny and undeſerved reproaches. " Permit us then to do ourſelves juſtice by repreſenting to him the truth; for " that we may not be condemned unheard, is all the favor we have to requeſt. " Suppoſing we ſhould find it impoſſible to prevail upon the emperor to com- " ply with our deſire, our endeavours will not deprive him of the power of " carrying his purpoſe into execution. And now, that we may come to a " concluſion, we moſt earneſtly ſupplicate that you will extend your good- " neſs and generoſity ſo far as to grant your permiſſion for us to diſpatch an " embaſſy to plead the cauſe of a miſerable people before the imperial Cali- " gula. By a refuſal you will blaſt all the hopes of this vaſt multitude of peo- " ple, whoſe lives entirely depend on the iſſue of the preſent cauſe. Permit

" me

" me to add that we have no view to private advantage in our preſent requeſt,
" but are wholly impelled by ſentiments of piety; and that we mean not
" to promote our own intereſts any farther than as they are connected with
" the intereſts of our religion."

CHAP. XV.

Petronius compaſſionates the ſituation of the Jews, and writes on their behalf to the emperor. Upon receipt of the letter, Caligula is highly offended, and furiouſly exclaims againſt Petronius. Caligula dictates a letter in reply to that from Petronius, but from political conſiderations, he diſguiſes his rage.

PETRONIUS, who was of a diſpoſition naturally humane and benevolent, was greatly affected by the above diſcourſe, as indeed were all who heard it; and the tenderneſs of their feelings was evident from the expreſſion of their features, their geſtures, and, in ſhort, from their whole deportment. The governor was a man of great moderation, and a ſteady friend to, and advocate for, honor, truth and juſtice. He conſidered the requeſt made by the Jews as being perfectly reaſonable, and commiſerated them as labouring under misfortunes peculiarly ſevere. In a diſcourſe with the perſons appointed to aſſiſt Petronius in the government, he obſerved that the ſeverity of thoſe who had entertained the moſt violent prejudices began now greatly to relax; and this change afforded him no inconſiderable ſhare of ſatisfaction. Petronius was perfectly acquainted with the ſavage barbarity and unforgiving diſpoſition of the emperor: but he conducted himſelf as if he was influenced by a pious regard to the religion of the Jews. Being a man of literature, perhaps his knowledge enabled him to form a right judgment; or he might be inclined in favor of our people by the natural benevolence of his diſpoſition; by the information he acquired after his advancement to the government in Aſia and Syria, where all the towns abound in Jewiſh inhabitants; or by the juſt ſentiments with which the Almighty inſpires virtuous people for the good both of themſelves and the public: and the latter, indeed, appears to have been the caſe on the preſent occaſion.

Orders were given to the ſtatuaries to employ their utmoſt attention for rendering the image of the emperor as complete a performance as it was poſſible for the joint efforts of art and induſtry to produce; they were not enjoined to uſe expedition, but inſtructed to take time ſufficient for the full diſplay of their ingenuity; for haſty productions meet with but ſlight regard, and are ſoon conſigned to oblivion; while thoſe which long remain under the hands of ſkilful artificers acquire a celebrity that is continued to diſtant ages without diminution.

Petronius conſidered that by ſending ambaſſadors to Caligula, the Jews would expoſe themſelves to the mercy of a powerful, vindictive, capricious, and oppreſſive prince; and that granting his full conſent to, or putting an abſolute

abſolute negative upon, their requeſt, would be equally productive of unhappy conſequences; and therefore he adopted a meaſure that ſeemed likely to obviate the danger of either extreme. He diſpatched a letter to Caligula, wherein he omitted to mention the late proceedings of the Jews, but contented himſelf with obſerving that the delay of conſecrating the ſtatue was to be entirely attributed to the conſiderable ſpace of time which the artificers muſt neceſſarily employ in producing a piece of workmanſhip executed in ſo maſterly a manner as to be worthy the glorious purpoſe for which it was deſigned.

Thus did Petronius act with the view of gaining time; and he hoped that Caligula might in the interim alter his reſolution; for this being the ſeaſon for reaping the harveſt, there was reaſon to apprehend that if the Jews were to be driven to deſpair by the profanation of their temple, they would become wholly regardleſs of their lives and all other conſiderations, and ſet fire to their corn and the other products of the earth, in revenge for the abrogation of their laws and religious rites and ceremonies. In order to guard againſt the apprehended miſchief, Petronius took an early opportunity of cauſing the fruits to be gathered and the grain to be reaped; and he was partly induced to this meaſure by a deſire of providing for a ſupply in caſe of a public exigency.

At this time a report univerſally prevailed that Caligula entertained a deſign of going to Alexandria in Ægypt: but indeed it did not appear very probable that the emperor, attended by ſo great a concourſe of people as thoſe who compoſed his retinue, would expoſe himſelf to the great dangers and unavoidable difficulties of a long voyage; ſince he might, with much greater convenience and ſafety have proceeded by the way of the coaſts of Aſia and Syria; for, by purſuing the latter route, he might have had the advantage of diſembarking and embarking according to his inclination, having, excluſive of the veſſels of burden, two hundred long boats, purpoſely adapted to the uſe and ſervice of the coaſts.

It became neceſſary to furniſh the ſeveral towns of Syria with a great ſupply of proviſions, but particularly thoſe ſituated on the ſea coaſts, on account of the amazing concourſe of people that had reſorted to that country from all quarters of the globe. The multitude was compoſed of men of wealth and diſtinction, military and naval commanders, civil officers, and perſons of every other denomination, and the number of domeſtics was nearly equal to that of the ſoldiers. Theſe people were not to be ſupplied in ſuch a manner as would merely ſerve for the preſervation of exiſtence: but were to be entertained with a degree of profuſion and magnificence correſponding with the dignity and illuſtrious character of the emperor.

It was the generally received opinion that the letter would meet with the entire approbation of the emperor, and that he would applaud the prudential meaſures ſuggeſted by Petronius, and approve of the delay in erecting the ſtatue in the temple; though it was not expected that this moderate behaviour would proceed from any tenderneſs that he entertained towards the Jews, but merely from the conſideration that, by ſecuring the corn and fruits, a mate-

a material advantage would be obtained. The letter, then, having received full approbation, a fair tranſcript of it was ordered to bemade, with which a meſſenger was diſpatched with expreſs commands to uſeall poſſible expedition in conveying it to the emperor.

Upon peruſing the letter from Petronius, the emperor's colour deſerted his cheeks, his eyes ſparkled with fury, his geſture was expreſſive of the utmoſt violence of rage and indignation, and claſping his hands together, he thus exclaimed againſt Petronius:

" Is it then thus, Petronius? Have you not yet learnt to obey your maſ-
" ter? You ſeem to imagine that, becauſe you will not ſubmit to the em-
" peror, the emperor will ſubmit to you. The poſſeſſion of an honourable
" and dignified commiſſion has elated you to ſuch an extravagant degree of
" vanity, that you appear to be inſenſible that there is ſuch a man in exiſt-
" ence as Caligula: but a ſhort time will convince you of your egregious
" error. The world is not inhabited by any people who are ſuch implaca-
" ble enemies to me as the Jews; notwithſtanding which your deſire of pre-
" ſerving the laws and cuſtoms of thoſe people is infinitely more powerful
" than your inclination to obſerve a due obedience to the commands of your
" lawful prince. You conceive that there is danger on account of the great
" numbers of people by whom the Jewiſh nation is compoſed: but the ap-
" prehenſion is vain and ridiculous; for you have at command an army ſuf-
" ficiently formidable to oppoſe the utmoſt force of the kings of Parthia,
" and the united power of the whole eaſt. Suppoſing you entertain a com-
" paſſion for the Jews: are you, then, not highly criminal in ſuffering that
" ill-placed compaſſion to prevail over the duty which you owe to your
" prince and maſter? In excuſe for your diſobedience to my expreſs com-
" mands, you plead a ſolicitude for ſaving the harveſt, in order that you
" might provide a ſufficient ſupply of ſtores in preparation for my intended
" voyage: but this is a frivolous pretext; for admitting ſo extraordinary a
" ſcarcity to prevail in Judæa as even to occaſion a famine, we might, in
" ſuch an extremity, procure ample ſupplies from the adjacent provinces.
" But why do I employ the time in idle words? The life of this inſolent
" governor ſhall be ſacrificed to my revenge. He ſhall be convinced that,
" although I decline further menaces, my reſentment and indignation ſtill
" ſubſiſt with their original fury."

Having delivered the above exclamation, the enraged emperor, after a ſhort pauſe, dictated to one of his ſecretaries a letter in reply to that he had received from Petronius: but judging it expedient to avoid all meaſures that might tend to irritate the different governors, and induce them to excite the people to inſurrections, and particularly thoſe commanding in the extenſive and populous provinces, containing powerful armies, as was the caſe in that immenſe territory extending along the banks of the river Euphrates, he carefully concealed his violent diſpleaſure, and highly applauded the foreſight and prudent conduct of Petronius. But after diſſembling the rancour of his heart under the appearance of reſpect and approbation, he ſtrictly enjoined him to ſuffer all other buſineſs entirely to ſubſide rather than prolong

the period for consecrating the statue in the temple of the Jews; adding, that since the haveſt was now concluded no pretext could poſſibly be adduced to juſtify a farther procraſtination.

CHAP. XVI.

Upon the arrival of king Agrippa at Rome, he is informed of the emperor's determination to have a ſtatue dedicated to his honor in the ſanctuary of the temple, and in conſequence thereof is ſeized with a fainting fit. Towards the evening of the following day his ſpirits revive, and after receiving ſome refreſhment, he writes an expoſtulatory letter to Caligula on the ſubject of the intended dedication, concluding with a recital of the purport of a letter formerly tranſmitted to the magiſtrates of Epheſus by the proconſul C. Norbanus Flaccus.

SOON after this period king Agrippa repaired to Rome in order to pay his reſpects to the emperor according to his uſual manner. He was an entire ſtranger as to the letter written by Petronius, and the anſwer returned by Caligula. Upon making his ſalutations he obſerved that the emperor's countenance was expreſſive of great anger; and therefore he employed his thoughts in examining into his own conduct; but finding, upon the moſt ſtrict ſcrutiny, that he was unconſcious of any action that could be interpreted into the cauſe of offence, he juſtly concluded that Caligula's diſpleaſure muſt be pointed towards ſome other object. But his apprehenſion was renewed upon remarking that the fierceneſs of the emperor's eyes ſeemed to be more violent when they regarded him than when they were directed any other way, and on this account he ſeveral times intended to aſk the reaſon of ſo ſingular an alteration; but he ſuppreſſed this deſire, fearing that he might incur the diſpleaſure of the prince by an imprudent indulgence of his curioſity.

No man poſſeſſed a greater ſkill than Caligula in penetrating into the ſentiments of people from the expreſſion of their countenances; and judging of the painful ſtate of Agrippa's mind, he addreſſed him in the following manner:

"I am convinced, Agrippa, that you are perplexed with anxiety and "doubt; and I will now relate to you the matter of which you are ſo deſirous "to be informed. The period of our acquaintance has, ſurely, been of ſuf- "ficient duration for you to have convinced yourſelf that I make uſe of my "eyes, as well as my tongue, to expreſs my meaning. Thoſe of your na- "tion are the only people of the univerſe who have the preſumption to refuſe "acknowledging me as a divinity: and from their inſolent diſregard of my "ſovereign pleaſure, they ſeem to be deſirous of precipitating themſelves in- "to irretrievable deſtruction. I have iſſued my expreſs commands for plac- "ing the ſtatue of Jupiter in the ſanctuary of the temple; and in conſequence "of this, immenſe numbers of people have abandoned their reſpective places "of reſidence, and collected themſelves into a body in order to make appli- "cation to me under the character of humble ſupplicants; but their deſign "is to ſhew in what contempt they hold my commands."

The

The emperor was proceeding in his addreſs, but ceaſed upon obſerving that Agrippa had on a ſudden changed colour, and evidently appeared to be greatly diſordered. A violent trembling pervaded the whole frame of the king, and his legs being no longer able to ſupport him, he muſt have fell to the ground had he not been aſſiſted by the perſons who ſtood near him. While under this indiſpoſition, occaſioned by the ſudden ſhock which his ſpirits received from the afflicting news he had heard from the emperor, Agrippa was conveyed to the place of his reſidence in a ſtate of perfect inſenſibility. So far from being ſenſible of any degree of tenderneſs on account of the alarming accident that had happened to king Agrippa, it ſerved to inflame the emperor to a more extravagant degree of rage againſt the people of our nation.

" Since Agrippa (ſaid the emperor), who has profeſſed the moſt ſincere " eſteem for me, and whom I have entertained as a faithful and familiar " friend, and on every occaſion gratified to the utmoſt extent of my abili- " ties, entertains ſo high a veneration for the laws and religious rites and ce- " remonies of his country, that all the powers of life ſeemed to deſert him " only upon hearing them mentioned with diſreſpect; how little reaſon, " then, have I to expect that the reſt of the Jews, who have no ſuch conſi- " derations to influence them in my favor, will do a violence to their ſenti- " ments in order to indulge the inclinations of their prince."

During the reſt of that, and the greateſt part of the following day, the indiſpoſition of Agrippa continued; and he lay dozing and inſenſible: but towards the evening his ſpirits ſomewhat revived, and raiſing his head a little, with much difficulty he opened his eyes, and caſt them towards thoſe who were about him, but without being able to recollect their perſons. In a ſhort time after this he fell into a ſounder ſleep, his reſpiration being leſs interrupted, and his body ſeeming to be gradually acquiring its former temperature; and theſe were deemed to be very favorable ſymptoms. Having remained ſome time in this ſituation, he awaked, ſaying, " Where am I? " Is this the palace of the emperor: and is he preſent?" In reply to theſe queſtions, they ſaid, " Take courage, ſir: you are now at your own place of " reſidence; and Caligula is not here. The time you have ſlept has been " ſufficient; endeavour, therefore, to ſit up a little; and inform us " whether you have any recollection of thoſe who are now about you. Be " aſſured, ſir, here are none preſent but your friends, your domeſtics and " freed-men, and that we are all moſt anxiouſly concerned for your recovery." The kind ſolicitude which the attendants teſtified contributed to relieve the king, in ſome degree, from the affliction under which he laboured. That Agrippa might not be diſturbed, and that ſome remedies and refreſhments might be adminiſtered, the phyſicians ordered the company to quit the apartment; whereupon he ſaid, " Do not concern yourſelves in providing de- " licacies for the gratification of my palate: a plain diet is all I require; " for under my preſent afflictions, it is ſufficient that I take only what is " juſt neceſſary to ſuſtain life: I could not, indeed, perſuade myſelf to re-

" ceive any kind of nouriſhment but for the pleaſing hope that I ſhall ſur-
" vive to relieve my country from the deplorable ſituation to which it is now
" reduced." Theſe words were accompanied with ſighs and tears; and he made a ſlight meal, the refreſhments which he received being no more than what were abſolutely neceſſary for the ſupport of nature. His food was of the moſt plain and ſimple kind, and his attendants not being able to prevail upon him to have any wine mixed with his water, he drank the element in its native purity. Having concluded his repaſt, he ſaid, " I have now diſ-
" charged a debt to nature; and it only remains for me to exert my utmoſt
" efforts in order to avert the terrible calamities with which my unhappy
" country is threatened." He now ordered a tablet to be brought, and wrote to the emperor in the following manner:

KING AGRIPPA to the emperor CAIUS CALIGULA.

SIR,

" THE dread of incurring your high diſpleaſure, and the veneration
" which I have for your ſacred perſon and the dignity of your exalted cha-
" racter, will not permit me to obtrude into the preſence of your imperial
" majeſty; and therefore I preſume, by means of a letter, to addreſs myſelf
" to your majeſty with the utmoſt reſpect, deference and humility.

" You are ſenſible, imperial ſir, that nature inſpires men with an ardent
" affection for the place of their nativity, and an awful veneration for the
" laws to which they have been taught to yield a perfect obedience. The
" juſtice of this obſervation is fully confirmed by an eminent example which
" is ſhewn in your own perſon; for you pioufly adhere to the exerciſe of the
" duties of religion, and are careful to exact a ſtrict conformity to the legiſ-
" lative inſtitutions of your country. It is the natural diſpoſition of man to
" continue his attachment to the principles which he has early imbibed, and
" to reſpect the laws, cuſtoms and manners to which he has been long fami-
" liarized, however erroneous and undeſerving his preference; for there are
" certain inſtances wherein we are rather influenced by our paſſions and pre-
" judices than directed by judgment and reaſon.

" You are not ignorant, ſir, that I am by birth a Jew, and that the place
" of my nativity is Jeruſalem, in which city ſtands the glorious edifice dedi-
" cated to the honor of the moſt High and Almighty God. I am deſcended
" from anceſtors who were inveſted with the regal authority. Some of them
" were high-prieſts; and they conſidered themſelves as deriving infinitely
" more honor from that dignified ſtation than from the poſſeſſion of ſover-
" eignty: they conſidered that as the Almighty is ſuperior to man, ſo the ſa-
" cerdotal character muſt neceſſarily be more exalted than that of royalty;
" the exerciſe of the former being directed towards Divine matters, and the
" other having relation only to things of a ſublunary nature.

" So

" So nearly am I connected with, and deeply intereſted in the fate of, " this nation, country and temple, to which I am indebted in great and ma- " nifold obligations, that I cannot ſuppreſs the deſire of imploring your im- " perial majeſty with earneſtneſs, but, at the ſame time, with due reſpect, " deference and humility, that you will be graciouſly pleaſed to extend to " them your royal favor. Permit me, ſir, to ſupplicate that you will not " compel the people of our nation to violate that religion which they have " received from their anceſtors, the free exerciſe of which they conſider as a " privilege infinitely more dear to them than the preſervation of life. Re- " flect, ſir, on the truth, loyalty and zeal that the Jews have on every oc- " caſion manifeſted towards the princes of your illuſtrious family. It can- " not be advanced that the people of any other profeſſion have been ſo li- " beral of vows and ſupplications to Heaven for the proſperity of your em- " pire, or ſo attentive to the performance of ſacrifices and oblations, which " they have conſtantly obſerved, not upon ſolemn feſtivals alone, but upon " all other days without intermiſſion: and they have fully teſtified that their " ceremonies did not conſiſt of an idle parade of words and external forma- " lities, but that their expreſſions of piety, veneration and affection proceed- " ed from them in the ſincerity of their ſouls: and from this line of conduct " they have never deviated except when, on particular occaſions, they were " compelled by a reverential obedience due to the holy laws and religion of " their country.

" I muſt intreat permiſſion of your imperial majeſty to obſerve that Jeru- " ſalem, wherein I received my nativity, is not to be conſidered merely as " the metropolis of Judæa, but of many conſiderable colonies which have " been peopled from that holy city; for inſtance, thoſe of Ægypt, Phœni- " cia, the upper and lower Syria, Pamphylia, Cilicia, and ſeveral other " parts of Aſia, extending as far as Bithynia and Pontus; in Europe, Theſ- " ſaly, Bœotia, Macedonia, Ætonia, Athens, Argos, Corinth, and the " greateſt part of Peloponneſus; and likewiſe the moſt celebrated of the " iſlands; as Eubœa, Cyprus and Crete. Reſpecting the country on the " other ſide the Euphrates I may ſafely aſſert that, excepting a ſmall part of " the province of Babylon and ſome other governments, there is ſcarcely a " city of any conſideration that is not occupied by Jewiſh inhabitants. " Hence then it appears that I do not intercede in favor of my own country " in particular, but for the general advantage and happineſs of Aſia, Eu- " rope and Africa, the people inhabiting the iſlands as well as the conti- " nent.

" By graciouſly condeſcending to comply with my petition in favor of the " city where I received my birth, you will confer great and laſting obliga- " tions upon the people of many other places ſituated in the different quar- " ters of the globe; for on the act of clemency which I now preſume to ſo- " licit depends the common welfare and happineſs of almoſt the whole body " of mankind. What action can be more conſiſtent with the exalted cha- " racter of the great and illuſtrious Cæſar than that which will gratify the " deſires, and procure the felicity of all mankind, and conſequently ſecure to " him

" him the tribute of admiration, eſteem and reverence from the moſt diſtant " generations? I am not without hope that the confidence of my addreſs will " meet with pardon; for my zealous endeavours in the preſent cauſe are " meant to promote a mediation which will ſecure great and immortal fame " to the emperor.

" In compliance with the interceſſions of ſome particular friends, you have " been graciouſly pleaſed to conſtitute the inhabitants of whole towns " free citizens of Rome, thereby advancing to the character of maſters thoſe " who were before in a ſtate of ſervitude; and on theſe occaſions your royal " beneficence was as great to thoſe who ſolicited the bounty as to thoſe on " whom it was conferred. Of all the princes who acknowledge you as their " maſter, there are but few who can juſtly claim a ſuperiority to me in point " of dignity, and none who bear towards your ſacred perſon a more profound " and ſincere reſpect, eſteem and veneration. The inſtances of friendſhip which " you have been graciouſly pleaſed to confer upon me have been great and nu- " merous; and both honor and gratitude have hitherto prompted, and will " ever continue to excite my moſt ſincere acknowledgments. Nevertheleſs I do " not preſume to ſolicit your imperial majeſty on the ſcore of grants and pri- " vileges, or that you will allow my countrymen an exemption of the pay- " ment of tributes. I only entreat a favor that cannot be productive of any " kind of injury or inconvenience to your imperial majeſty, but which will " prove highly advantageous and ſatisfactory to the Jews; for what greater " earthly bleſſings can ſubjects deſire than the good opinion, eſteem and " friendſhip of their acknowledged ſovereign? Jeruſalem was the firſt place " that congratulated Caligula on his ſucceſſion to the imperial dignity; and " ſhe communicated the joyful event to the adjacent provinces. May we not " reaſonably expect that ſome favor will be ſhewn to our holy city, in ac- " knowledgment of the loyal and zealous principles ſhe expreſſed when ſhe " hailed Caligula in the character of her lawful ſovereign? It is judged that " the eldeſt ſon is entitled to the greater ſhare of honor, becauſe by his birth " his parents firſt acquired the venerable appellations of father and mother: " may we not, therefore, conclude that ſome conſideration, ſuperior to ſuch " as can be reaſonably expected by any other cities, is due to Jeruſalem; " ſince ſhe firſt congratulated Caligula on the occaſion of his advancement " to the regal ſtation?

" Having thus ſpoken concerning my nation and my country, it now re- " mains for me moſt humbly to implore your majeſty's clemency towards the " holy temple of Jeruſalem. The glorious ſtructure of which I now mean " to ſpeak, is conſecrated to the honor of Almighty God, who reſides there- " in. The productions of ſtatuaries and painters only repreſent the viſible " deities: but to attempt the repreſentation of the inviſible and eternal God " whom we adore, is conſidered by the people profeſſing the Jewiſh religion " as a moſt abominable impiety.

" Our temple was held in a high degree of veneration by Agrippa, your " majeſty's grandfather. Auguſtus expreſsly commanded that the ſacred " building ſhould be ſupplied with the oblations denominated firſt-fruits from " the

" the ſeveral quarters of the globe, and that daily ſacrifices ſhould be offered " therein. The empreſs, your great grandmother entertained a pious eſ- " teem and reverence for the temple. Neither prince nor potentate, Greeks " Barbarians, nor our moſt deadly enemies, nor all the horrors of foreign " and domeſtic war, ſedition, bondage, nor the moſt terrible calamities to " which human nature is ſubject, could ever prevail upon us to admit of an " idol being placed in our temple. It muſt be acknowledged that there have " been enemies to the ſacred edifice; but the religion exerciſed therein was " ſtill ſecure. The building being conſecrated to the Creator and Father of " the univerſe, people refrained from placing idolatrous ſtatues therein, leſt " they ſhould incur the judicial vengeance of an offended God. It will not " be neceſſary to recur to ſtrangers for examples, ſince ſo many of a domeſ- " tic nature may be produced.

" During the reign of king Herod, my grandfather, Marcus Agrippa, " the grandfather of your imperial majeſty, honoured him ſo far as to viſit " him in Judæa; and on this occaſion Agrippa proceeded by the way of the " ſea-coaſt to the city of Jeruſalem. The magnificence and ſplendor of the " holy temple, the exerciſe of the religious rites and ceremonies, the ſimpli- " city of the manners of the people, and many other circumſtances, ſerved " to inſpire the illuſtrious viſitor with admiration, reverence and eſteem; and " he availed himſelf of every opportunity of teſtifying his veneration for the " glorious fabric. During the time that he remained in Jeruſalem he daily " attended the temple, employing himſelf in contemplating the holy veſt- " ments, the manner of performing ſacrifices, the dignity of the high-prieſt, " ſeated on an eminence, and ſuperbly habited in his pontifical robes, and " the piety which was expreſſed by him as well as the other prieſts who offici- " ated in the religious functions.

" Previous to his departure Agrippa conferred upon the citizens every in- " dulgence that it was poſſible for him to beſtow, excepting only an exemp- " tion from the payment of the uſual taxes, and preſented the holy temple " with many donatives of great value. On his return Agrippa was accom- " panied by Herod to the ſea-ſhore, where theſe two great perſonages mutu- " ally acknowledged the great obligations they had received from, and the " friendſhip they entertained for each other. On occaſion of the departure " of Agrippa the people aſſembled in great multitudes, ſtrewing the way by " which he was to paſs with boughs and flowers, thereby intimating their " gratitude for the great bounties they had received, and their veneration " for his perſon on account of the pious regard he had ſhewn to the temple; " and they put forth earneſt ſupplications for his happineſs and proſperity.

" It is a fact that will be acknowledged by the whole world that the ſenti- " ments of your grandfather, Marcus Agrippa, were exactly ſimilar to thoſe " of your great uncle Tiberius with regard to the laws and religion of the " people of our nation.

" During the whole reign of the emperor Tiberius, which continued for " the ſpace of three-and-twenty years, he intimated not the moſt diſtant in-

" tention of introducing a change in the accuſtomed manner of celebrating " the rites and ceremonies of our religious worſhip, or of offering any kind " of violation or indignity to our holy temple. Though I received very ſe- " vere treatment from Tiberius, I cannot be ſo unjuſt as to omit mentioning " a part of his conduct, the relation of which will reflect high honor upon " his memory. I am ſenſible, ſir, that truth is ever acceptable to you; " and I ſhall now proceed to ſome particulars which will enable you to form " an opinion of the ſentiments entertained by Tiberius in relation to the reli- " gious inſtitutions and practices of the Jews.

" At the time when Judæa was under the government of Pilate, he placed " certain gilt bucklers in the palace of Herod, ſituated in the city of Jeruſa- " lem, and dedicated them to the honor of the emperor Tiberius. It was " not from any motive of reſpect or veneration towards the emperor that Pi- " late conſecrated theſe bucklers, but merely from a rancourous and malig- " nant principle to the people of our nation. The bucklers were inſcribed " with the two names of the dedicator and the party in honor of whom they " were dedicated, but they did not exhibit figures or any other work prohibi- " ted by our laws. But intelligence of the dedication being circulated a- " mong the populace, they became exceedingly diſſatisfied, and ſoon made " application to the four ſons of the king, ſome other branches of the royal " family, and diverſe other perſons of the firſt diſtinction, requeſting that they " would exert their utmoſt endeavours to prevail upon Pilate to remove the " bucklers, the dedication of which they could not conſider but as a viola- " tion of their laws and religion, and the cuſtoms tranſmitted to them by their " anceſtors, which had been held in high eſteem and ſacred veneration by all " preceding kings and emperors. Pilate being of a moroſe, violent and un- " gracious diſpoſition, replied to the interceſſions of the mediators in an ab- " rupt and affronting manner, in conſequence of which the populace were " greatly exaſperated, and they exclaimed againſt Pilate in the following " manner:

" Ceaſe, Pilate, to interrupt the tranquillity of people who are diſpoſed " to obſerve a due allegiance to their lawful ſovereign, nor endeavour to ag- " gravate them to engage in diſſentions and hoſtilities. Do not deceive your- " ſelf in the opinion that people are ſo weak as to be amuſed by the frivo- " lous pretext, by means of which you endeavour to conceal the injuſtice of " your conduct. Be aſſured that it is not by embroiling the public peace and " happineſs, and offering violations to the law that you will be able to do the " emperor honor, or to convince him of the veneration you pretend for his per- " ſon. We are fully perſuaded that Tiberius is by no means diſpoſed to a- " bridge us of the privilege of living according to the laws and cuſtoms of our " anceſtors, which we have hitherto enjoyed without interruption. If Tibe- " rius has granted to you an edict or warrant, or ſignified by letter or any " other kind of inſtrument that he approves the meaſures againſt which we " complain, we requeſt that you will ſhew us your authority: it will then be " unneceſſary to remonſtrate with Pilate; the courſe we muſt purſue is this: " we muſt nominate deputies to repreſent our caſe to our imperial lord and " maſter,

" maſter, and humbly ſupplicate that he will be graciouſly pleaſed to re-
" move the cauſe of our juſt complaints: and this we ſhall do in the full
" confidence of obtaining redreſs; for we are perfectly convinced that Tibe-
" rius will never countenance the oppreſſion of his loyal and affectionate ſub-
" jects.

" The intimation that the people would remonſtrate with the emperor,
" through the agency of deputies, and petition for the removal of the gilt
" bucklers, proved a circumſtance highly alarming to Pilate, who appre-
" hended that if they proceeded ſo far as to ſend a deputation to the empe-
" ror, the whole delinquency of his conduct muſt of neceſſity be expoſed;
" and he now reflected on the injuſtice, corruption, devaſtations, violence and
" oppreſſion of which he had been guilty, and that he had condemned many
" innocent perſons to expire under the moſt excruciating torments; thence
" concluding that if Tiberius ſhould be informed of theſe facts, the utmoſt
" violence of the royal indignation would be directed againſt him for having
" ſo ſhamefully abuſed the power with which he was inveſted. This violent
" and impetuous man was greatly embarraſſed as to the conduct that, in his
" preſent ſituation, it would be moſt eligible to purſue: he was greatly a-
" verſe to removing the bucklers, which he had already made ſacred by the
" ceremony of conſecration; and he was beſides exceedingly unwilling to
" ſubmit to the remonſtrances of the people, who had highly irritated him
" by preſuming to oppoſe his inclination.

" When the great perſonages who had undertaken to intercede on behalf
" of the Jews diſcovered that Pilate, notwithſtanding his diſſimulation, was
" greatly alarmed, and appeared to repent of the proceedings which were ſo
" exceedingly diſagreeable to the people, they deliberated on the ſtate of the
" matter in queſtion, and the reſult of their conſiderations was, that the moſt
" expedient means they could adopt for obtaining redreſs would be to make
" immediate application to the emperor. In conſequence of this determina-
" tion they diſpatched a letter to Tiberius repreſenting the caſe of the Jews,
" and praying for redreſs; and this letter was written in the moſt earneſt,
" but at the ſame time, in the moſt loyal and affectionate terms that could
" be conceived.

" Tiberius, though a man not eaſily provoked to ſudden and violent ex-
" preſſions of anger, had no ſooner peruſed the letter on behalf of the Jews,
" than with great warmth of paſſion he reprobated the preſumptuous behavi-
" our and indecent language of Pilate. The emperor immediately wrote to
" Pilate, ſeverely reprimanding him for the impropriety and inſolence of his
" conduct, and ſtrictly enjoining him to cauſe the bucklers to be immedi-
" ately removed and conveyed to the ſea-port named Cæſarea, and depoſited
" in the ſtructure dedicated to the honor of Auguſtus. By this expedient
" the reſpect due to the honor of the emperor was preſerved, and the affront
" to the laws and cuſtoms of the Jewiſh nation was removed.

" Upon the above-mentioned bucklers no images were engraven, nor did
" they exhibit any other repreſentations prohibited by our law; and they
" were placed only in the governor's palace. But I learn that it is now in-

" tended

" tended to erect a ſtatue in the ſanctuary of the temple of Jeruſalem. This " ſanctuary is a place held in ſuch ſacred veneration, that all perſons, ex- " cepting only the high-prieſt, are excluded from admiſſion; and even the " high-prieſt himſelf is not permitted to enter the holy ſanctuary excepting " on one day in every year, when after celebrating a ſolemn faſt, the duty of " his ſacred office requires him to burn incenſe to the glory and honor of the " Almighty, and fervently to pray, according to the inſtitutions of the Jew- " iſh religion, that the Lord, in his unbounded mercy and benevolence, " will be graciouſly pleaſed to beſtow a common peace and felicity to man- " kind during the enſuing year.

" Any perſon of our nation, excepting only the high-prieſt, who ſhall " preſume to enter the holy ſanctuary is condemned by the law to ſuffer " death without mercy. If even the high-prieſt himſelf enters this place " oftener than on one day in a year, or more than once on the day when he " has a right to admiſſion, he will inevitably be put to death, as a puniſh- " ment due to his preſumption. Theſe proviſions were made by our great " legiſlator, that the ſacred place might be preſerved inviolate and held in " due veneration.

" You cannot but imagine, ſir, that, ſince ſuch ſeverity of puniſhment is " denounced againſt thoſe who trangreſs the law reſpecting the point in queſ- " tion, the public ſafety would be greatly endangered by the popular tu- " mult that would certainly take place in conſequence of erecting a ſtatue in " the holy ſanctuary, where not even the high-prieſt is permitted to enter but " on certain expreſs conditions. In ſhort, rather than ſurvive to be the mi- " ſerable witneſſes of ſo abominable an impiety, and ſo ſhocking a violation " of our ſacred laws, our prieſts would put their wives and children to death, " and yield up their own lives in a common ſacrifice.

" I ſhall now proceed to ſpeak concerning the conduct of the truly illuſtri- " ous Auguſtus, who was indiſputably a prince of the moſt exalted virtue " that ever poſſeſſed the imperial dignity. His ſuperior wiſdom and virtue " juſtly intitled him to the glorious appellation by which he was diſtinguiſhed. " He maintained an uninterrupted tranquillity throughout the whole world; " in gratitude for which bleſſing he became the object of univerſal admiration " and applauſe.

" In a conference reſpecting the temple of Jeruſalem, this illuſtrious " prince was informed that our law contained a prohibition to the placing " any carved image therein, becauſe it was improper that a viſible figure " ſhould be conſidered as a repreſentation of the eternal and Almighty God. " The emperor deemed the prohibition to be perfectly conſiſtent with rea- " ſon: and being a man of great literary accompliſhments, he took occaſion " of expreſſing many judicious remarks on what had tranſpired in the con- " verſation, ſometimes deducing his obſervations from the diſcourſe of the " learned men by whom he was conſtantly attended, and at other times pro- " nouncing the ſentiments that were dictated by his own fine genius and ex- " cellent underſtanding.

" Auguſtus

" Auguſtus was ſo great an admirer of literature, that while he ſat at ta-
" ble, and during feſtival entertainments, he engaged in converſation with
" the moſt celebrated philoſophers and other men of learning; ſo that while
" he received the refreſhments which were neceſſary for the ſupport of nature,
" he improved the time to ſuch great advantage as to enjoy the exquiſite ſa-
" tisfaction reſulting from the indulgence of the intellectual appetite. Innu-
" merable inſtances might be adduced to prove the liberality of the ſenti-
" ments entertained by Auguſtus regarding the people of our perſuaſion;
" but on the preſent occaſion I ſhall introduce only two circumſtances; and
" it is humbly preſumed that your majeſty will deem them ſufficient to prove
" that he was by no means an enemy to the Jewiſh laws and religion.

" Upon gaining information that the buſineſs of tranſmitting the treaſures,
" under the denomination of firſt-fruits, to the holy temple of Jeruſalem
" was not attended to with the regularity that the importance of the matter
" required, the emperor diſpatched letters to the governors of the ſeveral
" provinces of Aſia, ſtrictly commanding them to offer no kind of impedi-
" ment or interruption to the Jews in regard to their aſſembling in the ſyna-
" gogues. But the liberty of holding public meetings was not extended to
" any people but thoſe of our nation. The emperor obſerved that the aſſem-
" blies of the Jews did not reſemble Bacchanalian entertainments, where
" encouragement was given to inebriation, ſedition, and other diſorderly
" proceedings, but were rather to be conſidered as academies, in which peo-
" ple were inſtructed in the love and practice of virtue, piety and juſtice;
" and that the annual contributions called the firſt-fruits were intended for
" no other purpoſe than that of offering ſacrifices in the temple to the honor
" of the Almighty. In ſhort, this illuſtrious and benevolent prince iſſued
" an expreſs command that the Jews ſhould uninterruptedly enjoy the privi-
" lege of holding their meetings and making their contributions according
" to the accuſtomed practices of their anceſtors. I do not pretend to have a
" perfect recollection of the exact diſpoſition of the words of the deceaſed
" emperor's order, but I am confident that I am not deceived as to the pur-
" port thereof; and of this, ſir, you will be convinced on the peruſal of a
" letter from C. Norbanus Flaccus, of which I now ſend your majeſty a
" faithful tranſcript.

C. NORBANUS FLACCUS, proconſul, to the magiſtrates of EPHESUS, *greeting.*

" The emperor has tranſmitted to me a letter, wherein he has been pleaſed
" to ſignify, that whereas the people of the Jewiſh nation hold religious meet-
" ings and collect monies to be tranſmitted to their temple at Jeruſalem,
" under the name of firſt-fruits, it is his imperial will and pleaſure that they
" be allowed full liberty of continuing the exerciſe of their privileges in theſe
" points, according to the ancient cuſtoms of their country. This com-
" mand you are to obſerve, and thereto yield a due obedience."

" There cannot, surely, be a more incontrovertible proof of the favoura-
" ble sentiments entertained by Augustus respecting our temple, than the
" circumstance of his granting us the indulgence of publicly observing the
" rites and ceremonies of our religion, the liberty of making contributions
" for sacred purposes, and of exercising diverse other functions of piety, and
" living according to the laws of our ancestors.

" There is yet another evidence to be produced in confirmation of what I
" have said on the subject of the friendly opinion which Augustus entertain-
" ed of the people of the Jewish nation; and this matter I shall here intro-
" duce. Augustus commanded the observance of a daily sacrifice in the
" temple; that the victims should be a bull and two lambs; and that the
" expence attending these offerings to the honor of the Almighty should be
" defrayed from his own revenue. These oblations have been continued
" without interruption till the present period. It was the intention of Cæsar
" that the sacrifices should be offered upon the altar: but he was, neverthe-
" less, perfectly sensible that there was no kind of image or representation
" of a divinity either within or without the temple. This learned and saga-
" cious prince was sensible that it was highly expedient to have a glorious
" temple consecrated with peculiar veneration to the honor of the invisible
" God, and that no statue should be contained in the sacred building, where-
" in men were to perform their devotional exercises in the confidence that
" their piety would be crowned with the desired reward.

" I shall now entreat your majesty's permission to speak of the great distinc-
" tion that was shewn to our temple by your great grand-mother, the empress
" Julia. This truly admirable princess, after the example of her illustrious
" consort, bestowed a profusion of donatives of inestimable value upon the
" holy fabric, consisting of gold and silver vessels and diverse other rich and
" curious articles. But these donatives exhibited no figures, nor were they
" in any respect offensive to our laws. The mental faculties of women are
" generally weak, and it is seldom that they are affected but by sensible ob-
" jects. But the empress Julia was greatly superior to the rest of her sex,
" possessing an acute discernment, and a remarkable strength and solidity of
" judgment. She directed her mind to great and noble pursuits, and by un-
" wearied study and attention made ample amends for the deficiencies inci-
" dental to her sex. Her mind was strongly attached to speculative points,
" of which she considered practical matters to be the mere shadow.

" Having produced so many remarkable instances in proof of the favor,
" clemency and protection which the people of our nation experienced from
" the illustrious personages of your own family, and particularly from your
" immediate progenitor, to whom you are indebted for your life, and the ex-
" alted station which you at present enjoy, I humbly presume to supplicate
" that your imperial majesty will be graciously pleased to continue to us the
" enjoyment of those inestimable privileges which were confirmed to us by
" your illustrious predecessors. Emperors petition the man who is at pre-
" sent invested with the imperial dignity, august princes intercede with a
" prince of the august line, grandfathers and great-grandfathers supplicate
" a grand-

" a grandchild, and divers other exalted perſonages plead before the great " and powerful Caligula in favor of the Jewiſh religion, laws and cuſtoms, " which from the time of their original inſtitution have been held in ſacred ve- " neration to the preſent period.

" It muſt be acknowledged that if the abrogation of our laws takes place, " it is poſſible the tranſgreſſion may not be immediately followed by a judi- " cial vengeance: but let it be remembered, that to diſcover the events of " futurity is beyond the utmoſt power of the human mind; and that though " Divine juſtice is ſometimes delayed, it muſt, at length, inevitably arrive. " What man who has a heart polluted with guilt, and does not impiouſly " reject all belief in the exiſtence of an Eternal and Almighty God, can be " ſo inſenſible of theſe conſiderations as to defy the ſtings of conſcience, and " prove himſelf to be poſſeſſed of ſo daring a ſpirit as not to tremble under " the dreadful apprehenſion of meeting the retribution due to his iniquities?

" The great obligations which your majeſty has been pleaſed to confer up- " on me are ſo numerous that ſufficient time is not allowed me barely to re- " count them; and the ſubject is of too ſacred a nature to be treated ſlightly. " The mention of ſome particular facts, however, will ſuffice to prove your " unbounded benevolence to me, without relating the variety of intereſting " circumſtances with which they were accompanied. It is a matter of pub- " lic notoriety that it was my fortune to be made a priſoner, and, when re- " duced to that ſtate, thrown into chains. With the utmoſt gratitude I ac- " knowledge that your majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to reſtore me to free- " dom: but permit me to hope that you did not relieve me from my miſer- " able confinement in irons in order to ſubject me to more inſupportable op- " preſſion. During the time that I remained in irons my ſufferings were " confined to a particular part of my body; but my very ſoul ſinks under " the enormous burden of my preſent misfortunes. You reſcued me from " the alarming apprehenſion of death, and, indeed, from a ſituation that " was to be conſidered as but little better than a ſtate of actual diſſolution; " and you afterwards beſtowed upon me a profuſion of kindneſs infinitely be- " yond what I could reaſonably expect.

" The humble petition of Agrippa, whoſe obligations to your majeſty " ſurpaſs all powers of expreſſion, is that you will be graciouſly pleaſed to " preſerve the life you have given; and I am induced to hope that you will " not reject my earneſt ſupplication; for I cannot imagine that you would " reſcue me from one calamity, and prolong the date of my exiſtence, that I " might ſurvive to meet deſtruction in a more terrifying form.

" I am indebted to you, ſir, for the poſſeſſion of the regal dignity; and " after having inveſted me with that diſtinguiſhed honor, it was the pleaſure " of the mighty Cæſar to afford an additional proof of his royal bounty, and " therefore he extended my authority over Trachonitis and Galilee. Do not, " ſir, diveſt me of thoſe invaluable privileges, the loſs of which will render " the great and numerous favors I have received from you entirely deſtitute " of their uſe and value. After having advanced me to the moſt glorious ſi- " tuation that the heart of man can aſpire to enjoy, do not precipitate me

" into the contrary extreme of misery. I entertain no solicitude for the pre-
" servation of the authority with which it was your pleasure to invest me:
" but on the contrary, with the utmost willingness can resign all the dignity
" and honors annexed to royalty, and return to my former station in life.
" The only object of my petition is, that the laws and religion of my coun-
" try may be preserved from violation. If I prove so unfortunate as to meet
" with your refusal, the consequence must be that the Jews, as well as all
" other people, will consider me either as a vile betrayer of the interests of
" my country, or as being no longer esteemed worthy the friendship of the
" emperor; and either of these events would be productive of insupportable
" affliction. If the public imagine me to be still one among the number
" of those who are honored with the royal favor, and at the same time ob-
" serve me to be a witness to the profanation of our holy temple, which is
" the greatest glory of the Jewish nation, they will accuse me as being a
" traitor to their cause, on the supposition that I had neglected to exert my
" influence for averting the destruction of my country; for it is not supposed
" to be probable that emperors can deny such favors as I presume to request
" when they are petitioned by persons who are honored with the royal friend-
" ship. If I am so unhappy as to have forfeited that place which I once
" possessed in your esteem, I entreat, sir, that you will not, after the exam-
" ple of Tiberius, cast me into chains, but that, instead of depriving me of
" liberty, you will consign me to instant death; for what inducement can
" there remain to wish for a continuance of life, after having lost the friend-
" ship of the imperial Caligula, in which I have reposed my best hopes of
" sublunary happiness. And now, sir, I submit my own fate, and the cause
" of my country to your sovereign pleasure."

CHAP. XVII.

Agrippa dispatches the above letter to the emperor, and is under great anxiety lest the issue of his remonstrance should prove unfavourable. Caligula deliberates on the contents of Agrippa's letter, and, at length, he writes to Petronius, the governor of Syria, commanding him to offer no profanation to the temple of Jerusalem; but he afterwards revokes this order. He causes a statue to be made at Rome, and transported to Jerusalem without the knowledge of the Jews. Instances of the capricious, inhuman and violent disposition of Caligula. The emperor repairs to Alexandria, where he exacts public honors as a divinity. The presumption, injustice and cruelty of Caligula.

HAVING sealed up the letter, and dispatched a messenger with a strict command to use all possible expedition in conveying it to the emperor, Agrippa closely confined himself within the place of his residence, waiting under the greatest anxiety of mind that can be imagined the issue of his remonstrance; for he was conscious that the preservation or ruin not only of Judæa, but of the Jews inhabiting the several parts of the universe, would depend

depend on the gracious or unfavourable judgment that would attend his application to the emperor.

Upon perusing the letter from Agrippa, the countenance of the emperor plainly indicated the various emotions of his mind. At one time he was highly offended upon recollecting the disobedience that had been shewn to his express commands in the delay of consecrating a statue to his honor in the temple of Jerusalem; and then the natural austerity of his disposition relaxed, in some degree, in favor of king Agrippa, whose application he could not deem to be inconsistent with either justice or reason, and from the humility of whose address he could not with-hold some share of approbation. At other times, according to the impulses of his variable mind, he censured and approved the conduct of Agrippa. He severely reflected upon the king for the extraordinary zeal he had testified on behalf of his countrymen, whom he knew to be the only people inclined to oppose the dedication: but he acknowledged that the conduct of Agrippa must certainly be dictated by a great and noble soul, and that he was intitled to commendation for the generosity and candour with which he had declared his opinion, and for proceeding agreeable to the genuine sentiments of his heart.

Having employed himself some time in deliberating in the manner above recited, Caligula's mind gradually became more composed; and he, at length, determined to extend his clemency to the Jews. He dispatched a letter in reply to that he had received from Agrippa, saying that the intercessions of the king had prevailed upon him to countermand the orders respecting the dedication. At the same time he wrote to Petronius, the governor of Syria, advising him that a change of inclination had taken place, and that it was now his sovereign pleasure to preserve the temple of Jerusalem from every kind of profanation. But that the prohibition might not operate at a future period in a manner disagreeable to him, the emperor inserted a condition in the same letter of a tendency highly alarming to the Jews; and it was conceived in terms to the following purpose: "But it is "provided, that if any person, of whatever denomination, shall hold our "will and pleasure in such disrespect as to offer any kind of impediment or "opposition to the consecration of temples, altars or statues to the honor of "our royal self, or any branch of our imperial family in any city, town or "other place whatsoever, excepting only the metropolis of Judæa, bearing "the name of the city of Jerusalem, all and every person or persons so of- "fending shall be punished on the spot, during the very act of disobedience "to this our express command, or in failure of this, be submitted to our "august will and pleasure, in order that such punishment may be inflicted "as may be adjudged adequate to his or their demerits."

The above clause was in effect a revocation of the emperor's grant in favor of the temple of Jerusalem. In short, it was laying a foundation for civil hostilities. It was universally expected that the enemies of the people of the Jewish persuasion would sacrilegiously consecrate statues throughout every part of the country, under the sanction of the edict issued by the empe-

ror; but it was not imagined that they would be induced to this conduct so much by their respect to Caligula as by their enmity to the Jews. Our enemies supposed that the Jews would on no consideration patiently submit to be the witnesses of the profanation of their laws, which they had ever held in the most sacred veneration; and that their opposition to his pleasure would so highly incense Caligula that, in order to punish them for their disobedience, he would renew his positive commands for consecrating the statue in the sanctuary of the holy temple.

But notwithstanding the reason that appeared to justify the apprehension of a popular tumult, it was the pleasure of Divine Providence to maintain good order and discipline among the people; and no outrageous proceedings seemed to be threatened. Though the multitude appeared to be disposed to confine their measures within the bounds of moderation, our affairs, notwithstanding their flattering appearance, were by no means in a more auspicious train; for the emperor repented of the determination he had so lately passed in our favor, and renewed his former sentiments respecting the dedication of his statue.

Lest the multitude should be provoked to oppose the measure, no farther discourse was held on the subject of preparing a statue at Sidon: but Caligula issued an order that one should be provided at Rome, and that this figure should be composed of copper and richly gilt. He also commanded that all possible care should be employed in secretly transporting the image by sea to Jerusalem, and for adopting such measures as would enable the people employed in this business to erect the figure in the temple before the Jews could be well apprized of the matter: and Caligula's voyage to Ægypt was to afford an opportunity of doing this business, which was to appear as the voluntary act of the people, without even the knowledge of the emperor.

Caligula entertained an anxious desire of visiting Alexandria, and he ordered no expence to be spared in providing every accommodation that could contribute to the convenience of his passage. Alexandria being the capital of Ægypt, and on account of its advantageous situation a place of universal commerce, Caligula imagined that the example of that city could scarcely fail of influencing those of less consideration, since people in a collective body were to be considered as bearing a similiarity to individuals in the circumstance of regulating their conduct agreeable to the example of their superiors. Hence, then, he concluded that he could not determine upon a situation where a greater probability of success would attend his ridiculous scheme of claiming the public honors of a divinity.

The emperor was naturally of a variable, vindictive and cruel disposition; and this assertion will be fully justified by the following instances:

Having restored a number of prisoners to liberty, he almost immediately ordered them again into close confinement, and rendered their situation infinitely more insupportable than that which they had before experienced by depriving them of every hope of recovering their freedom, although no circumstance whatever could be alledged against them to justify their detention.

Some

Some other perſons who were entirely unconſcious of guilt became the objects of the tyrant's diſpleaſure; and knowing that their fate would be decided by a judge equally a ſtranger to mercy and juſtice, they conſidered it as a matter of certainty that the ſentence of death would be pronounced upon them: but they were, however, only ordered into baniſhment. Notwithſtanding their perfect innocence, they deemed this ſentence to be a proof of great lenity, conſidering the character of the man who had acted in the capacity of their judge. In ſhort, they went into exile, deeming themſelves happy in having eſcaped more ſevere treatment, and patiently ſubmitted to their misfortunes, conducting themſelves with unblemiſhed honor and integrity. In a ſhort time, however, the emperor commanded a military power to aſſaſſinate the unfortunate exiles; and when his inhuman order had been executed it was not in his power to aſſign a motive for his extraordinary conduct; for he had received no kind of provocation, the unhappy ſufferers having behaved with ſuch exemplary prudence as to avoid every proceeding that could poſſibly excite the barbarity of the tyrant. On occaſion of this melancholy event all the noble families of Rome put themſelves into mourning, in teſtimony of their affliction for the horrid murder of their friends and relations.

When the emperor parted with money, it was ever with a rapacious deſign, and with a predetermination to effect the ruin of thoſe who received it. He would never acknowledge that the money was to be conſidered either as a gift, or as a loan, for which intereſt was to be paid: but conſtantly pretended that it had been ſtolen or fraudulently obtained. The unfortunate people were not barely compelled to make reſtitution, but even to ſurrender to Caligula their whole eſtates, whether they had become poſſeſſed of them in virtue of hereditary right, or acquired them by their own induſtry.

It was the practice of Caligula to ruin the fortunes of thoſe people who imagined themſelves honored by his moſt particular eſteem. By a complimentary addreſs and the appearance of friendſhip, he ſeduced them to provide entertainments for him at an enormous expence. To compliment the emperor on occaſion of theſe meetings, invention was tortured to diſcover the means of yielding full gratification to the moſt exquiſite luxury; and it frequently happened that the magnificence and profuſion of a ſingle entertainment was ſo great that the attendant expence conſumed an ample fortune, and, excluſive of that, incumbered the hoſt with a debt that he could not expect ever to be in a condition to diſcharge. People of diſcernment, however, were apprized of the true motive of Caligula's plauſibility of behaviour; and inſtead of endeavouring to ingratiate themſelves into his favor, avoided contracting a familiarity with him, which they conſidered as a dangerous allurement to deſtruction.

Such was the diſpoſition of Caligula. There were no people againſt whom he entertained ſo mortal an averſion as the Jews; and they experienced the moſt violent effects of his impetuous, cruel and unrelenting temper. He commenced his oppreſſive proceedings in Alexandria, where he expelled the Jews their oratories, and erected in thoſe buildings ſtatues to his own honor, while

while our people, being awed by the conſideration of his great power and authority, dared not venture to oppoſe the horrid profanation. The temple of Jeruſalem was the only ſacred place now remaining unviolated; and the emperor had even the preſumption to purſue meaſures for conſecrating that holy fabric to his honor, under the denomination of, "The temple of the new "Jupiter, the illuſtrious Caius Caligula."

The character of Caligula affords the moſt ſtriking inſtance that can be produced of arrogance, inhumanity and blaſphemous irreverence towards the Almighty Creator. The command of the whole univerſe was not equal to the gratification of his extravagant ambition, but he impiouſly preſumed to aſpire to the ſovereignty of Heaven! Can'ſt thou imagine, Caligula, that the Omnipotent Power who created, is not intitled to the government of the world? Wilt thou not permit a city, a temple, or any part of this ſublunary ſphere, to be peculiarly dedicated to the moſt High God, wherein men may acknowledge the pious veneration they entertain towards his ſublime Majeſty? You have but little conception, Caligula, of the terrible calamities in which you will involve yourſelf and the whole empire by perſevering in your blaſphemous purpoſe, the accompliſhment of which is beyond the power of poſſibility: but your extravagant preſumption is ſuch, that the very idea of it cannot fail to ſtrike men leſs abandoned and reprobate than yourſelf with horror and deteſtation.

CHAP. XVIII.

The inſulting and cruel treatment which Philo, and the other perſons compoſing the embaſſy from the Jews of Alexandria, received from the emperor Caligula.

IT is now neceſſary that we ſhould proceed to the relation of ſome particulars which tranſpired in regard to the ſubject of our embaſſy from the Alexandrian Jews to the emperor Caius Caligula. The time being arrived when we were to have audience, we were introduced into the preſence of the emperor; the fierceneſs of whoſe countenance and deportment we interpreted into a certain indication that he was to be conſidered as an inveterate enemy rather than an impartial judge. Peparatory to a judicial deciſion on ſo important a cauſe, an impartial man would, with the aſſiſtance of counſel, have carefully examined into the merits of the caſe, and, having heard and attentively conſidered and candidly compared the allegations of either party, have publicly declared his opinion. But Caligula diſpenſed with the introduction of theſe and all other judicial formalities. So important was the cauſe in agitation, that on the iſſue thereof abſolutely depended the privileges and even the lives of the vaſt multitude of Jews who inhabited Alexandria. The rights for which the Jews contended were ſo evidently founded in juſtice, that during the ſpace of four hundred years their claim had remained wholly uncontroverted. Inſtead of behaving to us with the candor and moderation becoming the character of a judge, and conforming to the uſual methods of equity

and juſtice, the inhuman tyrant treated us with diſreſpect and indignity that would have proved degrading to the moſt contemptible of his vaſſals.

The emperor had for three or four days retired to the two gardens ſituated between the palace and the town, and occupied by Mæcenas and Lamias. By Caligula's deſire the gardeners were called into his preſence; and he ordered them to open the ſeveral doors, ſaying that he was diſpoſed to walk for the benefit of the freſh air, and to amuſe himſelf by examining the curioſities with which the place abounded; and he now gave orders for our introduction.

Upon our appearance before the emperor we proſtrated ourſelves at his feet, addreſſing him by the titles of emperor and Auguſtus, and affording other proofs of the moſt profound humility and reſpect. Caligula returned our ſalutations in a manner that convinced us our application would be rejected, and that our lives were in imminent danger. At length, with a malicious ſmile, the emperor accoſted us in this manner: "I preſume you belong to that deteſtable fraternity who inſolently affront my ſacred perſon with contempt, by offering adorations to an unknown and nameleſs god, when all the reſt of the world yield a willing obedience to the divinity of Caligula." He now raiſed his hands towards heaven, and with great vehemence uttered expreſſions too horrible for repetition. The behaviour of Caligula was underſtood by our adverſaries as a declaration in their favor; and being unable to conceal their joy on this occaſion, they applied to the emperor every attribute, name and honor peculiar to Almighty God.

A man named Iſidore, of an inſinuating, treacherous and crafty diſpoſition, obſerving the remarkable ſatisfaction with which the emperor liſtened to the extravagant and impious flatteries that were offered him, availed himſelf of the opportunity of ſpeaking to the following effect: "Your diſpleaſure, ſir, would be more violent againſt theſe people as well as thoſe by whom they are deputed, were you but ſenſible of the implacable averſion they have towards your ſacred perſon. The Jews were the only people who withheld their concurrence when vows and ſupplications were offered up for preſerving the life, and rendering auſpicious the reign of the imperial Caligula." Hereupon we unanimouſly exclaimed, "We are moſt groſsly traduced to your majeſty: we have offered up whole hecatombs for the long life, happineſs and proſperity of Cæſar; and after ſprinkling the blood of the victims upon the altar, we did not, according to the practice of many people, convey the fleſh away, in order to feaſt ourſelves, but we committed the whole ſacrifice to be conſumed in the ſacred fire. Three ſeveral times have we thus ſhewn honor to Caligula. Firſt on occaſion of your advancement to the imperial dignity; ſecondly on your reſtoration to health from an alarming ſickneſs, which had proved the ſource of infinite affliction to the ſeveral nations; and thirdly when we offered up vows and ſupplications for rendering your troops in Germany victorious."

"I acknowledge (replied the furious Caligula) that you have offered up ſacrifices; but they were not intended as an honor to me; they were offer-

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" ings to an unknown imaginary divinity." Upon hearing this horrible blaſphemy a trembling pervaded all our bodies, and the courſe of the blood was ſtopped within our veins.

The emperor now proceeded to view the ſeveral apartments, from the common offices to the rooms of entertainment, pointing out what he deemed to be defective, and ordering the improvements that he was deſirous of having introduced. We followed the emperor from place to place, our adverſaries making us the objects of raillery and contempt. Like buffoons on a ſtage they inſulted our misfortunes with illiberal and acrimonious jeſts. The conduct of our adverſaries, in ſhort, was like a theatrical repreſentation, where the man who ſhould have maintained the character of a judge became an accuſer, permitting his partiality to be encreaſed to a more ſhameful degree by the irritations of the favoured party. Having ſo iniquitous a judge and ſo implacable an enemy in the perſon of the emperor, we deemed it prudent to remain in ſilence, conſidering that as our only defence; for the moſt powerful arguments could not aſſiſt our cauſe, and we were unwilling to provoke the tyrant to offer additional affronts to our religion.

Having given ſome directions reſpecting the buildings, Caligula ſaid to us, with an affected gravity, " I beg to be informed of the reaſon you have " for ſo obſtinately perſiſting in a refuſal to feed upon ſwine's fleſh." Hereupon our opponents burſt into a violent fit of laughter, which was partly excited by the ridicule of the queſtion, and partly affected with a view of ingratiating themſelves with the emperor, by pretending to admire his vivacious and ſatirical humour. Some perſons of diſtinction, who poſſeſſed a greater ſhare of good manners than the reſt cenſured the behaviour of theſe people, as being exceedingly indiſcrete in preſence of the emperor; adding that ſuch liberties were not to be excuſed but among perſons of equal rank living on terms of friendſhip and familiarity.

In reply to the emperor's queſtion concerning ſwine's fleſh, we ſaid that, various cuſtoms and manners reſpectively prevailed in different places and among different people; that we admitted the uſe of ſome things were denied to us, but begged, at the ſame time, to obſerve that our opponents were prohibited the uſe of others. It was ſaid by one of the company that ſome people refuſed to eat mutton. The people who refuſe to eat mutton (ſaid Caligula) certainly are entitled to commendation; for it is by no means grateful to the palate; and theſe words he accompanied with a ſmile. It muſt be confeſſed that theſe ſarcaſtic and inſulting reflections proved an aggravation to our diſtreſs. At length the emperor addreſſed us in an impetuous manner, demanding on what foundation it was that we reſted our claim to the privilege of citizens We immediately proceeded to urge arguments in defence of our rights; but the emperor obſerving that they were founded in ſuch ſtrict juſtice as to be wholly incontrovertible, and apprehending that it was in our power to adduce others of ſtill greater force, he abruptly interrupted the ſpeech, and ſuddenly ſtarting from his ſeat, haſtened into the great hall. Having walked for ſome time in this place he gave orders for the windows to be ſhut. The glaſs of theſe windows was as tranſparent and brilliant

liant as the clearest chrystal, and so contrived as to exclude the sun as well as the wind, and yet afford a free admission to the light. Soon after this, he approached us with a gentle pace, a composed countenance, and an air of complacency, and, in a softened tone of voice, demanded what request we had to urge to him. We now determined to communicate our requisitions in as few words as the nature of the case would admit: but instead of listening to us, Caligula suddenly departed, and went into an apartment in which was deposited a valuable collection of paintings, the productions of the most celebrated masters of antiquity.

The repeated interruptions to the decision of our cause, and the vexatious measures that were pursued to insult and distress us, and a servile attendance upon an imperious, inconstant and cruel prince, became, at length, insupportably afflicting; and we judged that under the terrible disappointments which we had experienced, the most laudable conduct we could pursue would be to make the necessary preparations for death.

In this extremity we humbled ourselves before the throne of the most High God, the Creator of heaven and earth, offering up adorations to his Divine Majesty, and earnestly supplicating that, in his unbounded mercy, he would be graciously pleased to avert the rage and menaces with the effects of which his faithful and humble servants were threatened by a blasphemous impostor. The Almighty was pleased to compassionate the miserable situation of his humble supplicants, and to moderate the fury of our persecutor. In fine Caligula proceeded to no further outrages against us, but ordered us to retire, saying only the following words: "These people who refuse to honor me "as a divinity I consider as being rather unhappy than iniquitous."

In the above manner were we delivered from our calamitous situation. I might, indeed, say that we were rescued from a prison or a theatre. I speak of a theatre because we were made the objects of ridicule, contempt, laughter and other indignities; and the utmost rigours of a prison would have been infinitely more supportable than the torments our very souls experienced upon hearing the abominable blasphemies uttered by Caligula, or the consideration that we were wholly subject to the power of an inhuman, capricious, tyrannical and powerful prince. The Jews were the only people of the world who refused to pay divine honors and veneration to Caligula; and in this determination they uniformly persevered in despite of the tyrant's utmost power. The unremitting constancy which they testified for preserving their holy laws from violation was the original and only source of the tyrant's implacable enmity and rage.

We now enjoyed some respite from our calamities. But it is not to be understood that we were alarmed by the dread of death: on the contrary, to have yielded up our lives for promoting the common cause of our country, and for preserving the rites of our religion, we should have accounted the greatest blessing to which human nature could possibly arrive. In the situation to which we were reduced, our deaths could not possible have been productive of happy effects; but would have incurred disgrace upon our employers, if not have tended to the ruin of our cause. When deputies prove

unſucceſsful in their negotiations, the failure is generally attributed to the improper conduct of their principals. On this conſideration we deemed ourſelves fortunate in having eſcaped ſo material a part of the threatened danger; but we were ſtill under a terrible anxiety on account of the ſentence which the emperor was yet to pronounce; for it was not poſſible that he could judge as to the equity of our claim, ſince he had not condeſcended to be informed of the particulars of the cauſe ſubmitted to his deciſion. It would have been a moſt deplorable circumſtance had the vaſt multitudes of people compoſing the Jewiſh nation been ſubjected to the ſeverity of treatment experienced by their five ambaſſadors. Had the emperor determined the cauſe in favor of the Alexandrians, we muſt have expected perſecutions in every other place. Our habitations, oratories, and other places dedicated to religious purpoſes, would have been deſtroyed, and the ſacred laws and religious rites of our anceſtors entirely aboliſhed; and thus abridged of every hope of relief from our grievous oppreſſion, the burden of life would have become intolerable. When reduced to the moſt deplorable ſtate of miſery that it was poſſible for human nature to ſuſtain, we were treacherouſly deſerted by our temporizing friends, on whom we had placed our moſt ſanguine hopes of receiving ſupport, and who were conſcious of the juſtice of our cauſe, and of the extravagant vanity and preſumption of Caligula in exacting public veneration as a divinity.

END of PHILO's EMBASSY.

AN

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